



# Macao's Identity, Chinese and Other Groups A Decade After the Return to China

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## INTRODUCTION

How to define Macao's identity? It has its people, language (Chinese Cantonese and *Putonghua*, Portuguese and English), religion (Catholic and Chinese 'religion'), architecture, local economy, social and legal institutions.

Is the way of life a legal concept? 'Nevertheless it is the way of life at the legal institutional level which protects a particular culture'.

'We can directly trace the formation of Macao to its demographic composition, from which the 'way of life' has arisen. Chinese from different parts of China, Africans, Indians, Malays, Portuguese along with other Europeans and other peoples and nationalities have come to play parts in the Macao way of life'.<sup>1</sup>

Can we say that the 'Chinese of Macao' constitutes the only identity in the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR)? Certainly not—there are many other identities in Macao, including the Brazilians, Burmese, Chinese, Europeans, Filipinos,

Indians, Indonesians, Japanese, Nepali, Portuguese, Thais, Timorese, US citizens, Vietnamese, and others. Between 1970 and 1985, Fernand Braudel argued that *The Identity of France* is diversity. Is it also possible to say that diversity characterises Macao identity? Contrarily, I will try to demonstrate that 'Chineseness' is the main cultural trait.

However, within the Chinese of Macao there is a complexity of subgroups; but their 'Chineseness' is reproduced in the intimacies of daily life'.<sup>2</sup> In fact as we have to define 'identity' and 'identities', I will simply quote:

Too often identification and recognition characterise identities which are 'precarious and unsettled, and may require constant analysis and deconstruction'.<sup>3</sup> This may lead to continued uncertainty. Contrarily, we want to transform a complex concept into a simple one; it is not an easy task.

My last book was entitled *The Chinese of Macau*, but it does not mean that other groups do not exist in the MSAR. Permanent residents are defined as the central legal identity and Chinese constitute the majority group. However, the socio-cultural harmony of the MSAR is mainly dependent of the 'real' majority concerning 'harmony', 'the Chinese of Macao'.

'We are Chinese' proves something very serious. Out of the interviewees who responded to my questionnaires, the large majority clearly affirmed their Chineseness. The percentage of answers 'Chinese' and 'Chinese of Macao' is superior to the simple identity

'Macao'. On the basis of one hundred households surveyed, 65 per cent asserted their 'Chineseness'. I found that 46 per cent were registered as 'Chinese of Macao' and 19 per cent Chinese only. Michael Degolyer found 51 per cent in Hong Kong defining themselves as 'Chinese' divided into Hong Kong Chinese (27 per cent), Chinese (22 per cent) and overseas Chinese (2 per cent).<sup>4</sup> For the Hong Kong SAR, 44 per cent defined themselves 'Hong Kong persons', my research found 38 per cent declaring simply 'Macao' as their own identity.

## WAY OF LIFE AND IDENTITY, LEGAL IDENTITY

### HISTORY

The study of history is essential. It is Macao's particular history which makes its 'way of life'. A community living in a named location has its own history which differs from other communities. Contrary to Hong Kong, occupied by Japan between 1942 and 1945, Macao remained in peace. The mainlanders and other overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia came to Macao at different periods related to the different history of China, Vietnam, Indonesia and Burma (now Myanmar). Conflicts in Southeast Asia between 1945 and 1980 have created an immigration flux toward Macao. Except for the particular period of the Cultural Revolution (in China, 1966 to 1976), the mainlanders entered Macao mainly in the 1980s and after.

Is it true that each community must have a particular way of life? Is there a paradigmatic way of life, so that we might group things together? When it comes to details, each way of life is of course different. The Basic Law is the essential legislative text of the MSAR recognised by China and Portugal. To the surprise of many lawyers, the expression 'way of life' appears in the provisions of the Basic Law (Chap.1, Art. 5), which reads: 'Way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years'.

The Basic Law created the framework of a legal system, but it is not in itself the whole of the legal system—it is ordinary law that provides the details, and fills up the various institutions. Social change plays an important role. Macao's economy is one of the most open in the world since 2002. 'The previous capitalist system... unchanged for 50 years' (I-5). The *pataca*

currency and 90 per cent of the economy, gaming, are also part of this way of life.

In modern times the legislative power is a component part of the sovereignty of a country. Law does not emerge out of nothing. Legislators make laws and write the texts, but it is the interests and the practice behind them that determine the meanings of those texts.<sup>5</sup>

### THEORY AND WAY OF LIFE IN MACAO

Macao Way of Life is an essential element of the Basic Law, a legal mini-Constitution, according to Xiao Weiyun 肖蔚云. The expression 'way of life' refers to 'the means and mode of living. It includes the habits, customs, mores and preferences in entertainment. In order to maintain the capitalist system already existing in Macao, its proper way of life shall be maintained'.<sup>6</sup>

Another point is theory. The complexity of the concept 'identity' imposes preliminary studies to start with. For example, Bourdieu's *habitus*,<sup>7</sup> which is based on a series of particular facts and cultural traits. In social sciences it uses a mathematical framework. It gives a possibility to reduce the data and compress the information.

Could we relate the way of life and Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* or 'aspects of culture... habits, skills, styles, tastes of a specific group'?<sup>8</sup> This concept (*habitus*) could be a particular cultural marker of the lifestyle, values and expectation of a particular social group, the Chinese of Macao.



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‘Habitus is created through a **social rather than individual** process leading to patterns that are enduring’ explains the Basic Law and ‘One Country Two Systems’.<sup>9</sup> It is part of the ‘enduring’ historical character and identity of Macao. China’s cadres in charge of the MSAR cannot consider the individual identity of the Chinese of Macao but have the advantage of knowing well the MSAR’s society and particularly the ‘Chinese of Macao’, and thus can upgrade harmony in this Special Administrative Region of China. However, Macao is different from Hong Kong and its integration to the mainland is smoother.

The study of the Basic Law by Tong Io Cheng has demonstrated the importance of the Basic Law for the identity of the Chinese of Macao.<sup>10</sup> At present, even for ethnic Chinese, it is not easy anymore to become a permanent resident in the MSAR. The Basic Law protects, even more than in the past, the way of life of the Chinese of Macao. At present, it is extremely difficult for non-Chinese—even for Portuguese—to become a permanent resident.

LEGAL IDENTITY

Legal identity, multifaceted issue, is an important element of inclusive development and is part of a larger reform agenda. It concerns society, education, land and business registration, utility connections and travel documents... become increasingly relevant to people’s day-to-day life. It seems interesting to note that the complex question of identity was not completely studied by Lévi-Strauss.<sup>11</sup>

There is an essential aspect of identity, the ‘legal identity’. Of course, ‘way of life’ in the Basic Law is not only social but also economic. In the MSAR, society and economy have to be in harmony. Starting in 2009, Macao SAR sticks to the present system of election of the Chief Executive through the 300-member Chief Executive Election Committee. This election is part of the Basic Law, but not really a ‘way of life’. Basic Law is the Guarantor of the Macao Way of Life. However, speaking Cantonese is clearly a part of the way of life.

The Chief Executive of the MSAR must have twenty years of residence in the MSAR to be elected and nobody contest this fact in 2013.<sup>12</sup> So, it needs many years for a Chinese from the mainland or an overseas Chinese to become a ‘real Chinese of Macao’.

The identity of Macao is complex, it needs a sophisticated methodology. We simply start with the language.

LANGUAGE

**Languages** constitute a fundamental core of overall identity. In Macao the *de facto* situation in 2000 was the pre-eminence given to the simple term ‘Chinese language’, which seemed, for the Chinese of Macao, to mean ‘Cantonese’.<sup>13</sup>

Some Chinese may have forgotten that Chinese *and* Portuguese are the official languages of the MSAR. The Chinese of Macao are affected by the forces of both globalisation and ‘mainlandisation’, and we understand the importance of *Putonghua* and sinicisation.<sup>14</sup> It seems that Cantonese is slowly losing its dominance, but it is still the identity-language of Macao. Already in neighbouring Hong Kong, *Putonghua* and English are gaining a larger audience than previously.

Traditional written Chinese characters continue to dominate in the MSAR, and it remains to be seen in what manner, in 2049, Macao will finally begin to use simplified characters, already used on the mainland and in Singapore. The modernity and success of Singapore will be recognised one day in Macao and Hong Kong SAR. The Basic Law is inflexible, so the traditional characters will stay up to 2049 as a part of Macao’s ‘way of life’ defined in Basic Law.

The Macao SAR has its own Basic Law. However, in 1995, Article 19 of the Law on Education on the mainland insisted on the common Chinese written language and on the supremacy of the national language, *Putonghua*. Consequently we believe also in the importance of the Chinese phonetic alphabet, *pinyin*; and consider that it will be imposed slowly, even in Macao.

Portuguese has been spoken in Macao for almost five hundred years, but—challenged by English—has lost its former leading international position. English is currently the language of communication between Chinese and non-Chinese in the MSAR, not in exactly the same way as in Hong Kong; but the Chinese of Macao are making progress in English. In the MSAR, however, it is more difficult than it is in Hong Kong to find Chinese above the age of 40 who are proficient in English.

The government of the MSAR has always placed great importance on cultural affairs, but that does not automatically promote ‘culture’. In 2010 and 2011, for instance, significant changes were put into effect. The Secretary for Social Affairs and Culture, Cheong U, is the head of the Committee of Cultural Industries (or ‘Cultural Industry Committee’, CIC), which also includes the president of the Civic and Municipal Affairs Bureau (IACM), the heads of the Macao Polytechnic Institute, and other institutes. In fact a harmonious alliance of Confucianism and tolerance continues to prevail, despite the drastic change in the culture, economy and society of the MSAR since the year 2000. Confucian (work) dynamism ‘correlates positively with economic growth’.<sup>15</sup>

However, in the field of culture, there are examples of new cultural development; for example, Macao is encouraging local film culture.<sup>16</sup> The Macao Foundation has recently generously invested in a successful film called ‘The Youth of Xinghai’. Elsewhere, the President of the Macao Foundation, Dr Wu

Zhiliang, asked the CIC to increase contributions to local associations, arguing that they are essential for both local culture and the links with Guangdong and Fujian provinces.<sup>17</sup>

IDENTITY OF THE CHINESE IN MACAO

WHO ARE THE CHINESE OF MACAO?

Just before New Year 2012 the director of the daily newspaper *Hoje Macau*, Carlos Morais, said he felt that ‘Macao has lost its identity’.<sup>18</sup> From a Portuguese viewpoint, I might agree, but what do the Chinese of Macao think? These Chinese strongly defend, among other cultural traits, their Cantonese language. Who are the Chinese of Macao? There are five main types of Chinese in Macao who could claim to be really from there and who speak Cantonese:

The *Bendiren* 本地人 {*Bundeijan* in Cantonese (C)}, from Guangdong Province, are mainly Han Chinese born in Macao speaking Cantonese.<sup>19</sup> The other categories are the Fukienese, mainly Hokkien;

The pagoda of the rocks, Macao. Engraving by G. Maurand from a drawing by Doré, 1860.





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the Chaozhou (Teochew) and the Hakkas (Kejia in *Putonghua*); and the Fishermen Tanka. These Fishermen migrated *en masse* to Zhuhai in 2000, although some families are currently remaining in Macao. The Hakkas constitute some 2% of the population.

Hao Zhidong points out national, political and economic identity.<sup>20</sup> I insist on social and cultural identity and on the paradigm of complexity more than diversity.<sup>21</sup> Macao Chinese constitute a group of people with complex biological, social and economic linkage.

Language and family are, among other criteria, two main markers to understand Macao Chinese identity. Identity has of course numerous meanings or constructions of meaning, depending on actors and situations, and a dramatic social change occurred after 20 December, 1999, when the long expected return of Macao to China took place.

We are compelled to ask basic questions and find the facts to relate Macao to the rest of China, to Hong Kong and to Southeast Asia, to the Lusophone world and to the global world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. We have looked carefully at the surprising fact that, on average, more Chinese are crossing the border of Zhuhai/Macao everyday than those who are crossing the Shenzhen/Hong Kong border. The influence of the mainland is great and undeniable. In late 2001, ex-President Jiang Zemin and later President Hu were the architects of China joining and being a powerful member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). In 2011, from the micro-viewpoint of Macao, under the leadership of President Hu Jintao, it is still useful to look at the macro-modernisation of Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s and compare it with mainland China and Macao in the current century.. All is now linked to the concept of globalisation. We will see how this globalisation plays a role in the MSAR. Does this concept influence the identity of Macao Chinese? It is too early to answer to this question in the introduction.

We based this work mainly on ‘classical’ research, but research on identity requires a multi-disciplinary approach. Our methodological checklist is the following: observing, listening, interviewing and questioning. That could be discussed, but I firmly believe that the ethnonym ‘Chinese-of-Macao, although difficult to define, does exist. I will also try to find a link between identity, the place of origin, associations and Tong’s legal and cultural concept of

‘way of life’, which is mentioned in the Macao Basic Law. In fact, the identity ‘Chinese of Macao’ has to begin with an explanation on the relationship between the Macanese and the Chinese of Macao.

HOW CAN WE DEMONSTRATE THAT THE CHINESE OF MACAO HAVE THEIR OWN IDENTITY? HOW CAN WE DEFINE THIS PARTICULAR CHINESE GROUP AND ITS CULTURE?

We start with the simple identity of the Macanese who are really from Macao clearly developed by Renelde da Silva and Alexandra Rangel. The Macanese were born in Macao but have not been considered to be Chinese by either the Portuguese or the Chinese, so it may seem strange to put them forward when studying the Chinese in Macao. The Macanese are the sons and daughters of many vivid cultures. Their identity is Portuguese and they have mixed cultural origin. Their fluency in Portuguese is real and has nothing to do with recent statistics, which reveal that 41% of the civil servants of Macao have some knowledge of Portuguese.<sup>22</sup>

The account of Francisco da Roza’s in the 1950s explains the excellent cultural links between the Macanese and the Chinese.<sup>23</sup> During the post-1950 period a large number of Chinese as well as Macanese were refugees in camps in Macao. The massive Chinese immigration during that period is confirmed by Paul Pun of Caritas who has an extensive knowledge of the evolution of social services in Macao.

For the Museum of Macao ‘identity and history’ and ‘Chinese and Macanese’ are the most important.<sup>24</sup> Many Macanese have Chinese blood, and all of them are called *Tusheng* 土生, ‘sons of the land’, sons of Macao.

I attended, from beginning to end, the last Macanese Encountering Event, on November 28, 2010, preceded over by the Chief Executive Fernando Chui Sai On, his predecessor Executive Edmund Ho, General Rocha Vieira, and the Consul General of Portugal for Macao and Hong Kong Manuel Cansado de Carvalho. Chui recognised that ‘the Macanese are an inseparable element of Macao’.

Sinicisation, influenced by *Putonghua*, the national language, does not dent this particular ‘way of life’ in Macao and Cantonese remains the main language in the MSAR. A counter-example is given by CCTV 13, which broadcasts exclusively in *Putonghua*,

and combines its programs with Macao Television; this implements sinicisation. Some Macao Chinese may not watch these programs, but we are in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, *Putonghua* is more global than Cantonese, and this type of globalisation could be positive for the MSAR.

Ethnic relations in Macao have never been bad, thanks to both Confucian philosophy and Portuguese tolerance, as well as to the ‘bamboo-identity of the Macanese and, over the centuries, the good will of the Chinese of Macao. The Macanese are flexible and resilient as bamboo. The diplomacy of former Imperial provincial mandarins responsible for Xiangshan (now Zhongshan), and much later, from 1980 until today, the diplomatic cadres of Beijing—and of Guangdong Province—have also played a key role in maintaining good ethnic relations.

As a result of the ‘Indic administration’ system and Malacca mentioned by Wade, Macao was very early influenced by Southeast Asia. Macanese heterogeneity was originally a result of Goan<sup>25</sup> forebears, who represented a greater influx than any other Indians, or Malaccans, and only later included Chinese (see below the life story of a ‘Portugalised’ Chinese of Macao, Leão). The late Ho Tin, another Macao Chinese of great culture and one of the rare grand entrepreneurs of the Sino-Portuguese territory, said: ‘*Ruguo meiyou Tusheng, jiu meiyou Aomen*’ 如果没有土生就没有澳门 (The Macanese play a key role in defining Macao).<sup>26</sup> Before the handover in 1999, some Macanese had become Chinese citizens. However, the posthumous book on cinema in Macao by the late Henrique de Senna Fernandes (1923-2010)—presented at the Macanese meeting in December 2010—explained the distinctive hybrid culture of Macao, a bridge between East and West. Hao himself quoted Henrique’s daughter who stated rightly that **without Macanese ‘Macao would lose its characteristics’**.<sup>27</sup>

To show the importance of the Chinese of Macao in contemporary history, I mention Roque (Rocky) Chui, a fluent Portuguese speaker who, together with Dr. Ho Yin, negotiated with mainland China at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1967, during a very difficult period of the history of China and Macao. The representative of the Governor of Macao, Carlos d’Assumpção, returned from Beijing without success in reaching an agreement with the PRC. Later, Ho Yin and Roque Chui calmly managed to convey a message of peace and respect necessary to restart good

relations between the giant, China, and Macao. This shows the importance of ‘Sino-Portuguese bilingual legal language in Macao society’ developed by Tong Io Cheng in *Isaidat Law Review*. This long adaptation to both cultures, Chinese and European, is part of the identity of Macao Chinese even if many of them do not speak Portuguese.

CANTONESE, HOKKIEN, CHAOZHOU (TEOCHEW) AND OTHERS

Identity is a serious question. Identities have national, political and cultural aspects. It is also true that the term ‘identity’, like ‘religion’, has no equivalent in Chinese. *Shenfen* 身份 is closer to ‘social status’, and *rentong* 认同 refers probably to the acceptance an approved culture. The Chinese of Macao have multiple origins and are consequently complex, but finally are ‘themselves in relation to others’, as are we all.<sup>28</sup>

Macao is a multicultural melting pot, with a long history, a meeting point of Chinese, Europeans, Indians, Southeast Asians and others, so Macao Chinese are different from other Chinese. They managed to resist 450 years of Portuguese acculturation without any ‘clash’ and without changing the bases of their ‘Chineseness’.

Wang Gungwu 王赓武 writes about Greater China;<sup>29</sup> I simply examine Macao as a microcosm of China.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was difficult for Chinese to enter in Macao’s walled city, and in the beginning it was not possible for them to stay ‘*intramuras*’ overnight. However, Macao did attract Chinese merchants, interpreters and labourers. Some Chinese, in particular refugees and orphans, were converted to Christianity over the centuries due to famines or other calamities in the mainland. The Chinese Bazaar, at the centre of the walled city, was a commercial gathering place which gave to the territory an ancient name *Oumungaai*, ‘the Market of Macao’ (*Aomen jie* 澳门街). The Chinese villages within Portuguese Macao territory included Wangxia or Mongha (C), Longtian, Shalitou or Patane and Barra or Mazu Pagoda district among others.<sup>30</sup> Shalitou probably took its name from the old maritime pier where sand pear fruits might have been unloaded.<sup>31</sup> Patane probably refers to Patani in South Thailand, a port of call for sailing ships coming to Macao from Europe and the Middle East, but this etymology is uncertain.

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The definition of the concept ‘identity’ in Chinese is difficult. Between the three following definitions of ‘identity’, we chose the third one which is the closest Chinese term:<sup>32</sup>

*Tongyixing* 同一性, which more or less refers to ‘identity and unity’, is usually used to define ‘Chineseness’ more than ‘identity’.

*Xiangtong* 相同 mean ‘identical’, not ‘identity’.

*Shenfen* is the best translation, but is not perfect. It refers to ‘social status’, and appears on the government-issued ID card, or *shenfenzheng* 身份证, which includes data about official residence and status, as well as official ethnic (‘nationality’) identity.

Identity is complex in Macao. In 2010, in *Juridikum*, Tong mentioned during the Qing Dynasty a case of exception for the ‘Chinese residents who turned into Christians’ to whom Portuguese Law was applied. At present, the Chinese Law is applied to the Portuguese who have a Chinese passport.

On 28 February 2011, when it was opened on Taipa Island, outside, the new Immigration Center used Chinese characters as a priority. The staff was polite, but foreigners had to read the characters 外国人 to understand *waiguoren*, meaning ‘foreigners’, and follow the correct line. Few foreigners were present that day, mostly some Filipinas without knowledge of written Chinese. However, the façade of the building respects the Basic Law in relation to Portuguese; the new building has the Portuguese word ‘imigração’ (immigration) side by side with its Chinese equivalent.

The law of Macao is in Portuguese. Portuguese has consequently its own linguistic power. The Chinese translation of the law of the MSAR is not so reliable and Basic Law is the key law in Chinese and in Portuguese. The Basic Law is a reliable legal basis in the MSAR. So, the Executive Board of the Consultative Council for the Basic Law, headed by the former Chief Executive, is an essential body of the MSAR.

Can we say: ‘We do not dwell in a country, we dwell inside a language? At homeland this is it’.<sup>33</sup> *Putonghua* is not yet the dominant language in Macao, but Cantonese currently has less influence than in the year 2000. However, this language remains very useful for Cantonese speakers born in Macao, for many other Chinese who speak Cantonese, for a certain number of Macanese and for very rare Indonesian and Filipinos, who constantly speak Cantonese in Macao. Cantonese

residents in the MSAR are very proud of their mother tongue.

Research on identity requires a multi-disciplinary approach involving social sciences, including geography, linguistics and the study of religion. For example, Catholicism is a *sine qua non* identity marker of the Macanese minority, or *Tusheng*. Currently, a duality exists within the post-1999 structure of Macanese identity, but rare are the Macanese equally interested in both Portuguese and Chinese cultures.

The Macanese are often defined as ‘flexible’ in society. The Chinese are dominant and the Macanese perfectly adapted to the Portuguese culture first, but at present in MSAR follow the Chinese traditions more than before. Following the handover in 2000, Macanese and Chinese inter-marriages are more frequent. However, for the late first Macanese wife of Dr Stanley Ho, Clementina Leitão, it was a courageous decision in 1942 to marry a Chinese and not a Portuguese.

DIFFERENT CHINESE COMPONENTS OF MACAO CHINESE IDENTITY

1. *Gwongdungjan* (Cantonese) the majority of them are *Bundeijan* (C) meaning from Macao,
2. *Fukginjan* (C) including Hokkien or Hokhlo people, a key Fukienese group,
3. The Chaozhou or *Ciuzaujan* (C) linguistically related to the Hokkiens,
4. The Hakkas,
5. The Fishermen Tanka or *Tengaaajan* (C),
6. Other Chinese: Shanghainese or *Soenghoijan* (C), Hunanese and Chinese from other provinces,
7. The overseas Chinese (from Indonesia, Myanmar-Burma, Thailand, Vietnam...).

Before the handover, in December 1999, the population of Macao was adjusted partly because mainlanders from Guangdong and other provinces who had also another main residence in Macao could not be registered in both Census reports of the mainland and Macao. My estimated population of Macao in 1999 was 490,000 which came from intensive research at that time.<sup>34</sup> The official population of Macao was 513,000 in 2006, 538,000 in 2007, 542,000 in 2009 and 552,000 at the end of 2011.<sup>35</sup>

In 1999 half of the legal immigrants came from Guangdong Province 2,408 against a total of 4,984. In 2007 and 2009 these percentages increased respectively

TABLE 1. Responses by generation of 100 interviewees from 100 selected households extracted from the household data: *Oumunjan* (Macao person), *Oumundak Zunggwokjan* (Chinese of Macao) and *Zunggwokjan* (Chinese)

	‘Macao’	‘Chinese of Macao’	‘Chinese’
Age 30 or below	19	23	6
Age 31 to 59	13	13	7
Age 60 or above	6	10	6
% overall	38	46	19

to 75% and 66%, 1,514 out of 2,221 and 2,099 out of a total of 3,121 immigrants.<sup>36</sup>

In 1999, 2,206 legal immigrants came from Fujian (45% of the total); in 2007, 223 (10%) and in 2009, 339 (11% of the total of legal migrants). This confirms the importance of the Fukienese in the MSAR.

Other provinces and regions are less important concerning the migration to Macao. From Hunan, 108 migrants came to Macao in 1999 (2%), 101 in 2007 (5%) and 117 in 2009 (3%). From Guangxi, 68 came in 1999, 77 in 2007 and 131 in 2009 (4%). From Shanghai, 37 immigrants entered in Macao in 1999 and 25 in 2009 (less than 1%).

Wong Hon Keong (Huang Hanqiang 黄汉强) at the University of Macao gave a forecasted population of one million for 2021 to be reached before that date because the increasing economic development and the new closer relationship of Hengqin Island with the MSAR. The law in Hengqin will be the law of the PRC, except in the enclave of the University of Macao where the law of the MSAR prevails. Macao Chinese answering to my questionnaires, in 2011 constitute a large majority; however, the percentage of Cantonese will probably decrease in the future. Chinese of all provinces also want to be part of a dynamic new MSAR. So, the Macao Chinese are a ‘social barometer’ of the current and future social change in the MSAR.

To look at the origin of the visitors who come on an individual visit scheme gives an idea of the identity of the Chinese of Macao. The provinces most represented are: **Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang and Hunan. Shanghai and Beijing** are also significant

for Macao in the number of individuals visiting the MSAR. From Guangdong in particular in the year from July 2010 to the end of June 2011, more than 4 million entered Macao individually. Exactly 4,103,174 individuals compared to a total of more than 7 million visitors from Guangdong province.

The Fukienese on an individual basis are less numerous coming to the MSAR during the same one year period July 2010 to the end of June 2011: 114,314 against 755,153 visitors in groups.<sup>37</sup> Among other individual visitors on a one year basis in 2010-2011 are 320,000 Shanghainese, 189,000 from Beijing, 177,000 from Zhejiang and much less from Tianjin, Chongqing and Hunan.

The most remarkable figures are those of the Guangdong province showing that the Cantonese identity of Macao is for the moment secured by a high number of Cantonese entering the MSAR. In second place come the Fukienese. (Table 1)

The number of youth having a Portuguese passport is large, and consequently many of them answer ‘Macao’ instead of any other response. Remembering that those below 30 years of age are over-represented, out of the total of my interviewees we find that: 48% responded with ‘Macao’ (instead of 38% found in Table 1 which is a more balanced table for youth below 30 years of age, middle-age below 59 and elders of 60 years and more), 32%, with ‘Chinese of Macao’ (instead of 46% in Table 1) and 20% (instead of 19% in Table 1) simply with ‘Chinese’.

Note that 38+46+19=103. This total is greater than 100% because three respondents gave two answers instead of one, for example ‘Macao’ and

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‘Chinese of Macao’ instead of simply ‘Macao’. This is the case of the household No. 39 concerning these two answers (see the table for 100 respondents and households in Appendix). The others who gave two answers instead of one are numbered No. 20 and No. 111. Strangely two interviewees among these three cases were not born in Macao but gave also the Macao identity, we have not checked if they have a Portuguese passport.

These Chinese in my survey—the majority born in Macao—also have come from Hong Kong, Guangdong Province, Southeast Asia, Europe and even further from South America. An association in Macao, the *Aomen Guiqiao Zhonghui* 澳门归侨总会, is composed of overseas Chinese from more than twenty different countries. In my questionnaires, 12% of the respondents had family links in Southeast Asia and 41% had a brother, a sister or other kin in Hong Kong.

In fact, history and culture strengthen Cantonese identity, the dominant identity in the MSAR.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CANTONESE RESIDENTS IN THE MSAR

There is an evident acculturation of Cantonese in Macao, that linguistically and socially takes place, not through English as in Singapore and Hong Kong, but more through *Putonghua*. I discovered an increasing lack of knowledge of many kinship terms in Cantonese among informants born in Macao who are very fluent in their mother tongue. The new media orientation toward *Putonghua* in Guangzhou in 2010 has evidently influenced the MSAR. However, thanks to their literature and the rich Cantonese opera {*yueju* 粤剧, *yyut kek* (C)} we believe in the resilience of the Cantonese language, until the integration of Macao into Guangdong Province in 2049. Cantonese opera is a key cultural marker of Cantonese culture. The importance of Cantonese, the beauty of the costumes and the majesty of the performances play a part in the attraction of Cantonese opera among Macao Chinese. On Guia Hill, one of the favourite music programs the daily strollers listen to from their portable radio is Cantonese opera.

The Cantonese resilience is part of an essential mapping among the ‘totality of Chinese ethnicities in all their subtleties.’<sup>38</sup> The promotion of Cantonese is really a basis of Macao identity.

HOKKIEN FROM FUJIAN PROVINCE, THE SECOND GROUP OF MACAO CHINESE

It is evident that Macao Chinese from the Province of Fujian represent an important part of the population of the MSAR—some 20% of a population of 552,000 permanent residents. All of them could speak Cantonese correctly. During the 1950s, in Taiwan, the Hokkien language became less important. However, the Hokkiens and their dialect, *Minnanhua* 闽南话, have a huge cultural impact nowadays, in particular in the MSAR. *Minnanhua* is also known as Hokhlo 福佬, which is said to have originated from Heluo 河洛语, spoken in Henan Province. The main goddess of Macao, Mazu 妈祖, is primarily a Hokkien deity. The dynamism of the Hokkien community and of *Minnanhua* speakers was demonstrated at the ‘Singing Competition at the Forum’, in February 2011. The Forum was full and the audience enthusiastic. Deputy Chan Meng Kam, president of the Fukienese Association, and the Executive Member of the Government, Leong Heng Teng, were present at the Forum for this cultural event.

The Hokkien population most probably migrated from Henan, Middle China, to Fujian. In the Chinese term *Heluo* 河洛, *He* 河 refers to the River Huang He 黄河 and *Luo* 洛 refers to the Luoshui 洛水 a branch of the Huang He, the great river of North China.

To develop the economy and/or for political reasons, China is trying to reinforce the link among Hokkien speakers from Fujian, Macao and Taiwan. In my survey 16% spoke their own language, the dialect of the Hokkiens, *Oklo oe* (*Minnanhua* in *Putonghua*).

‘Hokkiens’ belong to an essential ‘ethno-linguistic’ group.<sup>39</sup> There are some 40 million Hokkien speakers in the world. Among the Hokkien speakers in Macao, Xiamen and Putian dialects are dominant. The Hokkiens thus constitute the second most important group in the MSAR, after the dominant Cantonese.

Following my enquiry among other Hokkiens around the Fujian Association—near the border of Zhuhai—I found that all are proud to use their mother tongue, but—elsewhere in town—the majority of them use Cantonese and prefer to use this language as a cultural marker. However, the Cantonese of MSAR and HKSAR may detect the provincial origin of non-Cantonese. The success of the Hokkien entrepreneur and re-elected Deputy of the Legislative Assembly,

Chan Meng Kam (Chen Ming Jin), plays a role in the development of the Hokkien community. The electoral success in September 2013 was a consequence of the dynamism of the Chinese of Macao having their origin in Fujian Province. The following example shows another significant socio-linguistic attitude at the grassroots level.

In 1975, Lim left Xiamen and entered Macao with his wife and eldest son. He did not graduate from secondary school. He understands Hokkien of course, but he became a Macao Chinese. His main language of communication is Cantonese, which now characterises his identity. He never returned to Xiamen, except once for the funeral of his father. Sometimes he even denies a good knowledge of his mother tongue, *Xiamenhua*, a branch of *Minnanhua*.

Consequently, identity is complex in the MSAR. The identity of the Chinese of Macao does exist. Georg Noack notes that:

Globalisation... widespread availability of international media and consumer goods has led to rapid societal change during the last twenty years and... conflicts between desires to catch up with a perceived global modernity and fears of losing one’s own identity, culture and values.<sup>40</sup>

The mainlanders who became Macao Chinese and the following life stories illustrate the constraints of globalisation and other phenomena concerning the fears of losing one’s own identity.

The Chinese of Macao are not all from Guangdong and Fujian provinces. All the following categories may, taken together, constitute 30% of the population of the MSAR in 2011; this percentage will probably increase over the years.

These non-Cantonese and non-Fukienese Chinese of Macao may be the Chaozhou, linguistically related to the Hokkiens, the Hakkas, Shanghainese, and Hunanese, from other provinces of China and overseas Chinese, mainly from Southeast Asia. It should be mentioned that some Chinese permanent residents of the HKSAR can be permanent residents of the MSAR too. In general, they are initially from Hong Kong and they become permanent residents in Macao because they work there or because their family moved to Macao.

At present, the Chaozhou (Teochew) community is proportionally less important in Macao (4% of the Chinese community) than in Hong Kong, where some

8% of the whole Chinese population belongs to this group. They are not classified among the Cantonese even if they speak Cantonese fluently. The sea-oriented culture of the Chaozhou is a consequence of the lack of good roads in eastern Guangdong Province, as late as the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and during the Republican Era. The Teochew have been sea-traders and travellers, and so are present in Southeast Asia, in particular in Thailand, and also in Macao. The current president of the Macao Chaozhou Association is Hoi Sai Iun (Xu Shi Yuan 许世元). He is also President of the General Association of Trade, President of the Charitable Association Tung Sin Tong and Vice-President of the Kiang Wu Association and Hospital. He received the Grand Lotus decoration of the MSAR for his achievements and for his successful development of association life in Macao.

In 2012, on 23 December, in Guangzhou, Leong Heng Teng, an influential Member of the Executive Council of MSAR, was the crucial member of an important delegation of the MSAR to the ‘Hengqin Island’ meeting in Guangzhou with the cadres of the Province of Guangdong. On 17 October, the cadres of Hengqin Island based in Zhuhai went to Macao International and Investment Fair to present the last evolution of this important bilateral development of the relation between Guangdong Province and the MSAR.

ASSOCIATIONS ARE CREATING LINKS IN THE MSAR AND ON THE MAINLAND

In 1867, Sampaio recognised in advance the key role of Chinese commercial associations in Macao.<sup>41</sup> Guangdong and Fujian Provinces are the most important in creating a link with the mainland. Associations also help to develop the service economy which is lacking in the MSAR. Associations can actively and positively boost society, as an essential part of the binomial expression ‘society and economy’, promoted by this work, as basic to cultural and economic development.

What Deng Xiaoping said in 1961—‘Rise up and develop well Hainan Island, what one wills one can do’—could be applied to the MSAR.<sup>42</sup>

Forty-five per cent of the Chinese of Macao who answered my questionnaires were members of at least one Association—usually one related to their place of origin, which is a fundamental identification for them.

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EDUCATION IS A PRIORITY TO UPGRADE MACAO'S IDENTITY

In Macao, dramatic changes occurred several times in recent history: after World War II, during the Cultural Revolution, following the handover of the former Portuguese colony to China and during the period 2000-2010. In 2011, the next great change is the planned transfer of the University of Macao to Hengqin Island, which will accelerate the general development of education in the MSAR. However, although the Province of Guangdong is playing a key role, even more important is the role of the mainland, which is essential for the MSAR.

To develop society and the economy, education and health are two priorities for the Chinese of Macao. The Sin Meng Association's 善明会 Survey points out the importance of education policy, with health institutions as second in importance.<sup>43</sup> It is certain that the happiness or 'subjective well-being' of Macao is quite high and things are changing in the MSAR.

It is not easy. The relocation of the University of Macao to Hengqin Island is a challenge not only for Tertiary Education Services (GAES) but for many sectors of the government. In 2013, an important part of the faculties of the main university of Macao will have to move to Hengqin Island. The countdown has already started.

Lao Chi Ngai of Hong Kong's Association of Economic Sciences has called for a necessary increased investment in education and vocational training.<sup>44</sup> The Sin Meng Association found that 79.6 per cent (2010) and 78.7 per cent (2011) considered seriously the problems of young people.<sup>45</sup> Culture and education are essential to try to solve these problems and upgrade local identity.

In comparison with Hong Kong, young people in Macao are traditionally not interested in questions of policy relating to the future of society. In 2011, some limited social movements occurred in Macao before the Chinese New Year. However, the Chinese of Macao are much less interested in the so-called 'democratisation of society' than are the 'Hongkongese'. It seems that in the MSAR, there is a tendency among those with higher levels of education to emphasise their Macao identity. Overall, half of my interviewees put 'Macao' ahead of the other two identities suggested ('Chinese of Macao' and 'Chinese'). The identity of the younger generation is more a 'Macao' identity than simply a 'Chinese' identity.

Young people and new legislation for the development of primary and secondary education are each essential.<sup>46</sup> Both primary and secondary education sectors, headed by the Director, Sou Chio Fai, have praised the extension of free education in the MSAR to fifteen years of schooling, as voted in 2007.<sup>47</sup> It will be useful to place the responsibility for schools and colleges at different levels, but it is not easy to implement this complex type of collective and individual responsibility. Ms Ho Teng Iat is sure that, after the handover, more women in Macao have access to tertiary education. Although Macao still needs to upgrade its education, a comparison with the situation twenty years ago shows a stark difference. In comparison with the situation in the Portuguese-speaking land of East Timor, Macao can be proud of its achievements, and Macao, with its use of English and *Putonghua*, will have powerful international languages.

CONCLUSION: GLOBALISATION AND IDENTITY

Macao's identity, although sometimes influenced by Hong Kong SAR, remains unique. As I pointed out in the conclusion of my book *Macao 2000*, the Basic Law is always 'an essential legal, political and diplomatic marker, but it also represents a complex social and economic synthesis of uncertainties and bright expectations'. Following the return to China and as well at present, the question of identity continue to be on the agenda of the MSAR, in parallel with the need to develop a competitive spirit in this new century of globalisation.

The main reason for the socio-economic development is the gaming industry. In the current period of world crisis, it is certain that there are risks involved in the fact that Macao has a single industry. In December 2011, Xi Jinping, the future president, stressed with President Hu that diversification was necessary. Again, mid-March 2013, just after being officially elected by the National People's Congress, the Chief Executive Chui was also asked to do his best. Already, in the 1990s, the diversification of the economy of Macao was a task on the agenda of Governor Rocha Vieira with his best links to the Lusophone World. Diversification is almost a dream for Macao. It is, however, a fact that gaming was financially successful in 2011 and 2012.

Why is globalisation crucial for the Chinese of Macao? These *Oumunjan* (Macao persons) are rather 'family-centric' but their Chineseness is confirmed in my survey. The Chinese of Macao and mainlanders have a long history, so they are well prepared to resist all sorts of coercion. In the MSAR and also in the Hong Kong SAR, young people tend to consider themselves localised; however, their identity seems more flexible in Macao than in Hong Kong. 'Hongkongers' are more proud of their origin. Yet again, the Chinese of Macao do not like to travel too much. But the Macanese and all other Chinese, mainlanders and overseas Chinese in particular in Southeast Asia, are certainly more 'globalised' today than they were in the 1960s and much more 'global' than the Chinese of Macao. Portuguese was useful but the Chinese of Macao had no will to study other languages than Cantonese. At that time it was difficult for the Chinese of Macao to find a local job in Macao, so many Chinese of Macao did not travel. They had no money to travel and had no education to find solutions and even no will to go abroad.

In 2011, Macao is in competition with Las Vegas and indirectly also with Singapore. Globalisation is 'truly a myth', but it is a powerful discourse.<sup>48</sup> However, let us hope that globalisation does not really mean the homogenisation of our world. The small autonomous region, Macao, is a kaleidoscope of sub-groups and minorities. 'We have to radically question an economic vision which particularises everything' and does not care enough about society.

'McDonaldisation' is common in New York City and Macao. Like mobile phones and the web, McDonald's is part of a global social phenomenon, globalisation. In the MSAR, many McDonald's restaurants are open twenty-four hours a day.

However, the mainland and the MSAR are in constant transformation. In 1981, 75 per cent of the five million 'tourists' who entered Macao were Hong Kong residents. Nowadays mainlanders are the most numerous visitors, more than 50 per cent of the total; visitors from Hong Kong are now fewer than 30 per cent. In 1996 Macao welcomed eight million visitors. This number of visitor arrivals is not impressive compared to the 25 million 'tourists' who entered the MSAR in 2010.<sup>49</sup> In 2011, mainlanders were the majority (some 58 per cent) of the 28 million visitor-entries in Macao, as confirmed by

official statistics. However, in 2012 almost 30 million entries were mentioned by the Government of MSAR Statistics and Census Service. In 2013, for the Chinese New Year in seven days almost a million for the first time managed to travel the main border *Guanjia*. It is necessary to encourage mutual aid and co-operation among the leaders of the administrative region and also from among the people themselves to cope with this mass of tourism. In reality, it is difficult to keep its own identity in such a rapid social change. So, we cannot say that the Chinese of Macao who have relatively good jobs in the casino industry will be exempt from the perturbations of the 'globalised' world and we have to be careful to mention the concept *psyche* of the Chinese. However, such a global view needs a serious consideration of the local viewpoint for the harmony of the essential identity of the Chinese in Macao. Their 'Chineseness' was confirmed by Cathryn Clayton (2009), an anthropologist who taught at the University of Macao, and by my own work.

The Macao SAR is not as big as the Hong Kong SAR and civil society is not strong despite the dedication of scholars such as Bill Chou, so the Cantonese language must be protected to keep the identity of Macao alive. It may be subject to discussion, but sinicisation brings unity, modernisation and progress, but also some constraints for the Chinese of Macao. They now have to use more *Putonghua* and English. The Hongkongese are more able to protect their rights than the Chinese of Macao. In the last twenty years, around 50 per cent of the population of Macao, formerly from the mainland, became resident in the MSAR. It would be utopian to try to promote Macao too strongly, as its current territory of only 29.9 square kilometres obviously limits its possibilities.<sup>50</sup> However, Macao's market 'has not yet reached its maturity stage in recruiting talent online'.<sup>51</sup>

Because of the rapid social and economic changes in the MSAR, it remains important to study and restudy the uniqueness of Macao's identity and the local Cantonese culture, traditions and way of life. Creativity remains a key element in the cultural development of the Chinese of Macao as well as other Chinese in the MSAR. The gaming economy and the Chinese of Macao will continue to be essential for the present and future research in society and economy to define Macao's identity and its dynamism. **RC**



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ABBREVIATIONS

ARB: *Aomen Ribao* (Macao Daily News, in Chinese)  
C: Cantonese  
CIC: Cultural Industry Committee  
DSEC: Documentation and Information Centre of the Statistics and Census Service  
HKSAR: Hong Kong Special Administrative Region  
IACM: Civic and Municipal Affairs Bureau

IMM: International Institute of Macao  
JTM: *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*  
MSAR: Macao Special Administrative Region  
MDT: *Macao Daily Times*  
MOP: *Meio Oficial de Pagamento*, the currency of Macao  
PRC: People's Republic of China

NOTES

1 Similar attempts to define Macao can be found in R. D. Cremer (ed.), *Macao City of Commerce and Culture. Continuity and Change* (Hong Kong: API Press, 1991), in which specialists in different sectors are invited to address the case of Macao. See the chapter written by Tong Io Cheng, ‘The Basic Law and the Chinese of Macau’, p. 67.

2 Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness*, p. 303.

3 Stephen Frosh and Lisa Baraitser, ‘Goodbye to Identity?’, p. 168

4 Michael E. Degolyer, ‘Identity in the Politics of Transition: The Case of HK, Asia’s World City’, p. 28

5 Tong Io Cheng, ‘The Basic Law and the Chinese of Macau’, pp. 67-68.

6 Quoted by Tong Io Cheng (Berlie, *The Chinese of Macau a Decade after the Handover*, p. 67); Xiao Weiyun 肖蔚云, ‘Conferência Sobre a Lei Básica de Macau’, p. 55.

7 Bourdieu’s Habitus, 2012.

8 Noack, *Local Traditions, Global Modernities: Dress. Identity and the Creation of Public Self-Images in Contemporary Urban Myanmar*, p. 186.

9 ‘Habitus’, 2012.

10 Tong Io Cheng, ‘The Basic Law and the Chinese of Macau’, pp. 67-77.

11 *L’Identité: Séminaire interdisciplinaire dirigé par Claude Lévi-Strauss, professeur au Collège de France* (Paris: Grasset, 1977).

12 *The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China*, Chap. 4, Art. 46.

13 *The Basic Law*, Chap. I, Art. 9. <http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjbj/zjzg/tyfls/tyfl/2626/t15467.htm>. Consulted 12 June 2011.

14 Hao Zhidong, *Macao History and Society*, p. 198.

15 Michael Minkov, *Cultural Differences in a Globalising World* (Bingley, UK: Emerald, 2011), p. 69.

16 Interview of Fernando Eloy with the *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 1 August 2011, pp. 8-9.

17 *Macao Daily Times*, 30 December 2010, p. 7.

18 *Hoje Macau*, 21 December 2011, p. 31.

19 *Putonghua*, Mandarin Chinese is transliterated in *pinyin* and Cantonese in Jyutping from the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. This improvement concerning Cantonese romanisation started in 1993. Here, some mistakes may exist. The family names in particular have complex transcription. Romanisation of the names in Cantonese in Macao and Hong Kong may also sometimes differ. For Cantonese language a (C) sometimes follows the transliteration of the word.

20 Hao Zhidong, *Macao History and Society*, p. 207.

21 Alex Mucchielli, *L’ Identité* (Identity) (Paris: PUF, 2007), p. 5. For ‘diversity’ see Hervé Lebras, and Emmanuel Todd, *L’Invention de la*

*France. Atlas anthropologique et politique*, pp. 9, 11, 25. The concept of ‘way of life’ is also essential.

22 *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 28 November 2011, p. 7.

23 Francisco Antonio da Roza, ‘Journeys’ (Story of a Life lived in Macao and Shanghai in the 1950s), see António M. Pacheco J. da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Shanghai : A Pictorial History* (Macao: Conselho das Comunidades Macaenses/Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2012).

24 *A Museum in an Historical Site* (sic...), Macau Museum, 1999, pp. 9-10.

25 The Association of Goa is very active in Macao. The majority of its members are Catholic and Hindu. On Saturday 10 December, 2011, the Association named ‘Nucleo de Animação Cultural de Goa, Damão e Diu’ met in Coloane for the Christmas party. The President is Sharoz D. Pernencar and the board has five members.

26 Interview with Gary Ngai, 17 February 2011.

27 Hao Zhidong, *Macao History and Society*, pp. 206-207.

28 Cathryn H. Clayton, *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau and the Question of Chineseness*, pp. 9, 264; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

29 Wang Gungwu, *The Chineseness of China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991).

30 Li Fulin 李福麟, *Aomen Sigeban Shiji* 澳门四个半世纪 (Macao: Four Centuries and a Half), Macau, 1995, p. 17; C. C. Choi, ‘Settlements on Chinese Families’, in *Macao City of Commerce and Culture. Continuity and Change*, edited by R. D. Cremer, pp. 61-63, 77.

31 Paul Spooner, interviews with the author in February 2011.

32 *French-Chinese Dictionary* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1983).

33 Emil Cioran, *Aveux et Anathèmes* (Confessions and Anathema) (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), p. 21.

34 J. A. Berlie (ed.), *Macao 2000*.

35 *Macao’s Demographic Statistics 2009* (Macao: DSEC, 2010), p. 6.

36 *Yearbook of Statistics 2009* (Macao: DSEC, 2010), p. 77.

37 *Tourism Indicators* no. 5 (Macao: DSEC, May 2011), pp. 1-2.

38 Gregory E. Guldin, ‘Hong Kong Ethnicity of Folk Models and Change’, in *Hong Kong. The Anthropology of a Chinese Metropolis*, edited by Grant Evans and Maria Tam (Richmond Surrey: Curzon, 1997), p. 38.

39 Ibid., p. 50.

40 Georg Noack, *Local Traditions, Global Modernities: Dress, Identity and the Creation of Public Self-Images in Contemporary Urban Myanmar*.

41 Manuel de Castro Sampaio, *Os Chins de Macau* (The Chinese of Macao), chap. XII.

42 *Dahui Zai Aomen* 大会在澳门 (Grand Meeting in Macao). Hainan: Hainan Baoping (5<sup>th</sup> International Federation of Hainan Associations and Macau Hainan Provincial Association), c. 1992, p. 13.

43 *Happiness Survey*, 2011, p. 28. Some laymen and scholars express doubts about the measurability of happiness. The World Health Organization, however, shows that societies with less happy people tend to have more health problem (Michael Minkov, *Cultural Differences in a Globalising World*, p. 80).

44 *Macao Daily Times*, 20 January 2011.

45 *Happiness Survey*, 2011, p. 28.

46 *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 4 January 2011, p. 13.

47 *Ponto Final*, 22 February 2011, p. 6.

48 Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Le mythe de la “mondialisation” et l’Etat social européen’, in *Contre-Feux* (Paris: Liber, 1998), pp. 39, 46.

49 *Tourism Indicators* no. 6 (Macao: DSEC, 2011), p. 1.

50 *Environmental Statistics 2010* (Macao: DSEC, May 2011). [www.dsec.gov.mo](http://www.dsec.gov.mo). Consulted 16 May 2011.

51 <http://calvinayrwayre.com/2011/07/13/casino/macau-needs-more-workers/> July 15 2011.

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