

Colonization and the Construction of Identity

A Comparison of Teenage Identity in Macao, Hong Kong and Goa

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The identity of a person is generally understood as who that person is. Identity, therefore, defines a person's cultural, social, political, and economic being. Identity labels the person in his or her interpersonal, inter-generational, even institutional and a host of other relationships that she or he goes through during his or her lifetime. Taylor (1994) points out that when the source of identity is the person who is being identified, identity becomes authentic. When, on the other hand, the individual or even the group is identified by others, that identity becomes an immuted identity and, therefore, will not be authentic. This observation is especially important for our topic because in colonial relationships, it was usually more the case than otherwise for the colonised populations to be identified, almost always arbitrarily, by the colonial powers (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1993, 1978; Memmi, 1991; Fanon, 1967).

The concept of identity is dynamic, such that identity is always "in the making". Identity is also multidimensional and a person has multiple identities – social and cultural (as daughter/son, as sister/brother, as student, as Chinese/Indian, as being part of Portugal/Britain, etc.), economic, political, etc.

The conceptual framework of the study is based on recent theoretical developments in the social sciences (post-modern/post-colonial theories), which have focused on the social processes involved in the construction of identity. Identity is based on historical experience and nationality, ethnicity and culture, gender, class and race etc. It emerges at the

individual level but each person has several social identities that have implications at the political (such as being colonised or a minority) and cultural levels. Identities are not static, and are a result of an individual's history and culture, ethnicity/race, and experiences as belonging to majority and minority groups (or colonizer and colonised). These factors assume meaning in social relations, particularly dominant-group (or colonizer) perceptions of the minority or colonised group as well as their own perceptions and responses.

Colonialism is the temporal, systematic and opportunistic process of one country (a European country in the modern history of humanity) overtaking another country (in areas of what is now called the Third World). The colonizing country, by using its superior technological and administrative efficiency, forces the conquered lands to fully adhere to the new rules of natural and human resources exploitation and in the process, to uneven development between the colonizer and the colonised. In terms of identity formations, and as indicated above, the true identities of the native populations are willfully altered so the people who are to be perpetually exploited will

fully conform to the imperial project that has been designed for them.

Theoretical analyses of colonial educational systems (Altbach & Kelly, 1964; Carnoy, 1974) indicate that, in general, colonisers controlled the colonised by resisting the development of education. Since their main interest was economic exploitation and cultural dissemination, colonial attitudes were influenced by social policies that supported these aims. However, there were differences in the orientations of different colonisers. The Portuguese colonial heritage was influenced by a laissez-faire attitude and education was not a high priority. In addition, Macao was economically and culturally



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dependent on China as well as Hong Kong. The British supported the education of small numbers of local elites to work in their massive bureaucracies. The history of civic education in Hong Kong and Macao show that the dominant messages transmitted through the curriculum were detached from politics in the society at large and failed to provide students with a national identity (Tse, 1999). The British discouraged students in Hong Kong from identifying with their Chinese culture and ethnicity.

Integration into society is not only a personal and individual process; it is also a dialectical one. It involves

contradictions (conflicts) in individual self-construction (identity), in the construction and reconstruction of social relationships, and

in the experiences defined by social attributes such as gender, class, ethnicity and race. Although integration is an individual process, persons are often seen as members of a group (and stereotyped) rather than on an individual basis. People's

identity in pre-colonial traditional societies were locally generated, locally established,

locally maintained and, where necessary, modified. This last point is important, for identity is not static in any sense of the term. Rather, it is dynamic, evolving and, therefore, situationally responsive to the demands placed upon it by the subjects of identity (Hartman, 1997; Ghosh, 1996; Hall, 1990). In colonial relationships, identity (that is, *who* a person is) may have assumed a more rigidified status, artificially produced and maintained for the promulgation as well as the permanency of the colonial agenda.

Thus this study looks at identity as an important factor in integration, conflict issues in terms of the individual's interaction with societal roles, and economic opportunities as an example of societal acceptance of teenagers within an environment with indigenous and colonial cultures.

Several writers have discussed and analyzed the historiography of colonial and post-colonial worlds and recast the identity of their peoples (Guha, 1997; Fanon, 1968; Bhabha, 1998; Achebe, 1958; Chatterjee, 1993; Nandy, 1987; Said, 1978; Parekh, 1997; Bray, 1992, 1994).

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The question of identity and construction of identity has been much debated in literature. Erikson (1968, 1975a, 1975b) has had a great influence on the discussion of this topic although his work has been severely criticized as being defined by the male experience (Gillian, 1982). Identity is a sense of being and it is obvious that psychological as well as historical and social factors (e.g. culture/ social class etc.) are important in a process which is in constant evolution. According to Erikson, the historical processes in society enter the core of the personality in childhood in the form of prototypes that guide imagery and verbal instructions to children (as in school and through parents). Given that teenagers spend most of their time in schools this research study compares political and social identity construction in three groups of teenagers (15-19 years of age) in three locations, namely Goa in India, Macao in China and Hong Kong in China. All three places have a common experience of colonisation. Portugal has colonised two of these -Goa and Macao -, while Hong Britain has colonised Kong. Macao and Hong Kong both have Chinese populations and are part of China. The sovereign status of Goa changed 38 years ago (1961) when it joined the Indian Union, Hong Kong's status changed only two years ago (1997) when it became part of China. Macao's political position will soon change on December 20, 1999 and it too will become part of China.

1999 is the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gama's landing on the Western coast of India. This event launched Europe's direct contact with Asia. From the Portuguese perspective this event asserts Portugal's triumphal place in the history of "discovery". At the same time, the significance of



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Goa, 2001. Photo by José Simões Morais.

the impact of colonisation on societies is brought to the forefront. Although generally regarded as perhaps the weakest colonial power, Portugal is also the longest surviving colonial power.

The Portuguese were the first to solve the navigational problems of plying the Atlantic Ocean. Vasco da Gama managed to reach India and established political links with Goa on the west coast of India in 1498, quickly making it a primary base for Portuguese traders who heralded the beginning of a bountiful “golden era” for Portugal and in trading between East and West (Shipp, 1997). The beautiful natural harbours and wide rivers of Goa made it easy for the Portuguese to make it their base for controlling the spice route to the East by further expansion into eastern Asia as well as to spread Christianity. Although the superior weapons of the Portuguese made organised revolt

difficult, even in 1550 several attacks on the colonial power had been made.

Portuguese travellers who left India to explore more of the Asian continent initiated the colonisation of some parts of China including Macao. The history of Hong Kong as a British Colony, started in 1841 (de Mesquita *et al.*, 1996) and after 156 years as a United Kingdom Colony, China took over the political control of the tiny prosperous island on July 1st, 1997.

Macao and Hong Kong are two port cities on the southwestern coast of China, just south of Guangdong province. China tolerated the Portuguese in Macao but made them pay ground-rent and disputes over Macao's sovereignty were solved each time with payments of good sums of money. Portugal never exerted power over Macao the way the British did in Hong Kong. During the most prosperous times it was the realisation by the Portuguese that trade (particularly of spices) with the East would make them rich so that Portuguese ships arrived from Goa and Malacca to Macao. From 1560 to 1639 the Portuguese capitalised on the Japanese passion for Chinese silks and Macao boomed. Macao, known as the City of the Name of God, was the centre of Christian enlightenment and Western culture that spread to Timor, other parts of China, Korea and Japan. In the late 16th century China's fear of pirates and the expulsion of missionaries led to a policy of seclusion and Macao's position was weak compared to Hong Kong's position as a trade base.

Hong Kong and Macao exemplify the Protestant and Catholic experiences of the Chinese, and the Portuguese and British attitudes to Macao and Hong Kong were also very different. The population of Macao indicates centuries of mixing not only among the Portuguese and Chinese, but also Japanese, Brazilians, Malays and Armenians. The British on the other hand, discouraged intermarriage. As recently as two decades ago, young officers of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank were forbidden from marrying local Chinese women without special permission from their superiors (*The Economist*, August 14, 1999, p.68). The tolerance exhibited in Macao extended to the place being a haven for refugees fleeing China and Hong Kong during the Second World War. Macao's legislative assembly is claimed to be the first in Asia thus making it Asia's first republic. However, since the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, the democratic government of Portugal had in practical terms handed

over much of the sovereignty to China. Since then, the Portuguese had been administering the place. The Portuguese handover of this function on December 20, 1999 will not be "...a sad moment, but a proud one. It's a moment fulfilled," said António Salavessa da Costa, Macao's under-secretary for culture and tourism (*The Economist*, August 14, 1999, p.68). This is in sharp contrast to the Portuguese handover of Goa. The sentiment is also in contrast to the British who are said to have departed from Hong Kong with much sentimentality and a sense of loss. The *South China Morning Post* reported the "emotional, tearful, poignant farewell" in detail over a period of time.

In 1982-1984, major discussions took place between the then leaders of Great Britain and China to de-colonise Hong Kong. Although lengthy and difficult, the negotiations between the two authorities were successful and resulted in the Joint Declaration of 1984. In 1988, Beijing published its Basic Law for Hong Kong citizens. According to the 1984 declaration, Great Britain was to handover Hong Kong to China but as a "special administrative region" within China on July 1st, 1997. For the next 50 years Hong Kong will enjoy a high degree of autonomy that guarantees its way of life as a capitalist entity.

The Chinese government's decision to initiate talks with Portuguese authorities was undertaken after the successful negotiations for Hong Kong with Great Britain. Although Macao has been an important Portuguese colony since 1557, there were very few periods of unrest. In 1987, major political discussions between Chinese and Portuguese authorities decided the future of Macao, which was handed-over to China on December 20, 1999, but with the status of "special administrative region" within China.

Critics have called Macao not one colony but three. It was colonised by Portuguese administrators who never learned Cantonese, the *lingua franca*; by immigrants from Mainland China; and by gamblers and pimps from Hong Kong for whom it is a "theme park". The identity of the people of Macao is a political question. Both Hong Kong and Macao are to be "Special Administrative Regions" within the People's Republic of China.

While the handovers of both Hong Kong and Macao to China were accomplished peacefully through discussion with Britain and Portugal, the experiences of Goa and Macao with Portuguese colonisers were



Goa, 2001. Photo by José Simões Morais.

very different. Despite the peaceful arrangement with Britain and France to hand over their territories to an independent India on August 15, 1947, an agreement could not be reached with Portugal, which was, at that time, under a dictatorship. Diplomatic efforts for a peaceful handover failed and on December 18, 1961 the Indian Army marched into Goa to shouts of joy from the Goan people. The Portuguese government did not resist and this peaceful move made Goa part of India 14 years after its independence from Britain and France. Goa was first incorporated as a Union Territory and became the 25th State of the Indian Union in 1987. However, the remnants of the Portuguese colonisation continue to thrive in the socio-cultural environment.

The difference in the Goan and Macao experiences was probably due to the fact that Portugal

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experienced a repressive dictatorship under Salazar from 1932-68 during which time the government of India tried to negotiate a peaceful transition for Goa. In contrast, a Republican government in Portugal under the presidency of Dr. Jorge Sampaio and a majority socialist party has acted with greater sensitivity to the inevitability of Macao's return to China.

All three locations are in Asia, and are small in geographical area. Goa, in India is the largest with 3,702 sq.kms. and a population of 11.7 million (1991 census). Hong Kong is just under 1,100 sq.kms has a population of 6.7 million. Macao, is just north west of Hong Kong China with an area of 16 sq.kms and a population of about 0.52 million. The large majority 95%, is Chinese and only 3% are Portuguese and Macanese (Macao-born Portuguese and Eurasians). Although Portuguese and Mandarin are the two official languages, Cantonese is the most widely spoken. English is limited in use for trade, tourism and commerce.

Portugal ended its 450-year rule in Goa in December 1961 and formally handed-over Macao ending 442 years of control. The British ruled Hong Kong for 156 years. Hong Kong is a world-class business and trading centre. Macao was once one of the world's most important trading ports and has recently become an alternate gateway to the economy of China.

THE STUDY

Empirical research was carried out in Goa, Macao and Hong Kong to look at how teenagers (boys and girls, 15-19 years of age) are influenced by the process of colonisation indirectly through education as a result of imagery and verbal instructions in the system. The study also looks at the influence of outside cultures on the indigenous culture of the natives, and its impact on the minds of young children as seen through their own eyes. The idea was to look at the indirect influences of the education system rather than that of the formal curriculum.

The specific objectives were to find out what has been the influence of Portuguese/British culture and language in the identity of teenagers in Goa, Macao and Hong Kong? Is there still identification with the metropolitan power among today's teenagers? Is there any ambivalence with their identity as Indians/Chinese?

What is the influence of the colonisers' culture and language among teenagers in the three locations? How does it relate to their Indian/ Chinese cultural heritage? How do teenagers identify themselves now after decolonisation (Goa, Hong Kong) and at the time of handover (Macao)? Is there ambivalence in their identity? Are there similarities among the teenagers in Goa and Macao (due to a common influence of Portuguese culture)? Are there any common issues among the teenagers in Macao and Hong Kong (due to a common ethno-cultural background, namely Chinese)? What is the effect of the difference experiences at the time of decolonisation?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Since identities are not quantifiable, the study draws qualitative data and analysis from open-ended interviews, guided by the research questions. The sample is a total of 90 teenagers with 30 from each location: Hong Kong (China), Goa (India) and Macao. They are between the ages of 15 and 19 (except Goa, where a few were a bit older), and were selected because literature suggests that the teenage years are the time when identities become solidified. The sample has been selected randomly from various high schools in each city.

The participants were selected based on the demographic parameters of the research project. They were born in and were citizens of their particular countries and belonged to different religious groups, and socio-economic backgrounds. The parents' level of education varied. Thirty (30) interviews were conducted in each country, Hong Kong, Macao and Goa. Goan teenagers between 15-19 no longer comprehend their colonial past. Consequently, there are a few participants between 20-23 years of age.

ANALYSIS

HOW TEENAGERS IN GOA, MACAO AND HONG KONG IDENTIFY THEMSELVES: WHO ARE THEY?

In Macao, the majority of the participants identified themselves as Chinese or Macanese. "According to social factors, I consider myself as Chinese who is living in Macao". Their exposure to the Portuguese culture is limited to school and a few

social activities, while Chinese culture predominates in the society. Teenagers defined themselves as students who enjoy “making friends and playing football” and they feel obligated to make a contribution to the Macanese society after graduation.

Political identity was mostly non-existent for the boys. Girls were concerned about the handover and anticipated problems in defining their nationality, particularly in the case of those with dual identities. Others dislike losing their Portuguese nationality.

Students of Chinese/English schools communicated in Cantonese or Mandarin and in Cantonese with family and friends. Where Chinese is the medium of instruction in schools, Portuguese is spoken only during the Portuguese class. Mother tongue is generally used at home and it was found that this linguistic ability had no impact on personal identity or on the identities of others. Girls generally felt they had no linguistic identity.

Most participants acknowledged that they “have no religion” and in spite of Macao being administered by Portugal, there were some practising Buddhists and Catholics.

In Hong Kong the majority identified themselves first as Hongkongese and then Chinese reflecting place of birth and the impact of the hand over, respectively. One student said he said he was “Chinese” due to the political status of Hong Kong, while nationality for others, had to do with the skin colour “yellow”. Some made a distinction between “traditional Chinese” and Chinese of Western influence and rejected traditional beliefs such as gender inequality. Only one in 30 participants holds an Indian passport but identifies himself as Hongkongese.

Since the handover to China, participants who previously identified themselves as Hongkongese have become Chinese. However, some continue with their Hongkongese identity and feel confused about Chinese nationality.

In spite of 150 years of British rule, the use of English is limited as most Hongkongese speak Cantonese. There is minimal knowledge of Mandarin and English. One participant stated that “my Mandarin is bad, it is comfortable to speak in Cantonese. I may not be able to express myself in English and at times I can’t do it in Chinese either”. According to one student speaking English was seen

as a status symbol but now it is seen as a tool of communication. Being a Chinese is no longer a nationality about which to feel ashamed.

In all three locations, the response to religious identity was similar in that the majority stated that they “have no religion”. In Macao, a few families practised Buddhism and a small number, Catholicism. Among the Hongkongese, there were a few Christians by faith but for the majority, religion was not an identifying factor. Their religious activity was merely a matter of formality.

Participants in Goa were the most religious. Twenty-one (21) identified themselves as Roman Catholics and seven (7) with Hinduism, one believed in the religious synergy of the inter-religious marriage of his parents while, another said he believed in no religion but respected them all.

An indepth analysis and study of the interviews reflects that colonialism in the three locations (Macao, Hong Kong, and Goa) did bring in its influence but the indigenous culture is predominant in the lives of the people on everyday basis.

In Macao and in Hong Kong, the response to political identity was mixed: there was no political identity for the majority of boys, but others closely associated with Portugal carried Portuguese passports and planned to return after graduation. Girls were concerned with the handover and anticipated problems in defining their nationality afterwards. Those with dual nationality expected problems particularly with their Portuguese nationality: “I am used to being Portuguese... I feel a bit disappointed”.

Participants from Hong Kong largely identified themselves as Hongkongese prior to the handover in 1997 but afterwards identified themselves as Chinese. Others still, held on to the Hongkongese identity but felt somewhat confused about it. In Goa, a majority of participants had no sense of political identity and none

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Hong Kong, 1997. Photo by Eyegraphy.

of them felt affiliated with any political party. Only a few participants identified themselves as “Indian”.

For the three populations, social identity had different levels of significance. Goa for instance, had a majority of participants who defined their social identity as “student”, a few others as “middle class” Goans or Indians of “cheerful nature”.

Macao’s participants were all born in Macao. There is very little Portuguese influence on their social life and that is limited to school and a few social activities. In multicultural Macao, the Chinese culture is predominant. Most participants used the word “student” to define their identity and felt they were obligated to work towards development of Macao after graduation.

Comparatively, the majority of participants in Hong Kong identified themselves first as Hongkongese

and then Chinese. Born in Hong Kong, and in terms of their own physical appearance, they identified themselves as Chinese in response to questions on nationality. Some participants made a distinction between traditional Chinese and Western-influenced Chinese, giving as an example, gender superiority versus gender equality, respectively. One participant holds an Indian passport but still identifies himself as Hongkongese.

TEENAGERS’ KNOWLEDGE

ABOUT PORTUGAL/BRITAIN IN THE FORMER COLONIES OF GOA, MACAO/HONG KONG

Macanese teenagers of Chinese origin had little knowledge of Portugal which they learned in school. But students of Portuguese origin have a much wider knowledge of Portugal through their home environment. The influence of Portuguese culture is limited to school, music, food and religion. However, identities attributed to Portuguese include “coffee drinkers, users of strong perfumes, a sense of humor, slow workers, friendly, and as people who greet with a kiss.”

Goan participants defined Portuguese culture with terms such as fun loving, and law abiding. They also stated that it shared qualities with that of Goa: a rich heritage of music, food and dance. Some characterized them as traders who like earning money and enjoying life. Portuguese love of parties and dances has now penetrated the culture of Goa. Almost half (13) of the Goan participants know nothing about the Portuguese culture except that they speak Portuguese, wear western clothes and practise Christianity. All but two participants responded that they were “Portuguese speaking”. The Portuguese style of dress was characterized by participants as formal, rich and elegant” and is popular among Christian Goans.

In Hong Kong the participants have very little understanding of the British culture even though Britain colonised Hong Kong for more than 150 years “I don’t know much about Britain, I have the impression that the rivalry between religions there is serious, and Britain is a serious country. The study of ‘History’ let me know how strong UK once was”. Another student responded, “I know little, and I don’t feel interested in learning more”. About religion some

described it to be a Christian nation and as for language, British speak English. However, the majority of them did not know much about Britain "I've never been to Britain, and I know little about British culture". Hongkongese students study about Britain only at school and that too, if they have taken a subject of "Government and Public Affairs".

INFLUENCE OF PORTUGUESE CULTURE AND LANGUAGE ON TEENAGE IDENTITY IN GOA AND MACAO

In Macao, the Portuguese culture and language as influences on identity is limited to one language class. The stigma of being lazy, playful and naughty, characteristics assigned to Portuguese, is a deterrent to attend Portuguese schools. Even to speak Portuguese is to be identified as Portuguese. So the Portuguese culture and language are perceived as negative influences on identity. The influence of the language has declined over the years, particularly in view of the pending handover to China on December 20, 1999. As a result, it is only in the government where Portuguese is commonly used but it is not the language of communication. Some students felt that the presence or use of multiple languages influenced style of speech and gave the example of delivery of a sentence in Cantonese with the sentence structure being Portuguese.

Food habits among teenagers in Macao fluctuate between Chinese and Portuguese food and the use of chopsticks and cutlery. In this instance, Portuguese food habits seem to be favored particularly in the use of the spoon, knife, and fork, over chopsticks mainly for hygienic reasons. Macanese food reflects a blend of the Chinese and Portuguese styles of cooking.

There is no real influence on the local style of dressing. Generally, styles reflect those which are universally popular with teenagers, e.g. Tee shirts, jeans, skirts and trousers. A few participants contend that there are some traits of Portuguese culture which are emulated such as wearing jewelry, while others point to a contrast between the Portuguese and the conventional Chinese styles.

The education system in Goa has not been tremendously influenced by Portuguese culture, and the system today has been much improved with students having a wider choice of career options than existed under Portuguese rule.



Hong Kong, 1998. Photo by Eyegraphy.

Goan students have a choice between English or Portuguese, but the majority of students learn Konkani and English in public and private schools where English is the medium for instruction. There are only a few schools that teach Portuguese but it is optional. However, Portuguese is the language spoken at home in Portuguese families. Roman Catholicism is popular among Goans and their Portuguese roots are traceable by their names. Nevertheless, they contend that religion plays no role in defining their identity. Goan Christian families follow Portuguese style of dress which seems generally universal: shirts, trousers and dresses and hats for females. But Hindu families favor the Indian saree.

As in the case with participants from Macao, Portuguese cuisine has influenced the cooking style of Goans and in some instances, they prefer Portuguese

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food. The majority however, prefer Indian food which includes rice and fish curry.

INFLUENCE OF BRITISH CULTURE ON TEENAGE IDENTITY IN HONG KONG

Most participants in Hong Kong felt that British culture influenced their social culture and food habits and some spoke of their love of spaghetti and sandwiches. They tend to reject some Chinese cultural traditions such as sex roles and marriage and motherhood traditions. No direct link is perceived between British culture and their education. Only a small number (7) did not think English culture influenced their identity.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE/INDIAN CULTURE AND PORTUGUESE CULTURE IN MACAO AND GOA

In Macao, participants found few similarities between Chinese and Portuguese cultures. Some believe that the two cultures “respect their elders”, are “loyal to their countries”, but also “selfish” and help only their “own people”. The two communities are perceived to be gentle and nice.

In terms of dissimilarities the Chinese projected an appreciation and understanding of the traditional values and pointed to cultural conflict in having to accept new ideas. Some characteristics used to describe the people were hardworking by nature, strong in family value and respect and care for parents. Culturally, they fully represent every aspect of the culture but admit that the education system of Chinese schools is less open and emphasizes homework. Children are taught humility and to follow the traditional Chinese practices. In comparing their culture to the Portuguese, they believe that the latter is more independent and like to spend all their money while the former likes to save theirs.

The Portuguese think their culture is open and democratic but that their language is more difficult to learn than the Chinese language. There seem to be some contradictions in the perceptions of some participants of the other's culture. For instance, the Chinese felt that the Portuguese were friendlier and helpful by nature, yet also “proud and lazy. But Portuguese admit that they do not respect or care for

their older parents as much as the Chinese do. In terms of wardrobe, that of the Portuguese is more colorful and modern, and there is also a more modern view of Portuguese women who enjoy a higher place in their culture than Chinese women do in theirs.

Not all participants from Goa responded to this question but some of those who did stated that they share similar cultural traits with the Indian population: They both teach “respect”, “honesty”, “sincerity”, and “love for others”. Goans see themselves as more hardworking with less leisure time than the Portuguese, who enjoy a relaxed life combined with fun. In food habits, Indians eat with their hands whereas the Portuguese eat with the knife, fork and spoon. The Indian culture was described as more rigid in contrast to the Portuguese which is more easygoing and liberal.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINESE CULTURE AND BRITISH CULTURE IN HONG KONG

The cultures of the Hong Kong Chinese and the British were described as conservative with an element of conservatism used in dealing with public and legal issues, and there is a preference of Western music among the teenagers of both cultures.

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Due to the handover in 1997, some similarities in cultures have since been transformed into dissimilarities. For example, Britain is a democratic country. So too was Hong Kong under Britain, but it has since shifted to communist under China. Even as a British colony, Hongkongese seem to have shared

more culturally with China than with Britain. These differences with Britain include food habits, work ethic, marital concerns, family, religion and communication. Two of the participants give a succinct analysis of the cultural similarities and differences stating that "Hong Kong has no culture, it's a hybrid, there are elements from the West, and there are elements that belong to our Chinese heritage. There is a bit of everything. We celebrate Christmas, the successful people read English newspapers, the shops are westernized, but we also practice many Chinese customs. On Lunar New Year Eve we would all go home and dine together, and our links with our parents are very close". Some participants knew little about "what is British culture and what is Hong Kong culture".

FEELINGS OF CLOSENESS WITH CHINESE/INDIAN OR PORTUGUESE/BRITISH CULTURES

Of the Macao participants, almost half (14) felt closer to the "more Chinese" culture. These participants have limited interaction with people of other cultures and some have "no clear idea about Portuguese culture". Their daily interaction is mostly with Chinese (family and friends). They generally live a Chinese lifestyle: Chinese television, speak Chinese at home and with family and friends (all of whom are Chinese, participate in Chinese festivals and primarily eat Chinese food. The Chinese culture is so strong in Macao that one Portuguese teenager who was brought up in a Portuguese home commented on the fact that she has been tremendously influenced by the Chinese culture and lives much of the lifestyle.

The next categories selected by a large number of participants was "both cultures: Chinese and Portuguese". Feeling closer to both cultures provided the opportunity to function in two cultures by choice: "My mother sometimes talks to my father in Portuguese, but they maintain the Chinese culture, we celebrate many Chinese festivals like many other Macao families. It is like living two cultures and deciding how to divide the lifestyles".

In Hong Kong, the majority of the participants chose to be closer to the Chinese culture and then Hongkongese, then a mix of Chinese and British. Chinese as the most preferred is the culture to which they were first exposed. Their concern before the

handover were allayed when subjects on "Chinese Language", "Chinese History", and "Chinese Literature" gave them a clearer understanding of the Chinese socio-political system. "...Hong Kong is a good place, and I feel close to Britain...when I came to know more about China, she is not that bad".

As the next choice, Hongkongese culture is a blend of Chinese and British traditions and ideology. This is the experience of most of the participants from Hong Kong some of whom prefer the Hongkongese culture as they find the Chinese culture too traditional and the British too leisurely. Hong Kong struck the right note.

The Goan participants from Christian families gave a mixed response as most of them continue to experience Portuguese in their everyday lifestyle. The participants live in India and experience both cultures since many sectors of Goa have a Portuguese influence. Some of them feel like Indians because they are part of India "... I have been brought up in India after the Portuguese rule".

POST-COLONIAL EXPERIENCES OF CHANGE IN GOA, HONG KONG AND MACAO

Each country studied had similar political experiences: On March 14, 1962 Goa joined the Indian Union. When asked their views about the union or whether it should have remained a colony of Portugal, the majority of the respondents felt that it was the right thing to do. They also focused on the advantages for Goa as part of the Indian Union, and the opportunity to develop its own culture which would not have occurred under Portugal. Perhaps this participant best expresses a general view of the situation: "Goa lies in the Indian sub-continent and hence is geographically part of India". Only two students felt more progress would have been made under Portugal.

On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong's sovereignty was handed over to China to mark the end of British rule in Hong Kong. In schools students now sing the Chinese national anthem. The switch from democracy (Britain) to communism (China) created some fear in the minds of some participants, adding to the fear of a wave of immigrants from China to Hong Kong. The presence of China in the everyday life of Hong Kong is mostly felt by the present leader of Hong

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Macao, 2001. Photo by Eyegraphy.

Kong, Chief Executive Tung who was installed by the Government of China. There is always that silent fear that China may step in at any time.

After renting Macao from China for centuries, Portugal will soon be returning it to China under the "Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration". Participants were optimistic about the handover and after, and using Hong Kong as a model, they think that the economic situation will improve and job opportunities will arise. Under Chinese rule, political law and order of Macao will be brought under control. The country will be ruled by China and Chinese will become one of the official languages alongside Portuguese. Male participants seemed to have a longer term view of the handover, while female participants focused on the event of

December 20, 1999.

THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL CHANGE ON PERSONAL IDENTITY IN MACAO, GOA AND HONG KONG

Participants from Macao did not anticipate any influence on their personal lives because "I am Chinese" as one participant stated. They all felt it would not affect their personal identity. Some students had different views. One was going to retain the Portuguese passport in order to have more work opportunities in European countries; another was moving with his family to Portugal. Two were sad about the handover.

The Goan participants do not feel any influence on their personal identity because they were born after the union was created. Nevertheless, a few participants believe that the reunion made them more Indian.

In Hong Kong's case, there has not yet been full integration because Hong Kong retains the status of "special territory" with separate commercial, legal and educational systems which are principally of English origin. This helps to facilitate adaptation. Generally, students felt that the legal and political systems in Hong Kong are more efficient and led to its economic progress. Students stated that the gradual changes give the citizens enough time to understand the implications of change. The Chief Executive of Hong Kong has stressed the existing system will continue for the next 50 years.

THE PRESSURES OF TWO CULTURES EXPERIENCED BY TEENAGERS IN MACAO, GOA AND HONG KONG

Macao participants felt comfortable growing up with the two cultures and did not feel any pressures in their everyday life, while a few said they did. Some students of Portuguese origin said that they sometimes feel uncomfortable in the two cultures. Participants said they experienced pressure to speak Portuguese fluently or to follow Chinese traditions which they found challenging. One went on to say that "sometimes before I can make a decision, I must think about whether my behavior will be accepted by the Chinese culture."

When asked how they felt about themselves, their friends and family amidst the two cultures, Chinese and Portuguese, mixed feelings were expressed by friends and families. Both cultures had strong support

from the participants. There is some apprehension by some participants over the handover because they felt the country will experience political and economic difficulty and jobs will be difficult to find. Some believed that after the handover, Portuguese civilians will experience a lower social status.

Goa participants experienced no pressure from the two cultures but felt that the influence of the Portuguese culture was impacting on their everyday lifestyle in terms of language, religion, music, food, clothes and traditions. Goans felt there were two cultures of Indian and Portuguese which they believe will continue. Participants were generally comfortable with the cultural influences and recognized that the Portuguese influence was declining with time. Overall however, there was respect for all the cultures.

Participants from Hong Kong for the most part, do not feel any pressure of two cultures Chinese and British, having grown up amidst this influence from birth, and they still enjoy the duality. One student stated that had not Hong Kong experienced the influence of the British, the Hongkongese culture would have been very conservative, while another felt that it (the duality) allows one to choose between the traditions of two cultures and be free. In other words it is liberating. Politically, there is some intergenerational conflict between seniors and youngsters in the family. One participant who supports democracy is in conflict with his family who does not and this is "not easy to change". Exposure to non-traditional ideas creates a conflict between children and parents.

In responding to how they felt about themselves, their friends and family amidst the two cultures, Chinese and British, Hongkongese stated there was no influence but felt their parents are still closer to the Chinese traditions. The majority (18) of the participants did not respond to this question, however, they agreed with a group of ten (10) participants, who felt that there was no negative influence of the two cultures.

TEENAGE PERCEPTIONS OF ACCEPTANCE AND DISCRIMINATION IN MACAO, HONG KONG AND GOA

Macao participants of Chinese origin felt that Portuguese discriminated against the Chinese and were generally richer than ordinary Chinese because of their higher government positions. Some students had positive experiences with Portuguese and found them



Macao, 2001. Photo by Eyegeography.

to be friendly and passionate. Traditional, narrow-minded, hardworking and money-minded were used by the Portuguese to describe the Chinese. While some Chinese students felt that Portuguese looked down on them, Portuguese students felt that they treated the Chinese with respect.

Participants from Hong Kong stated that the British considered themselves superior and discriminated against Chinese, and that the British considered Hongkongese to be Chinese or from another culture and race who became successful under the British. But some believed that how the British treated them would depend on each individual. And, in spite of having British passports, Hongkongese do not enjoy the same status as regular citizens.

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As far as the Goans are concerned, the participants felt that because Portuguese colonised Goa they have a special affection for its people. They considered Goans as Indians with some influence of Portuguese culture.

In Macao, only two of the total participants felt that Portuguese people do influence their identity. One stated that the discriminatory nature of the Portuguese towards Chinese made him feel inferior, while others said that the opinion of Portuguese did not count at all. Others expressed a constant personal conflict going on between their Chinese and Portuguese identities.

For the majority of participants from Hong Kong it did not matter how the British think of them, and some felt the British reinforced their Chinese identity. However, one student said that how the British think of him influences his career choices. One student even expressed a desire to be white to escape discrimination and another feels inferior because of an Asian background.

Goan participants were indifferent to the way Portuguese think about the country, and they all think they have an identity of their own, which has nothing to do with how the Portuguese think of them.

CONCLUSIONS

An in depth analysis and study of the interviews reflects that colonialism in the three locations (Macao, Hong Kong, and Goa) did bring in its influence but the indigenous culture is predominant in the lives of the people on everyday basis. Colonial education was influenced by the local policies and practices and these have endured. The exposure to different cultures allows teenagers to comprehend the prevailing socio-political systems better; however, the teenagers find themselves less conscious about the culture of the colonisers and minimally interested in their political situation or colonial heritage.

The colonial authorities brought only few senior officials from Portugal and Great Britain, but the remaining tasks were attended by the local officers. Therefore, the larger population comprised local Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong and Indians in Goa. The medium of instruction in schools is Cantonese or Konkani depending on the location, and the language of the colonisers has been made optional except for schools which are Portuguese or English medium.

Teenagers prefer communicating in their mother tongue.

Given the fact that Goa has been an important part of India for three and a half decades, it is not surprising that there is not very much Portuguese culture left. The Goan experience with Portuguese rule is one of conversion to Catholicism which led to radical changes in the social and economic life of rural Goa (Rivara, 1992). Distinctions were made between Indian and Portuguese clergy who dominated the church and state with their cultural and political links with the colonizer. At times, especially during dictatorships in Portugal, the colonisers were repressive. Popular culture is an expression of the historic identity of the people because they act as filters of native sensibilities. An analysis of the Portuguese in Goan folklore (de Souza, 1997) in general indicates a negative image. This shows a strong consciousness of the dominant-subordinate relationship between the Goans and the Portuguese and dislike of the arrogance manifested by the colonisers. The after-1960s generation of Goans do not utilize or even understand many of the sayings that convey these attitudes. This generation has a strong identity with the Indian Union and gets government support to develop and maintain the Goan language. Their challenge is to go through a process in which they will integrate their colonial past with their indigenous identity. Several factors (Tse, 1999) explain the lack of Portuguese influence on the identity of the teenagers of Macao. First, although Macao was under Portuguese rule it was economically and culturally dependent on Hong Kong and mainland China. Secondly, after the 1966 riots the Macao government lost autonomy and authority and the Portuguese were only nominally the political leaders. The 1966 riots were a turning point in Macao's education with the decline in religious schools and an increase in pro-China ones (Bray, 1999). Thirdly, the influx of immigrants from the mainland and the establishment of a strong leftist influence after the Cultural Revolution in China were strong forces that shaped ethnic identity in the territory. Fourthly, the political situation of the government in Portugal prevented strong social policies in Macao and education of the local population was a very neglected area with minimal funding for Chinese students. It was only during the transitional period that the Portuguese government offered subsidies to schools that would include Portuguese in the curriculum. The government even

bought the University. The non-interventionist policy of the government resulted in a great diversity of privately run schools dominated by religious bodies. In the 16th century some called Macao the "City of Schools" because of the many missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant who set up schools for local elites and Portuguese (Chapple, 1993). Fifthly, the lack of a common school curriculum, a small student body and lack of local publishers have resulted in importing books from Hong Kong or mainland China. This, and the lack of civic education were not conducive to developing national identity in the students. Many private schools recruited teachers from mainland China and Taiwan, and their influence is evident. Adolescents in Macao are said (Tse, 1999) to have low awareness of their state and a lack of civic consciousness and a weak sense of identity with Macao.

Tse (1999) points out that Hong Kong has not had a history of party politics and even with socio-economic development in the 1970s people tended to remain alienated from and apathetic towards political participation and have a sense of political powerlessness. Unlike Macao, Hong Kong had a strong British presence and a tight control of the education system which discouraged retention of the Chinese or indigenous culture. The school curriculum was 'a-national' and the orientation of the British was to focus on British schools so that the majority of the population developed an indigenous Hongkonese culture. This was preferred to the development of a Chinese nationalism. Although Hong Kong educators had access to teachers in the mainland they preferred to import teachers from English speaking Commonwealth countries and the USA (Bray, 1999). This factor, along with curriculum models influenced education there, although they were adapted for local use. A number of studies on adolescents indicate that they show little interest in their political environment and have low awareness of their nation and state (Tse, 1999). Civic education has a short history and even the teachers in Hong Kong are not enthusiastic about political matters and teaching that subject.

Colonial education is characterized by alienation and de-politicization (Altbach & Kelly, 1984; Carnoy, 1974). This study supports this observation and the research on adolescents mentioned above. In the transition period Hong Kong downplayed British influence and the British colonial

legacy (it was not part of the history curriculum). But the Macao government took pride in the colonial culture and inserted Portuguese culture and language in the curriculum. In their civic education, which is rather recent, the slant was more conservative and on moral education and this encouraged adaptation rather than change. Both in Goa and Macao the influence of Catholicism is evident in the churches which still stand. Differences in colonial orientation and the relative degree of economic and cultural dependencies marks the differences in Goa, Macao and Hong Kong. In general, there was a lack of interest among the teenagers to questions about their identity and it is evident that neither the British nor the Portuguese did much to influence the education of the local population through investing in education. As late as 1966 government expenditure on education as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) was only 0.8 % in Macao, 3.0 % in Hong Kong. In Goa, it is part of the education budget for the whole country and educational enrolments saw a steep rise after the end of Portuguese occupation. Britain had a stronger control of the system in Hong Kong but as in its other colonies, it had a "hands off approach" to the local population on the pretext of "non-interference with the local traditions". The Portuguese were only interested in the education of the Portuguese population.

In all three locations – in Goa, Macao and Hong Kong – the post-colonial experience is distinctive because all of them reintegrated with an existing nation-state. The transition was to integration rather than to independence as in other post-colonial societies. Hong Kong and Macao will maintain a high degree of autonomy whereas Goa became a part of India at once. This is perhaps because of the strong independence movement in Goa that had a long history, and the participation of Goans in India's freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. The transition of both colonies to China and Goan independence have very different histories. As long ago as 1972 China had both colonies removed from the United Nations' category of colonial territories and the handover in both cases was peaceful. While the transition of Goa also turned out to be peaceful, it was only after the massacre of freedom fighters over a long period of time. Bray (1999) points out that there was no wave of nationalism in either Hong Kong or Macao because of reunification

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with China. Both these places have been characterized by continuity rather than change, and perhaps one reason is that in both cases they had long periods of preparation and transition. In addition, there was an assurance to maintain the pre-existing systems for at least the next 50 years.

It is possible that the a-political nature of the teenagers is in part due to the influences of

globalization which has a homogenizing influence and in which it is the market rather than any anything else that drives education and society. Teenagers are more interested in what they wear and what movies they see. And the Americanization of taste makes them identify with global issues rather than provoke them to think about themselves in their local situations. **RC**

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