

# Exploring the Catholic Church's Position in Macao

MARGARIDA CHEUNG VIEIRA\*, ZHIXIN FENG\*\*

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**ABSTRACT:** Known as the ‘City of the Name of God of the Port of Macao’ in the sixteenth century, Macao outnumbered many Western cities in terms of having the most churches and chapels per square mile. Its religious creed name bestowed a sense of importance to Portugal and Rome, and more importantly, it marks a symbolic power in the Far East. In its early period, the Church was the key provider of medical, educational and social services to the city. And at one point, Catholicism was also employed as a privilege to acquire upward mobility, a peculiar phenomenon that existed during the colonial period. This paper will explore the different positions the Catholic Church held and the causes that undermined its role in the local social service sector. The pivotal societal changes of the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s will also be examined in an attempt to demonstrate the socio-political changes that shaped the Catholic Church and its population as perceived in Macao today.

**KEYWORDS:** Catholic Church; Catholic population; Societal changes; Post-Handover Macao.

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\* Margarida Cheung Vieira is a researcher at the Institute of European Studies of Macau. She obtained her Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Southampton, UK.

*Margarida Cheung Vieira é investigadora no Instituto de Estudos Europeus de Macau. Obteve o seu doutoramento em Sociologia na Universidade de Southampton, Reino Unido.*

\*\* Zhixin Feng is an associate professor of School of Geography and Planning, Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou, China. He obtained his Ph.D. in Human Geography at the University of Bristol, UK.

*Zhixin Feng é professor associado na Faculdade de Geografia e Planeamento da Universidade de Sun Yat-sen, Cantão, China. Obteve o seu doutoramento em Geografia Humana na Universidade de Bristol, Reino Unido.*

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Apart from being marked as a casino city, Macao was hailed as the ‘City of the Name of God of the Port of Macao and City of the Holy Name of God of Macao’<sup>1</sup> as it had once more churches and chapels per square mile than many Western cities. Its religious creed not only bestowed importance to Portugal and Rome, but was equally essential to symbolise the power in the Far East. In addition to its religious mission, the Catholic Church also played a key role in the provision of local social and medical services as well as educational sectors in Macao. It was noted that, at one point, Catholicism was employed as an asset for the acquisition of upward mobility and social inclusion by local Chinese through the process of converting to the Catholic religion that dated back to the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The setback of the Catholic Church’s position was, to a large extent, resulting from the 12-3 Incident that occurred on 3 December 1966. The incident erupted after a violent conflict between Portuguese soldiers and the local Chinese. The aftermath of the incident restructured the socio-political life in Macao and shifted the Catholic Church’s position as one can witness today in Macao. Additionally, the impact of the mid-1970s incident<sup>3</sup> had also, in one way or another, impeded the Catholic population, causing it to shrink. One of the key impacts was the change in the Macanese marriage tradition, due in part to the rise of sinicisation and the ending of the Portuguese Empire in Macao.

Thus, what are the consequences of the mid-1960s’ incident and the mid-1970s’ incident? And in what ways was the Catholic Church affected? And, does the Catholic Church still play a role today in the social context and among its Catholic community?

This paper attempts to spell out the different positions the Catholic Church held and the causes that contribute to the waning of the Catholic population by exploring the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s

incidents and thereafter. This serves to demonstrate the socio-political changes that shaped the Catholic Church and Catholic population in Macao.

## THE MACAO CATHOLIC DIOCESE

Located at the south-western tip from the Pearl River, Macao offered a central link for Portuguese traders, missionaries in the East Asian region during the early sixteenth century. Its proximity to Xi River created another waterway for the Jesuits to establish their bases in inner cities such as Zhaoqing in Guangdong, and also to the southern part of China.<sup>4</sup>

In 1576, the first diocese was founded through the Bull *Super Specula Militantis Ecclesiae* under Pope Gregory XIII who gave jurisdiction over numerous ecclesiastical territories in countries such as Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia and China. As observed in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Macao was the base for multiple religious orders due to the arrival of missionaries. By 1644, the Christian population had expanded to approximately 40,000, mostly of Chinese descent,<sup>5</sup> and soon after Macao became the Diocese for Korea, Vietnam, Japan, Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, serving as a conduit for Christian evangelisation for the Jesuits and other ecclesiastical orders.<sup>6</sup> The success of Christianity also gave rise to the establishment of the first Western university in the Far East along with charitable associations for the provision of support for the poor and orphans.

In 1586, Macao became a ‘European ecclesiastical city-state’,<sup>7</sup> whereby the power of the Catholic Church was equated to that of the Senate.<sup>8</sup> In fact, before the arrival of the governor, it was the bishop, priests and missionaries who were responsible for Macao’s civil and military matters,<sup>9</sup> and Catholicism became the state religion.<sup>10</sup> In a similar vein, the Jesuits’ contribution to the social development of Macao was highly important, such as the introduction of the printing press and the formation of St. Paul’s College, which was one of the few established westernised colleges in Asia.



The Procession of Our Lady of Fátima (on every 13 May) first took place in 1929 to honour the apparition of Our Lady of Fátima in Portugal to the Three Little Shepherds on the same day in 1917. Photo by Vong Hoi Veng.

## ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Catholic Church's long history has always emphasised popular educational institutions, especially during the Portuguese colonial era. In addition to playing a vital role in providing local relief and educational services, the Catholic Church service was equally essential to provide help for the mass arrival of church personnel who came from the Chinese mainland after the Second World War.<sup>11</sup> Since the Chinese was not granted with education and relief services by the Macao Government until the 1970s, most of the social services for them relied on volunteers

and the Catholic Church. This was especially the case during the 1970s when hordes of refugees arrived in Macao from the Chinese mainland. In order to ease the demand for schools, 12 primary and secondary schools were built.<sup>12</sup> In terms of food and medical care, the refugees sought help from the branch of the American Catholic Relief Service which was stationed in Macao and offered help to the needy since 1963.

Although the Catholic Church continues to remain a chief charitable association, the impact of the 12-3 Incident clearly took on a different turn by shifting its role as a charitable pioneer, which is why it will be discussed next.



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### THE 12-3 INCIDENT AND ITS IMPACT

Deemed as a watershed, 12-3 Incident, that occurred on 3 December 1966, was in part the consequence of a violent conflict that erupted between the Portuguese soldiers and the pro-communist neighbourhood group over the building of a Chinese school. Although the protesters were forcibly discharged, it quickly escalated into a violent incident on the following day. Protesters in connection with the Cultural Revolution group in the Chinese mainland intensified the incident into a bloody riot that lasted for days attacking Portuguese government structures and the Catholic Church. Some studies argued that the Church became an attack target by the pro-communist group, largely due to their 'traditionally allied with the Portuguese government'.<sup>13</sup> The St. Joseph Secondary School was one of them. Anti-Catholic slogans were seen covering the walls and gates of the school, while teachers and students were being monitored to ensure a correct attitude was strictly adhered to.

The 12-3 Incident not only gave rise to a new leadership, but also transformed the socio-political milieu of Macao, and retarded the Church's development.<sup>14</sup> As a former provider for social services, medical and educational support during the early period in Macao, the Catholic Church was notably sidelined in terms of its influence and replaced by the pro-China associations. The so-called 'Big Three' that consists of the Federation of Labour Unions, the Neighbourhood Association and the Women's Federation ultimately became the dominant groups of Macao<sup>15</sup> that still remain active to this day. Their public support mostly targeted to the grassroots and the underprivileged community from the northern district, among others. The replacement not only undermined the Catholic Church's role in serving the public, but also tainted the Portuguese popularity among the business sector, working and grassroots cohorts.<sup>16</sup>

In terms of its social service, the Catholic Church is confined to the Caritas and a number of schools and limited services as perceived in society today. Although the Catholic Church still plays a role in Macao, its scope has inevitably shrunk. Likewise, the Catholic population as underlined in Leung also indicates a significant decline in numbers from 39,010 in 1978 to 18,122 in 2004.<sup>17</sup> Most of the people who departed were Catholics, while new immigrants arriving to Macao were mainly non-Catholics from the Chinese mainland.

The mid-1960s incident would be a typical example of changes vis-à-vis the Catholic Church of Macao. The mid-1970s incident would contribute to the decline in the practice in Catholicism among the local Macanese (we will detail this below), which had also in part caused the Catholic population to decline as seen in society today. Before we proceed, it is therefore noteworthy to introduce the ways of conversion to Catholicism in the Macao context. In the next session, this paper will discuss two ways of conversions to Catholicism found among local Chinese in Macao that dated back to the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

### CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM

Besides its charitable role as previously discussed, the Catholic Church was also utilised as a stepping stone institution to integrate people who were non-Portuguese into the Portuguese community by means of one of the following processes: converting to the Catholic religion and marriage (or concubinage).<sup>19</sup> By doing so, the converted individuals as well as their children, would be granted membership in the mixed-race community, or Macanese, as they are often referred to.

Catholicism was, and still is connected to this mixed-race community and an essential reference in how they identify themselves as members of a collectivity.<sup>20</sup> In retrospect, both processes (converting to Catholicism and marriage) were

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effective in integrating people of other ethnicities to expand the Macanese population.<sup>21</sup>

Let us return to the Macanese. They are defined as a group of people with mixed race ancestries. The first Macanese generation consisted of offspring of Portuguese men and Malay or Indian women. It was only in the nineteenth century that intermarriages between Portuguese men and Chinese (or Macanese) women began.<sup>22</sup> However, one can still be considered a Macanese even without having mixed ancestries (European and Asian), that is, by integrating through the process of converting to Catholicism. Individuals who wished to be converted usually were young and brought up speaking in Portuguese.<sup>23</sup> Very often the individual would have to surrender his or her cultural identity and be given a Portuguese Christian name, dressed in Western clothes and integrated as

members of the Macanese community. However, converting to Catholicism comes with a cost. This was obvious in 1717, when Christianity was banned by the Qing state.<sup>24</sup> People who were found defying it were considered to commit treason and would have their Chinese ethnicity symbolically erased, and men would have their long plait of hair (a symbolic figure as their allegiance to the Qing) chopped off. For the majority Chinese, conversion was deemed a disloyalty and treachery for both their ancestors and their identity. It was only after 1844 that the ban was officially lifted as a result of an increasing number of Chinese Catholics<sup>25</sup> and the inflow of refugees due to the Taiping Rebellion. While it is no longer reckoned as a conflict of ethnic identity, the converted individual was the subject to humiliation by other Chinese people during the 1930s.<sup>26</sup>



The Procession of the Passion of Our Lord can be traced back to 1708. Photo by Vong Hoi Veng.



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And even though none of the converted individuals possessed any Portuguese bloodline, they and their children were not treated differently from other Macanese and were treated as equal members of the community.<sup>27</sup> The capital of Portugueseness ingrained in their name and language allowed them to acquire a better social status (that is of a higher socio-economic status) to be on par with the Macanese and be above the local Chinese population especially during the Portuguese colonial period.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, there was also the integration by marriage between Portuguese men, mostly soldiers or sailors who opted to remain in Macao or Macanese man of low economic status, with local Chinese women, who were slaves and fishing folks.<sup>29</sup> In spite of the couple's different ethnic background, their marriage legitimatised them and their children immediate membership in the Macanese community. Very often the children would obtain a Portuguese name and were brought up as Macanese — that is 'Portuguese citizens and Catholics'.<sup>30</sup>

Akin to a converted Catholic, the individual also acquired the benefit in society, such as access to government jobs, whereas the majority of the

Chinese people did not enjoy this privilege. The affiliation with Portugueseness confers on the individual a social status, equivalent to that of an important symbolic capital that bestowed 'a traditional monopoly over the middle-ranges of the administration in the city'<sup>31</sup> through the colonial period from 1846 to 1967.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, it was also confirmed that cohabiting and a few noted cases of concubinages were prevalent between Portuguese men and local Chinese women. While the latter may appear as some sort of embarrassment in the Western world, it was nonetheless acceptable in Chinese society during the 1940s–1950s (even today) for a man of Portuguese descent to bear children with his Portuguese wife and his concubine of Chinese descent.<sup>33</sup> While such relations were considered illegitimate by marriage or short-lived, children who were born of this marriage would still be integrated as offspring by their Portuguese fathers and fully integrated as Macanese in society and not be expelled in this context.<sup>34</sup> Even though various reasons may have existed for why these integrations are constructed, conversions were deemed effective to expand the Macanese community, and a pivotal access associated with political and social privileges obtained through the process of integration.<sup>35</sup>

Due to the limited space here, the paper will only focus on two major issues in examining the reasons that may have caused the Catholic population to stagnate, as can be observed from the impact of the mid-1970s crisis and Church conservative stances in Macao.

## GENERATIONAL CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

While the mid-1970s period may appear less significant for the local Chinese in Macao, its consequence was central to transform the Christian marriage among Macanese, which was pointing to Portuguese men and Macanese or Chinese



St. Lawrence's Church (*Igreja de São Lourenço*). Built in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, it is one of the three oldest churches in Macao. Photo by Maria Ferreira Sin.

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women. The mid-1970s was an era of massive changes, where the process of social and religious identity began to shift, where the Macanese (in particular) were gradually equipping themselves and seeking for other ways to define themselves and to live in a city that would eventually be under the rule by the Chinese mainland. The cultural affiliation slowly saw a departure from the capital of Portuguese-ness<sup>36</sup> that was less noticeable, albeit it was used to define the Macanese during the colonial period. Many began to seek for new ways of identification by emphasising the omnipresent capital of Chineseness. In a similar vein, the practice that passed down from generations such as language and religion also became sinicised.<sup>37</sup>

What has emerged was a new form of intermarriage in the Macanese community. Marriages between Macanese men and Chinese women of higher social status began to increase, as well as marriages between Macanese women and Chinese men<sup>38</sup> which was less apparent in the past.<sup>39</sup> The changes in the 'ethnic' marriage pattern witnessed a shift in the usage in language and religious practices which were both vital to uphold the Macanese reference and how they identify themselves from others for generations.

The crisis in the mid-1970s which was termed the period of 'deep uncertainty for the Macanese',<sup>40</sup> was caused by the withdrawal of Portuguese troops that were stationed in Macao by the new Portuguese government after it granted independency to other former Portuguese colonies. Despite the above, the Portuguese continued to arrive in Macao. Yet, these newly arrivals were no longer soldiers or traders as it was in the past, but were replaced by technocrats and bureaucrats who brought families with them. With the lack of Portuguese partners, marriages between Portuguese and Macanese began to diminish. Yee notes that during 1961–1974, Macanese marriage comprised of 44%,

whereas between 1975 and 1990, the percentage of Macanese marriages declined to 30%.<sup>41</sup> As recorded in the same period, Macanese marriage with Chinese brides or bridegrooms increased from 42% to 64%, while intermarriages between Portuguese and Macanese dropped from 14% to just 6%.<sup>42</sup> The changes in matrimonial patterns also saw an increase of couples with different religious background and was not limited to Catholics, which is central to hinder the practice in Catholicism in the Macanese community. Coining it the 'spousal factor', the findings in Wilson and Sandomirsky highlight that a couple's religious affiliation is often influenced by one's spouse. In other words, couples who have the same religious belief have a higher possibility in sustaining the religion, as compared with couples who do not share the same religion.

Although Catholicism remains one of the core religions in Macao, there is a stark distinction between the elderly and younger generations, for example, regarding church attendance. Unlike the younger generation, older Catholics were mostly brought up to respect and adhered to certain rigid rituals and church lives, even if their religious activities are limited to saying the rosary and prayers. They rarely doubted their beliefs and faith most likely due to their lack of or limited education, whereas the younger generation, like the mid-generation, tends to seek a deeper 'self-reflection and soul-searching'<sup>43</sup> before settling to become Catholics. The education background of the younger generation allowed them to acquire a more reflective understanding of the Catholic religion and too obtain a broader understanding of other religious groups, rather than restricting themselves to settle to their own parish.

Regarding the Church in Macao, although it may appear to possess a fairly large population of followers, many are inactive Catholics who rarely participated in religious activities, thus also

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reflecting the low recorded attendance in Church activities. Therefore, is this the cause that affected the Catholic population to prosper? Chen argues that the peculiar practice Catholic Church of Macao may have been the cause of it, which points to the Catholic Church's high degree of tolerance and forgiveness, and only imposing minimum control over its Catholic members. The lack of control often generated an 'indolence ritualism'<sup>44</sup> among its Catholic members, rather than the Church imposing a religious ritual and church life to its members. In contrast to the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church in Macao appears to achieve better success, as reflected in the increasing number of followers and ways they cope with their believers as depicted in the social context. For example, Protestants generally appeared to be more open and approachable to the general public, whereas Catholic sub-group associations tend to give the public the impression that it is highly privatised and attended only by its believers and group members. Furthermore, the image that the Catholic and Protestant Church present also shows great diversity, whereby the former appears to lack a well-defined effort to indoctrinate religious values and beliefs to non-Catholics or the laity, while the latter often presents itself as a youthful, lively and outgoing church life to outsiders.<sup>45</sup> In spite of that, does this suggest that majority Catholics are in favour of the Protestant innovative preaching approach? Chen argues that there are still many existing Catholics who prioritised and opted to rest their religious belief in the long term on a church with 'strong liturgical tradition'<sup>46</sup> to uphold their faith.

In the next section the paper will examine some of the causes that may have prompted the Catholic population to decline. As stated by Leung, the growth in the Catholic population remained stagnant, given that there was no sign of evangelisation work recorded from 1990 to 2010.<sup>47</sup>

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH POPULATION

The figures<sup>48</sup> present below document the decreasing Catholic population from 1960 to 2007 in Macao.

1950–1960: With the lack of education and medical services, the increase of Chinese refugees who had to seek help from the Catholic Church of Macao caused a sharp increase of Catholics.

1960–1970: Macao recorded the highest percentage of Catholic population (9.98% in 1960; 9.40% in 1970), on account of the Catholic Church's provision of education and social-medical services.

1970–1981: Due to the lack of jobs and a poor economy, many Catholics, primarily from the middle class, left the territory.

Before the Handover: There was a further decrease in the Catholic population (many sought to leave for better opportunities overseas and also because of an uncertain future after the return of Macao to China).

The lack of data from 1981 to 1999 was due to the post-transitional period in 1987, whereby the Macao Government was going through a noticeably difficult situation.<sup>49</sup> And from the latter half of 1980s till the Handover in 1999, Macao was in a state of increasing instability and chaos caused between triads battling each other for profits that ultimately turned the city into a battleground.

In spite of the increasing population in Macao, that is from 435,235 to 531,000 during 2001–2007, the Catholic population collected from the Government shows minor changes (which is between 5% and 6.65%), while the figures from the Catholic Diocesan Office indicate a decline in the Catholic population. The distinction in figures points to the ways that data was collected, as the Catholic Diocesan Office only includes local Catholics, whereas the Government combines all Catholics in one category, which also includes temporary foreign Catholic workers in Macao.<sup>50</sup>





Celebrating the Eucharist in front of Mater Dei Church (Ruins of St. Paul's) in 2019. Photo by Maria Ferreira Sin.

If we rewind the history of Macao, the beneficial relationship between the Church and the administration might have prompted its lack of activeness, but relied on the former government, both during and after the Portuguese administrative period.<sup>51</sup> Studies show that even in the 1990s, the Church was still receiving an annual subsidy for their activities from the administration.<sup>52</sup>

More importantly, the cost of the Church inertia in not disclosing itself to non-believers to preach the Catholic faith and conversion had, to a great extent, rendered itself to a stagnant position, and is largely accountable to justify why there were no new conversions recorded<sup>53</sup> during this period. Then there was the preservation of church ruins and

ancient churches, which was yet another problem that exhausted a lot of energy from the Church before and after the Handover.<sup>54</sup>

Lastly, the confusion and triads turbulences and postponement of localisation in the local governmental sector have for the most part, precipitated a sense of insecurity in many people before the Handover. Many tend to prioritise the importance of one's 'own corporal well-being'<sup>55</sup> rather than to seek time and interest to engage in transcendental and religion matters, that somewhat reflected many of the Catholics in Macao.<sup>56</sup> In truth, there are less people who felt the necessity and need to reach out to the Catholic Church for help as it did in the past, as a result of the local developing economy.



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### CONCLUSION

The impact of the mid-1960s political upheavals in Macao has unprecedentedly shifted the Catholic Church's role in the social service to be replaced by the pro-communist groups for the provision of help to the underprivileged community at large. As compared to that during the Portuguese administration period, the Catholic Church's position has undoubtedly been relegated, with fewer activities than it had before the aforementioned incident.

In recent years, there are signs that the Catholic Church of Macao is gradually changing its image by becoming less passive and more open to the public. As a start, other religious groups, for example the Protestants, are now invited to participate in praying and reading the Bible together with Catholics (but it does not apply to all Protestants, in principle, there is only a Protestant Church that gathered together on an occasional basis). In terms of education, some Catholic schools are starting to recruit Protestant teachers as well as accepting students from Buddhist groups' referrals. And unlike the practice in the past, a Catholic believer is now acceptable to have a non-believer husband or wife and be granted the permission to hold the wedding ceremony at a Catholic church.

In a larger context, the discontentment pertaining to the Catholic Church's closed-off attitude, as practised by many believers, underlined that the Church should activate itself and adopt a less conservative stance to acknowledge, rather than to 'bypass social issues or moral disputes in a more complex society'<sup>57</sup> like Macao. More importantly, many reckoned the Catholic Church should take the initiative to reclaim its spiritual role in society on the whole, given that there are more people reaching out for help from other religious institutions. This situation strictly applied to some Catholics who

also left to rest their faith in either Buddhism or Protestant groups.

Although the change of sovereignty brought instability to many people including Catholics, who left Macao, the Catholic Church itself is still intact in its entirety. In contrast to the situation before 1988, Macao finally had its first Chinese bishop. During 1988–2003, Bishop Domingos Lam's role was pivotal in bridging the Catholic Church of Macao, the Macao SAR Government and Beijing. Even official trips to Beijing and Guangdong Province continued after the Handover in late 1999 between the Catholic leaders of Macao and China religious official, as well as the Macao bishop and his associates. In 1995, the Catholic tertiary education institution, which is a private university supervised by the Catholic University of Portugal, was established. And in 2000, the School of Religious Studies was also launched at the University of Saint Joseph in providing theology training for church personnel members in the nearby area. In late August 2007, 20 priests from various parts of China were sent to the University of Saint Joseph for a two-week theology programme.

From the political standpoint, Bishop Lam was clear to mark his apolitical stance by confirming that the Catholic Church of Macao would refrain from any matters pertaining to the Catholic Church of China, with the exception only by the invitation of China.<sup>58</sup> In that vein, the two bishops who succeeded Bishop Lam thereafter shared identical political stance. In fact, the Catholic Church has been rather careful to abstain from engaging in any political matters or expressions, as there are chances that it may upset certain conservative people in power from the Church as well as in society. Despite the discontentment raised by some Catholics, many still believe that the Church is gradually making

progress in opening itself to reach out to the increasing numbers of ethnic minorities and migrant workers residing in Macao as a result of the gaming industry. In this regard, local Catholic masses have introduced other languages, such as Korean, Mandarin, Vietnamese and Tagalog in addition to Portuguese, English and Cantonese for people of other ethnicities to participate. In addition, Sunday masses (Portuguese only) can now be streamed online for people who

have difficulties in attending. The social media platform has also become highly effective particularly during the start of the pandemic to reach out to people who were unable to attend Sunday mass services. In sum, many believers hope that the Church will continue to improve and sustain its public role as a core spiritual leader, so as to strengthen and bind the Catholic community closely together as well as to cope with the unsettling changes in society at large.<sup>RC</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 Anders Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China: And of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China* (Hong Kong: Viking Hong Kong Publications, 1992), 12.
- 2 Zhidong Hao, *Macau: History and Society* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 124.
- 3 It was during this period that the capital of Portugueseness was rendered less important as vehicle for social identification for the Macanese. As a result, new forms of identification began to emerge, which was referred to the omnipresence of Chinese culture in society. João de Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe: Person, Culture and Emotion in Macao* (London: Continuum, 2002), 146.
- 4 Hao, *Macau*, 13.
- 5 Hao, *Macau*, 127.
- 6 Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999), 52.
- 7 Geoffrey C. Gunn, *Encountering Macau: A Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557–1999* (Boulder: Westview, 1996), 53.
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- 9 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 7.
- 10 Hao, *Macau*, 129.
- 11 Beatrice Leung, "Church–State Relations in Hong Kong and Macau: From Colonial Rule to Chinese Rule," *Citizenship Studies* 5, no. 2 (2001): 205.
- 12 Leung, "Church–State Relations in Hong Kong and Macau," 205; Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos, *Jiaoyu diaocha* (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos, 1994).
- 13 Leung, "Church–State Relations in Hong Kong and Macau," 207.
- 14 Leung, "Church–State Relations in Hong Kong and Macau," 207.
- 15 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 11.
- 16 Leung, "Church–State Relations in Hong Kong and Macau," 206.
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- 18 Manuel Teixeira, "The Macanese," *Review of Culture (English Edition)*, no. 20 (2<sup>nd</sup> Series) (1994): 101.
- 19 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 22.
- 20 Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 43.
- 21 João de Pina-Cabral, "The 'Ethnic' Composition of Macao," *Review of Culture (English Edition)*, no. 20 (2<sup>nd</sup> Series) (1994): 230.
- 22 Hao, *Macau*, 104.
- 23 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 23.
- 24 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 8.
- 25 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 23.
- 26 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 23.
- 27 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 165.
- 28 Herbert S. Yee, *Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 134. During the colonial period (1846–1967), individuals who were affiliated with the capital of Portugueseness were considered a beneficial asset in Macao (Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 68) both as a status in society and for upward mobility.
- 29 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 39.
- 30 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 164.
- 31 João de Pina-Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Personal identity and ethnic ambiguity: naming practices among the Eurasians of Macao," *Social Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1994): 118.
- 32 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 5.



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- 33 João de Pina-Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, *Taifeng zhi xiang — Aomen tusheng zuqun dongtai*, trans. Mónica Chan (Macao: Instituto Cultural, 1995), 45.
- 34 Pina-Cabral and Lourenço, “Personal identity and ethnic ambiguity,” 117. The disparity between the British and the Portuguese that used to define a mixed-race individual is ‘a Portuguese *mestiço* was called Portuguese; while an English *mestiço* was called half-caste’ (Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 22–23). The difference in naming a mixed-race person as delineated in the former, tends to carry a lesser derogatory term as depicted in the latter, even though both were used to name the offspring of Macanese families in Macao and Hong Kong respectively (Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 22–23).
- 35 Pina-Cabral and Lourenço, *Taifeng zhi xiang*, 44.
- 36 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 41.
- 37 Margarida Cheung Vieira, “Changing Macanese Identities in the Post-Handover Era” (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2016).
- 38 Jorge Morbey, “Aspects of the ‘Ethnic Identities’ of the Macanese,” *Review of Culture (English Edition)*, no. 20 (2<sup>nd</sup> Series) (1994): 207.
- 39 Morbey notes that the father figure is assumed as the head of the family, therefore it is his cultural references, but not the mother’s, that will become the main references, such as the decision in the children’s education, language (Morbey, “Aspects of the ‘Ethnic Identities,’” 207) and in the religious belief among others.
- 40 Pina-Cabral, *Between China and Europe*, 173.
- 41 Yee, *Macao in Transition*, 136.
- 42 Yee, *Macao in Transition*, 136.
- 43 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 26.
- 44 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 29.
- 45 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 29.
- 46 Chen, *Catholics and Everyday Life in Macau*, 30.
- 47 Beatrice Leung, “The Portuguese Appeasement Policy in Macau’s Church and State Relations,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 19, no. 64 (March 2010): 387.
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