

Macau's Mass Political Culture: Continuity and Change

By Herbert S. Yee

Political culture in this study is defined as citizens' subjective orientations to politics. Based on two surveys of Macau residents conducted in 1991 and 1999 respectively, this article compares the Macau people's concerns about public affairs, conceptions of democracy, orientation toward political participation and political efficacy in the two periods. The findings indicate that there is both continuity and change in Macau's political culture. Like the early 1990s the current political culture is a mixture of traditional Chinese values and Western democratic values. Yet the overall democratic consciousness of the populace has increased with an emphasis on the election. Macau is in a transition from subject to participant orientation.

Keywords: political culture; political participation; political efficacy; democratic values

Since the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on the question of Macau in April 1987, Macau has been in a transition from a Portuguese colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Macau SAR's Basic Law which was endorsed by the National People's Congress of the PRC in March 1993 granted the enclave political autonomy under the banner of "one country, two systems". Macau after 19 December 1999 will be governed by the Macau people themselves instead of the Portuguese colonizers. Are the Macau people prepared for ruling Macau? What is the political culture of the Macau masses? Is the mass political culture conducive to democratization in Macau?

Almond and Verba define political culture as psychological orientation toward political objects¹ They classify societies into three different political



cultures according to their respective political orientations, namely, the "parochial", "subject" and "participant" cultures.² The findings of a 1991 survey indicate that Macau has a mixed political culture, representing a combination of subject and participant orientations.³ It is a mixture of traditional Chinese values of respect of authority, patience, and tolerance and the modern Western value of open competition⁴ What are the special features of the current mass political culture in Macau? Is it similar to or different from the culture of the early 1990s? This article examines the continuity and change of Macau's mass political culture in the 1990s and its implications for the city-state's political development.

Research Method

The data for this analysis are based on two surveys of Macau residents conducted in 1991 and 1999 respectively. Both surveys included all Macau residents above eighteen years of age who had resided in Macau for no less than one year. The 1991 sample was a systematic selection from a full list of the addresses of all living quarters in Macau excluding squatters, which constitute less than 2 percent of the enclave's population.⁵ The survey was conducted during a seven-month period from April to October 1991. Our interviewers approached the living quarters and randomly selected one qualified person from among those living in the residence. The number of successful interviews was 663. The successful response rate was 65 percent. The 1999 survey was a telephone survey conducted in January. Telephone numbers were systematically selected from the local Telephone Directory and one qualified person from the residence was randomly selected by the Kish Grid method. The number of successful interviews was 496. The successful response rate was 60 percent. Our two samples are quite representative of the population of Macau. Table 1 indicates that in terms of sex distribution, the male respondents are slightly over-represented by 2-3 percent. In terms of age distribution, old people aged 60 and above are under-represented in the 1999 survey. Many old people failed to complete the twenty-minute telephone interview because of difficult hearing over the telephone. It is more difficult to compare the education level of our sample respondents to the population because of the different ways of composing the figures.⁶ Nevertheless, people from different levels of education are well

represented. Moreover, indirect comparison of income distribution also suggests that people from different income groups are well represented in the two samples.

TABLE 1 Sample Profile and Macau's Population Profile
(in Percent)

	Sample profile		Population profile	
	1991	1999	1991	1999
Sex				
Male	50.2	51.6	48.5	48.0
Female	49.8	47.4	51.5	52.0
Age				
18-19	4.2	--		
20-29	26.5	28.7**	27.7	20.0**
30-39	32.5	30.2	31.1	29.1
40-49	16.8	28.1	14.8	25.8
50-59	7.7	9.9	8.0	10.4
60 and above	12.3	3.0	14.7	14.6
Education				
No Education	7.6	2.0	11.5	9.2
Some primary school	14.7	5.4	15.2	12.5
Finish primary school	18.0	17.3	29.4	27.4
Form 1 - Form 5	27.8	20.8	26.7	27.0
Finish high school	27.1	37.7	11.1	16.1
University	4.8	16.7	6.1	7.8

* The population profile is based on the 1991 population census data and the 1998 (estimated) data provided by the Census and Statistics Department, the Government of Macau.

** This age group includes those who are 18 and 19 years old.

Concerns about Public Affairs

Both the 1991 and 1999 surveys indicate that the Macau residents are quite concerned about public affairs: 66.7 percent and 71.4 percent of the respondents in 1991 and 1999 respectively followed “everyday” or “often” the news on television, in the press or on radio (see Table 2). It is interesting to note, however, that the Macau people have tended to engage more in discussing government affairs with their friends and relatives than before (see Table 3). One probable explanation is that the impending return of Macau to China has aroused public interest in and concerns about government affairs. Nevertheless, discussion of public affairs among private circles are still rare: 60.9 percent of those surveyed in 1999 “rarely” or “never” discussed government affairs with friends and relatives. This reflects the traditional Chinese culture of refraining from

discussing politics with others is still strong among the Macau residents.

TABLE 2 Concerns about Public Affairs (in Percent)

	Everyday	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	No opinion	N
Do you follow the news on television, in the press or on radio?						
1991 survey	41.8	24.9	22.8	10.3	0.2	662
1999 survey	48.6	22.8	21.8	6.8	-	496

TABLE 3 Discussion of Government Affairs with Friends and Relatives (in Percent)

	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	No opinion	N
Do you discuss government affairs with your friends or relatives?						
1991 survey	5.4	22.8	32.9	37.5	1.4	662
1999 survey	6.3	32.9	34.7	26.2	-	496

Conceptions of Democracy

Citizens' correct understanding or conceptions of democracy is essential to a stable democracy. In the 1991 survey, high on the list of conceptions of democratic government is the traditional Chinese expectation of a good government: 30 percent of respondents believed that a democratic government is one that "listens to public opinion and takes care of citizens' interests." Second on the list is freedom of speech, with 21.2 percent choosing this Western concept as one of the crucial elements of democracy. Third on the list is a government elected by the people, with only 9.6 percent choosing this important Western concept (see Table 4). Apparently our respondents were more concerned about the performance of a government than the process of democracy. In the 1999 survey, however, the ranking of democratic values was almost reversed. High on the list is an elected government which is the hallmark of Western democracy: 32.3 percent of respondents chose this concept. Second on the list is the traditional Chinese value of an omnipotent government which takes care of citizens' interests, with 26 percent

choosing this concept. It is followed by freedom of speech, with 22.9 percent choosing this concept (see Table 4). The new emphasis on an elected government by the Macau residents is a big step forward in Macau's democratization. After three elections of the Legislative Assembly in the 1990s,⁷ which had drawn high voter turn-outs,⁸ the Macau residents have apparently attained a new election culture.

TABLE 4 Conceptions of Democracy (in Percent)

A What is a democratic government?*	1991 (N=663)	1999 (N=496)
1. Listens to public opinion and takes care of citizens' interest	30.0	26.0
2. People have freedom of speech	21.2	22.9
3. Government elected by the people	9.6	32.3
4. A just and clean government	8.1	0.9
5. Government acts according to law	4.8	3.4
6. An efficient government	4.8	0.9
7. Government structured on the principles of "checks and balances" between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches	3.0	1.7
8. An open decision-making process	-	10.0
9. A responsible government	-	2.9
10. Respects human rights	-	2.0
11. Others	13.3	18.5
12. Don't know / no opinion	39.6	34.5

* In the 1991 survey this is a close-ended question which lists nine items including "others" and "don't know / no opinion;" respondents are allowed to choose several items. In the 1999 survey this is an open-ended question.

Nevertheless, like the earlier survey, the recent survey indicates that very few Macau citizens have realized the importance of the principles of "checks and balances" between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches in a democracy: only 1.7 percent of the respondents chose this concept in the 1999 survey. The Macau people are probably influenced by Beijing's propaganda against the Western concept of "separation of powers" and its blunt rejection to introduce such a concept to China and Hong Kong / Macau. Beijing keeps selling the idea that only an "executive-led" government is suitable to Hong Kong / Macau local people. Another strong, lingering tradition is the stress on the instrumental value of governance. Like the survey of the early 1990s, over 60 percent of the respondents in the 1999 survey agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "it really does not matter if a government is

democratic or not as long as it can improve people's livelihood". In short, despite an emerging election culture, the Macau people, like their parents or grandparents, are still more interested in the output or performance of the government than the process of governing.

Orientation toward Political Participation

One major difference in findings between the earlier survey and the recent survey is Macau citizens' attitude toward the colonial government. In the 1991 survey, 55.5 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: "We should obey the government because the government is always concerned about us." In the 1999 survey, however, only 14 percent of the respondents would let the colonial government have a free hand to do the job because they believed that the government is always concerned about its citizens while 73.3 percent of the respondents thought the opposite (see Table 5). The finding suggests that: (1) the Macau people no longer trust and have in effect cast a vote of no-confidence on the incompetent colonial government; and (2) the Macau citizens are no longer the traditional, obedient "subject" of the government. In fact, according to findings in another recent telephone survey, the Macau people are very disappointed with the colonial government's failure to develop the enclave's depressed economy and to maintain the public order.⁹ The silent majority are no longer silent; they criticize government policies in both private and public circles.

TABLE 5 Orientation toward Political Participation (in Percent)

Do you agree with the Following?	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	
1. An ordinary citizen should not participate in politics.						
1991 survey	0.8	24.0	54.8	1.8	18.7	663
1999 survey	0.2	20.0	57.4	4.0	18.4	496
2. Political activity is a clean and noble job.						
1991 survey	0.8	44.1	28.7	1.4	25.1	663
1999 survey	1.0	30.0	37.2	1.2	30.6	496
3. A good citizen has the obligation to vote in the election.						
1991 survey	5.7	79.5	3.3	0.2	11.3	663
1999 survey	9.5	70.0	8.1	0.2	12.3	496
4. To be involved in politics is dangerous.						
1991 survey	3.6	40.1	31.0	0.8	24.5	663
1999 survey	2.2	37.4	29.7	0.0	30.7	496
5. We should obey the government because the government is concerned about us.						
1991 survey	2.6	52.9	26.8	0.9	16.7	663
1999 survey	0.4	13.6	65.8	7.5	12.8	496
6. In Macau's society, one can easily be used by other people.						
1991 survey	1.2	47.2	31.4	0.2	20.1	663
1999 survey	2.0	34.7	42.2	0.8	20.2	496
7. Most people in Macau are sincere, reliable and trustworthy.						
1991 survey	1.2	56.3	25.0	0.9	16.6	663
1999 survey	3.8	51.1	24.6	1.6	18.8	496
8. We shall always fight for what we believe in.						
1991 survey	5.3	77.0	7.6	0.2	10.0	663
1999 survey	8.9	70.8	6.9	0.0	13.5	496
9. Don't quarrel with people, be patient and reconcilable whenever possible.						
1991 survey	2.4	51.0	33.9	1.2	11.5	663
1999 survey	2.8	47.5	30.2	2.2	17.2	496

Partly because of their disappointment with the colonial government, the Macau people in general do not have high esteem

for politicians. Table 5 shows that only 31 percent of the respondents in the recent survey agreed or strongly agreed that “political activity is a clean and noble job”, a drop of 14 percent from the 1991 survey. Like their counterparts in the beginning of the decade, our recent survey indicates that a plurality of Macau citizens are still hesitant to be personally involved in political activities. Nevertheless, 61.4 percent of respondents believed that all Macau citizens, regardless of social and economic status, should have equal right to participate in politics, while 79.5 percent believed that a good citizen should vote in the election.

Another noted continuity of Macau people’s attitudes is their trust toward their fellow citizens, belief in competition and tolerance of different opinions. Despite economic recession and worsening public order, Macau people’s trust toward and patience with their fellow citizens have not shown any sign of significant decline. As indicated in Table 5, 51.1 percent of respondents agreed and 3.8 percent strongly agreed that most people are sincere, reliable and trustworthy, although in answer to a different question 36.7 percent (it is worthy to note that this is a 12 percent drop from the 1991 survey) of respondents cautioned that one can easily be used by other people in Macau society. Macau people appear to be quite tolerant of different opinion: 47.5 percent agreed and 2.8 percent strongly agreed that one should not quarrel with people and should always be patient and reconcilable. Yet at the same time, 70.8 percent of respondents agreed and 8.9 percent strongly agreed that people shall always fight for what they believe in. In short, similar to the early 1990s, the Macau culture of the late 1990s is a mixture of traditional Chinese value of patience, tolerance and trustfulness with the modern Western value of fighting for what one believes in.¹⁰

Political Efficacy

Political efficacy is an important indicator of participant political culture. Only when citizens are confident of the impact of their political actions on government policies will they incline to take such actions. There are two aspects of political efficacy, namely civic competence and subject competence: the former refers to a citizen's capacity to influence government decision-making while subject competence refers to a citizens’ confidence in dealing with administrative officials according to a set of regular rules. Findings

in our 1991 survey suggested that the Macau people were low in both civic and subject competence.¹¹ Has political efficacy among the Macau citizens increased over the last decade? Table 6 and Table 7 indicate that there is little change in either civic competence or subject competence of Macau citizens in the last decade. Like the earlier survey, only a very small proportion (1.8 percent) of respondents felt that they definitely or most likely could influence government policies, while 85.7 percent felt that they had little or no influence at all. Likewise, only 12.2 percent of respondents were confident that if they asked government departments for help, the concerned departments would seriously help them solve problems, while 41.2 percent did not have confidence in government departments. Apparently, the Macau people have little confidence in dealing with the Portuguese colonial government which, in the eyes of the Macau citizens, has lost the will and capability to govern in the final years of colonial rule. Indeed, it will be interesting to find out if the political efficacy of the Macau citizens will increase after the return of Macau to China when the enclave, according to the Basic Law of the Macau Special Administrative Region, is supposed to be ruled by the Macau residents themselves.

TABLE 6 Civic Competence (in Percent)

	Definitely can	Most likely	Occasionally	Rarely	Definitely cannot	No opinion	N
Can you influence government policies?							
1991 survey	0.5	3.2	2.0	18.2	76.1	-	658
1999 survey	0.2	1.6	3.2	17.8	67.9	9.3	496

TABLE 7 Subject Competence (in Percent)

	Definitely likely	Most likely	Perhaps	Most unlikely	Definitely not	No opinion	N
If you ask some government departments for help, do you think they will seriously help you solve your problem?							
1991 survey	1.5	12.5	32.5	19.7	11.0	22.8	661
1999 survey	0.5	11.7	30.7	31.9	9.3	15.8	496

Macau people's disillusion with the colonial government is reflected in the significant decrease in the proportion of residents who are willing to deal with the government. When asked whether they would take action to oppose government's wrong-doing that

had seriously affected their personal interest, only 22.7 percent of respondents in the 1999 survey indicated that they would definitely or most likely take action, a drop of 13 percent from the 1991 survey. However, it is interesting to note that those who did indicate that they would take action against government's wrong-doing in the 1999 survey would opt for more channels to voice their grievances than their counterparts in 1991. Table 8 indicates that more than three times of the respondents in the 1999 survey, as compared to respondents in the 1991 survey, would complain to government departments, ask legislators or social and citizen groups for help; those who would write or call up the local press, television or radio stations also doubled. In other words, Macau's political activists are increasingly more aggressive and opt for a wider range of options to oppose government's wrong-doing. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that, like political activists in the early 1990s, few current political activists would opt for radical actions such as protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, and strikes. Compared to their counterparts in Hong Kong, Macau's political activists are far more conservative and restrained.

TABLE 8 Possible Actions against Government Wrong-doing
(in Percentage)

What possible action would you take against government's Wrong-doings?	1991	1999
1. Complain to government departments	19.0	59.7
2. Ask legislators for help	11.3	41.3
3. Write or call up the local press, television and radio stations	20.1	38.8
4. Ask social and citizen groups	9.1	28.1
5. Protests, demonstrations, sit-ins and strikes	13.2	11.2
6. Other actions	25.6	6.5
7. Don't know / no opinion	24.2	18.9

Background Variables

In the 1991 survey, we found that women, as compared to men, had less time to read the newspaper or to watch television news. Yet women, like men, were highly critical of government policies; they also held a positive attitude toward political participation and believed that one shall always fight for what one believes in. The 1991 data clearly indicated that Macau's women were no longer

passive or apathetic toward political participation.¹² The 1999 survey tends to confirm the trend of increasing female participation in politics. There is still a gap between men and women in their concerns about public affairs, but it has been considerably narrowed: 75 percent of our male respondents followed the news from the radio, television, or newspaper “everyday” or “often” (same as the 1991 survey), while 67.6 percent of the female respondents did so (a 9 percent increase over 1991). In attitudes toward other aspects of politics such as government performance, political participation, tolerance of dissenting opinion, and belief in open and fair competition, we have found no significant difference between male and female respondents in our recent survey. A new generation of active, sophisticated, and independent-minded women have gradually replaced the passive, naive, and dependent-minded older generation of women. Increasing active female participation in politics is an irreversible trend in Macau politics.

On our 1991 survey, we found that young people, as compared to the older generation, were more critical of the government’s performance, more active toward political participation, more willing to fight for what they believe in, yet tended not to trust others and were less tolerant of dissenting opinions.¹³ In our 1999 survey, we still found a significant gap between the younger and older generations toward the traditional virtue of unlimited patience: of our respondents, 71.4 percent of those aged 50 and above agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “one should not quarrel with people but be patient and reconcilable whenever possible”, while only 38.3 percent of those in the 18-29 age group did so. However, in attitudes toward other aspects of politics, we have found no significant difference between the 1991 and 1999 data across different age groups. In other words, there is a tendency toward convergence of political attitudes between the older and younger generations. One possible explanation is the impending return of Macau to China and the disappointing performance of the colonial government that have generated a consensus among the Macau citizens, across the age groups, toward political issues.

Our findings in the 1991 survey supported a positive relationship between education and political development. The better-educated and hence better-informed respondents were more critical of government performance and more participant-oriented. They also tended to reject the traditional values of passivity and

submissiveness to authority and social harmony and opted for a more open and competitive polity.¹⁴ Our 1999 findings tend to reconfirm the 1991 findings: of the respondents, 83 percent of the university graduates followed the news from the radio, television, or newspaper “everyday” or “often,” while only 55 percent of those who have attained primary school or no education did so. At the same time, 50 percent of the former and 19 percent of the latter groups discussed government affairs with their friends and relatives. More importantly, 82 percent of the university-educated disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that “one should obey the government because the government is always concerned about its citizens,” 30 percent higher than the lowly-educated group. The better-educated also tend to have a better understanding of Western democracy and a higher level of civic and subject competence. Table 1 indicates that the education level of the Macau people has significantly increased over the last decade. It is thus quite accurate to say that the Macau citizens are politically more participant-oriented than a decade ago.

Another important background variable is length of residence in Macau. Our findings indicate that there is a positive relationship between the length of residence and the concerns about public and government affairs. In our 1999 survey, for example, 75 percent of those respondents who were born and grew up in Macau followed the news from the radio, television, or newspaper “everyday” or “often”, while only 51 percent of those who have lived in Macau for less than ten years did so. At the same time, 45 percent of the former “often” or “occasionally” discussed government affairs with others, while only 17 percent of the new immigrants did so. In the 1991 population census only 40.1 percent of the Macau residents were local born. This increased to 44.1 percent in the 1996 interim population census. It is estimated that at the turn of the 21st century close to half of the current Macau population will be local-born.¹⁵ The future Macau SAR government is likely to be confronted with an informed, concerned, critical, and participant-oriented public.

Continuity and Change

Almond and Verba distinguish three levels of orientation toward the political system, in particular its inputs and outputs, namely the cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations.¹⁶

Findings from our 1991 and 1999 surveys suggest that Macau citizens' cognitive orientation is positively linked to education. The better-educated are normally better-informed and hence more knowledgeable about the structure and functions as well as the performance of the political system. The more they know about politics, the more they are concerned about public and government affairs, and tend to discuss public affairs with friends and relatives. As the overall education level of the Macau people has significantly increased over the last decade, our findings confirm our expectation that the local residents are better-informed and more concerned about public affairs than a decade ago.

Evaluative orientation is also positively linked to education. The better-educated tend to be more critical of government performance. We are thus not surprised to find out that Macau citizens are more critical of government policies than before. We must point out, however, that education is not the only, and in the case of Macau, not the most important, variable that affects a citizen's evaluative orientation. The incompetence of the Portuguese colonial government as indicated by the depressed economy and worsening public order has greatly disappointed Macau citizens from all walks of life. Indeed, increasing criticisms against government performance in recent years is largely a result of government incompetence.

Affective orientation is more complicated. A citizen's affective orientation or feelings toward the political system is partly affected by the performance of the government. In the 1999 survey, only 35 percent of our respondents were proud of being Macau citizens, a drop of 18 percent from the 1991 survey. In the early 1990s, the Macau people were proud of the enclave's double-digit economic growth as well as its social and public stability. In the recent survey, many of our respondents indicated that they could find nothing to be proud of. Yet many still have a strong feeling toward Macau especially the older residents, who have spent most of their life in Macau, and the local-born who have an emotional attachment to their birth place.

It is important to note that a new election culture has emerged in Macau. After experiencing three legislature elections in the 1990s, many Macau citizens begin to realize the importance of an elected government in their conceptualization of democracy. "An elected government" has replaced a government that "listens to

public opinion and takes care of citizens' interests" as the foremost essential element of democracy in the minds of many Macau citizens. In other words, the traditional instrumental value of an omnipotent government is no longer the dominant value of the local residents. Their understanding of democracy is converging with the Western democratic values.

Yet some deep-rooted traditional values remain strong among the local populace. The Macau people in general have low esteem for politicians; they incline to believe that to be involved in political activities could be dangerous. Like their grandparents or great-grandparents in the traditional Chinese society, they do not think they can influence government policies, or the concerned government departments would seriously respond to their grievances. Few would thus take actual political actions to oppose government wrong-doings. Moreover, the traditional virtue of unlimited patience and tolerance toward personal relations and authority is still highly respected among the local populace.

Political culture is a result of a long process of socialization. An individual's orientation toward politics is affected by the family environment, education, and the political atmosphere of the society. An earlier study indicates that traditional big families in Macau are fast vanishing and replaced by small nuclear families.¹⁷ Most nuclear families are no longer man-centered or father-dominated; family decisions are usually made by both parents after consultations with their children. Many children do feel they have some influence on family decision-making.¹⁸ In other words, the newer generation have grown up in modern, democratic families. As they are usually better-educated than their parents and grandparents, they are also better-informed, more concerned about public affairs, participant-oriented, and more receptive of Western democratic values. Furthermore, the global and regional wave of democratization, such as the Taiwan and Hong Kong experience, will no doubt have some impact on the Macau citizens' attitude toward politics. We therefore expect the trend toward a participant culture among the Macau populace will continue in the future.

Implications for Political Development in Macau

Findings from our two surveys, especially the 1999 survey, have implications for Macau's future political development as well as policy implications for the future SAR government. First and

foremost, our findings suggest that the Macau people are very unhappy with the colonial government: they distrust the Portuguese government and have low esteem for government officials. Indeed, the legitimacy of the colonial government is in doubt. The foremost task of the SAR government is thus to restore the legitimacy of the government among the Macau populace by restoring public order and taking the enclave out of economic recession.

Second, the SAR government should open the policy decision-making process to the public, hold more formal and informal consultations with citizen and social groups on policy issues, and hold more open forum or public hearings on political, and social, as well as issues concerning the livelihood of the Macau citizens. Macau is merely a small city-state with a population of less than half a million and an area of about 20 square kilometers. There is no conflict of regional interests. As the overall education level of its citizens rises and a participant culture emerges, Macau may be an ideal city-state to practice a direct-participation style of democracy. Due to restraints imposed by the Macau Basic Law, the future SAR government is not popularly elected and hence weak in legitimacy. To encourage the Macau citizens to directly participate in politics is one way to increase the legitimacy of the SAR government.

Third, in 2009, according to the Basic Law, the year for reviewing the proportion of directly elected, indirectly elected, and appointed seats in the Legislative Assembly, the SAR government should greatly increase the proportion of directly elected seats from the current one-third to two-third of the total seats and abolish the appointed seats. In the 1999 survey, 94 percent of respondents indicated that their ideal political system is democracy and 75 percent believed that a democratic political system is suitable to Macau. To increase the proportion of directly elected seats, or indeed to make all legislature seats to be elected through universal suffrage, is the only way to meet the political aspirations of the Macau citizens.

Last but not least, the traditional "consensus politics" in the Chinese community which is based on compromises between the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, trade unions, neighborhood or *kaifong* associations, and other professional, citizen, social and religious groups may no longer be viable in the post-1999 Macau SAR. The politically aspired citizens and the emerging election culture will challenge the traditional intermediate role between the

mass public and the government of the various societal groups and community leaders. The Macau people may no longer be satisfied with a passive political role. They may increasingly prefer to deal directly with the government. Moreover, they would like to elect their own leaders who are accountable to them. In any case, traditional community leaders are losing their influence in the increasingly pluralistic society. Hong Kong style party politics may be introduced to the enclave in one or two decades. The days when one or two community leaders can change the course of Macau's politics are gone forever.

Endnotes

- 1 Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 15.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 3 Herbert S. Yee, Liu Bo-long and Ngo Tak-wing, "Macau's Mass Political Culture," *Asian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (December 1993), pp. 177-200.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 For a detailed description of sampling method of the 1991 survey see Yee, Liu and Ngo, "Macau's Mass Political Culture," p. 180.
- 6 For example, the statistics on university education provided by the Census and Statistics Department only include those who had attended formal tertiary education. It is estimated that in 1998 about 10 percent of the adult population had received tertiary education through distance learning including degree programmes offered by the local open learning institutes, and mainland and overseas universities. Thus the proportion of attaining university education among the Macau citizens is probably underestimated by the Census and Statistics Department.
- 7 The three elections for the legislature were held in 1991 (by-election), 1992, and 1996 respectively.
- 8 The voter turn-out rate for the 1991 by-election was 18.6 percent. However, the 1992 and 1996 elections had drawn respectively 59.3 percent and 64.5 percent registered voters to vote.
- 9 The telephone survey was conducted in December 1998 under the writer's supervision. The sample was randomly selected. We successfully completed 588 telephone interviews. The respondents were most worried about the worsening public order as well as the depressed economy which has shown negative growth in the last three years.

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- 10 The statement that people shall fight for what they believe in may imply both Chinese and Western values. Many heroes, patriots, and sages in traditional China subscribed to the view that one should fight for one's beliefs, uphold one's moral integrity, and not yield to external pressure and threats. Nevertheless, Western values insist that everyone should be given the chance to fight for what one believes in a fair and open competition.
- 11 See Herbert S. Yee, Liu Bo-long, and Ngo Tak-wing, *The Political Culture of the Macau Chinese* (Macau: The Macau Foundation, 1993), pp. 68-77.
- 12 Yee, Liu, and Ngo, "Macau's Mass Political Culture", pp. 194-195.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 Data provided by the Department of Census and Statistics, Government of Macau.
- 16 Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, p. 15.
- 17 Herbert S. Yee, *The Political Culture of China's University Students* (New York: Nova Science Publisher, 1999).
- 18 *Ibid.*
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First Chinese Leader in Four Centuries

Edmund Ho Hau-wah, 44, prominent politician and banker, has become the first chief Executive of the Macau Special Administrative Region (MSAR) and the first Chinese leader in more than four centuries.

Edmund Ho was born in Macau in 1955. At the age of fourteen, Mr. Ho left Macau to study abroad. He obtained a bachelor's degree in business administration from York University in Canada. He returned to Macau in 1983 where he became general manager of the Tai Fung Bank and chairman of the Macau Association of Banks.



China's central government quickly appointed Mr. Ho as the first Chief Executive of the MSAR following his landslide election victory.

After having received over 80 percent of the votes, Mr Ho pledged, "...to keep my promises, resolutely implement the principle of 'one country, two systems, strictly adhere to the Macau Basic Law, do my best to serve the people of Macau, and ensure a smooth transition so that Macau will continue to prosper and progress."

Mr. Ho will assume his new office on December 20, 1999.
