Chapter VII

Legal awareness and political development in Macao’s Chinese community: the emergence of a parochial-participant civic culture?

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The vexing question of how a civic culture emerges in a society such as the Chinese has perplexed many social scientists, namely political scientists, sociologists and sinologists, for the last three decades. Broadly speaking, two schools of thought have emerged on this issue. The first school basically argues that cultural and social changes in Chinese society are rather slow and that civic culture is a far removed notion for most Chinese (Apter, 1987; Pye, 1992, p. 93). For example, Pye argues that authority in China is “not bound by legal rationalism” (1985, p. 199) and that the Chinese polity is characterized by “politics without Modern man” (Pye, 1992, p. 36).

On the other hand, the second school argues that civic culture has already emerged in the Chinese-speaking world. Namely, in Taiwan (Chu, 1992; Faw, 1998) and it is slowly moving ahead in Hong Kong

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(Hsu, 1992; Lo, 1995) and in Macao (Lo, 1995; Lo, 1999; Yee, 1999) and mainland China (Nathan and Shi, 1996; Shi, 2000).

According to Almond and Verba, "political culture... is the particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members" (p. 13) of a polity. They establish a distinction between political and administrative processes. The latter refers "to that process by which authoritative policies are applied or enforced. Structures predominantly involved in this process would include bureaucracies and courts" (pp. 14-15).

Almond and Verba identified three basic types of mixed political or civic culture: first, parochial-subject, second, subject-participant culture, and third, parochial-participant culture. The first type characterizes simple societies, such as tribal and autonomous local communities, without specialized roles. The second type depicts authoritarian and totalitarian societies, where a citizen’s role "is essentially a passive" relationship (pp. 17-18) with "a limited form of competence that is appropriate in a subject culture" (p. 18). In a parochial-participant civic culture "members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole" (p. 18). The latter is a common feature amongst Western democracies.

The main purpose of this paper is to assess how Macao is moving gradually towards the emergence of a parochial-participant civic culture. In order to achieve this, we propose to look at four key areas. First, at the rapid modernization of Macao’s legal system. Second, at the quick modernization of mainland China’s legal system. Third, for evidence of confidence in the Macao Portuguese-based judicial system in the late-1980s and 1990s, and how the Macao Chinese community perceives the local Portuguese-based juridical system, through a survey conducted in the summer of 1999. Finally, we will look at empirical evidence in other two dimensions of political development, namely, to residents’ participation and mobilization, to confirm if indeed a parochial-participant civic culture has emerged in Macao.

The rapid modernization of Macao’s legal system

Shortly after the adoption of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on Macao, Portuguese political leaders realized how feeble Portuguese interests were in Macao and in the region (Fernandes, 1997, pp. 45-46). In an effort to leave behind some marks of the Portuguese presence
in Macao before their departure in 1999, the Macao Portuguese administration, with the support of mainland China and Portugal, made quite a considerable effort to leave a legal system that enshrined the interests of Macao’s Chinese elite. Since then great efforts were made in political, financial, and human resources to leave behind a Portuguese-based legal system.

In order to achieve it, a remarkable number of institutions were created. The Adjunct-Secretary’s Office for Justice [Gabinete du Secretário-Adjunto para a Justiça] was set-up in 1986 charged with providing overall political and administrative guidance to the modernization effort in this area at the executive level. At the same time, the Juridical Translation Office [Gabinete para a Tradução Jurídica] was established with the “ambitious task of translating all the relevant Macao laws into Chinese, including the Portuguese constitution and the five grand codes” (Ts’ao, 1999, p. 72). Although they were unable to translate all five Grand Codes (Penal Law, Penal Procedure, Civil Law, Civil Procedure, and Trade Law) before the 1999 handover, they began a weekly campaign in the local media (press, radio, and television), issuing brochures, booklets, and pamphlets, holding public meetings in schools and civic associations, and posting sites on the net on legal awareness since 1994 (Santos, pp. 6 and 95-96 and Silveira, p. 193).

Two years later, a Law School was established at the University of Macao, also with the main aim of providing law courses for Chinese students. Many Chinese law students who tended to either go to Taiwan, or Hong Kong, or mainland China, in large numbers, or to Portugal in small numbers, started to enrol in the Macao Law School (Chio, 1998, pp. 1014-1015). Although, in the first few years there were quite a few serious administrative and curricular roadblocks to the emergence of a localized coherent law school (Santos, pp. 93-95), the situation improved quite considerably in the late-1990s. Macao Law School graduates became the main basis of recruitment for Macao’s judiciary since 1994 (TLMA, p. 173).

On the other hand, the judiciary was localized and sinicized. With the amendment of the Portuguese Constitution, in 1989, and of Macao’s Organic Statute, the enclave’s mini-constitution, in 1990, the Territory was granted “an autonomous judicial organization of its own adapted to local circumstances” (Cabrita, 2000, p. 174). A High Court and an Auditors’ Court were set-up in April 1993.

Moreover, throughout the transition period, i.e. between 1987 and 1999, bilingualism became the official policy of the Portuguese ad-
ministration. A considerable amount of documents and laws were translated into Chinese. Although there are no specific surveys or papers on the impact of bilingualism in Macao’s legal system, it can be argued that this may have had some repercussions. The reason is very simple: for the first time, Macao’s statutes were published in Chinese and had the same legal standing in court as the Portuguese version.

Legal awareness has increased so much in Macao, that Paula Ling, a leading Macao Chinese lawyer, has argued:

“... You know that for the Chinese law courts are something that you usually avoid. A popular saying states that when a person dies he does not wish to go to hell and while he lives he doesn’t wish to go to a law court. Only in the last few years have we started to watch an increasing number of persons settling things in court, before you would only go there as a last resort method if the settlement failed between two parties... We shouldn’t forget that the vast majority of the population did not know anything about legislation. With growing legal awareness, I believe that the current status will change at a faster pace and that individuals will settle their grievances in law courts”.

The quick modernization of China’s legal system

Beside the efforts made by the Portuguese administration in the 1990s, the swift modernization of mainland China played a key role in creating the proper environment for increased legal awareness in Macao. Mainland China has been going through a rapid modernization process, since the “reform and opening up” [gāigé kāifàng] policies of Deng Xiaoping, in the late 1970s. Since then, the Chinese leadership has abandoned the self-imposed isolation policy and has instead opted for the Western economic model. Part and parcel of this policy has been the issue of “rule of law” throughout China. As Stanley Lubman has stated:

“... if China is to cope with the many problems that are by-products of economic reform, including a decline in social order,

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spreading corruption and a general crisis of values, it will need strong legal institutions and a legal culture that fosters the rule of law. The rule of law has become an issue for many more Chinese than just their leaders and intellectuals” (Lubman, 1996, p. 1).

The provinces in the forefront of economic development have demanded greater application of principles of the rule of law. According to Linda Chen Li: “[t]he reform process and China’s increasing participation in the international economy in the last two decades have generated domestic processes which subsequently led their leaders to see the utility of the rule of law in resolving their problems. The province of Guangdong has been at the cutting edge of China in this process, being situated at the front of China’s open door policy” (2000, p. 219).

The high rates of economic development have also contributed to growing political, regional, and social tensions. These are mainly centred around three key issue-areas: corruption, growing gaps between rich and poor, and increasing crime rates. This situation has transformed the question of “rule of law” into a matter of regime survival. According to Linda Chelan Li: “[t]he resultant advocacy of the rule of law amongst the central leadership and in Guangdong in particular, was thus a response of the state to sustain political survival against the threats from the society” (Ibid., p. 218).

Evidence of confidence in the Macao Portuguese-based judicial system

The prevailing political milieu in China and the ongoing modernization of Macao society have brought some changes in attitudes and values towards laws in the former Portuguese-administered enclave.

If a society’s culture comprises different values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs that influence behaviour, then in liberal democracies popular attitudes towards the legal system are judged to be compatible with those held by citizens.

Popular attitudes towards Macao’s legal system

In a liberal democracy, citizens must be interested in their juridical system. Citizenry interest in the legal system can be measured by exam-
ining how well people understand juridical issues. Another approach is to examine how many people rely on newspapers, television, and radio to acquire their legal information. These two approaches were used to survey a sample of ordinary Chinese residents of Macao to determine if they were aware of their general rights.

In broad terms, legal awareness in Macao is rather high. Nearly 88% of the respondents provided correct answers to this survey. There is also a high percentage of legal awareness of labour law (96%), civil rights (92%), and contract law (91%). However, there are less correct responses in the family law domain, due probably to the influence of Chinese tradition in Macao.

As to the sources of information, there are three: the media, brochures and leaflets, and informal means. The information gathered from the media is not evenly distributed. 86% of the respondents rely on television, 82% on newspapers, while 72% on radio. However, the information carried by the media is considered less informative than that provided by brochures, leaflets, and legal textbooks. Nonetheless, only 64% of the respondents were informed by leaflets, and 62% by legal textbooks. The informal means of information such as self-experience and participation in public meetings gathered only 65% and 57%, respectively. The informal means are also considered poor sources of information. The traditional ways of obtaining information, such as self-experience have lost their impact and are considered poor sources of information. The acquisition of legal awareness in Macao has ceased to be done in traditional ways, i.e. self-experience, which accounts for only 10%. As in any Western country, it is acquired through the media (80%). Despite the considerable amount of media diffusion, 20% of the respondents answered that the information carried out in the media was not sufficient enough to fulfil their interests. For this reason, some of the respondents – unevenly distributed among sex, age, and group – try to find richer sources of information, such as specialized brochures or legal textbooks.

Overall, the Chinese community thinks that it does not have enough knowledge about their legal rights198, thus having to rely on government departments, or on lawyers, for information. They are eager, nonetheless, to obtain more information and to be better-informed citizens. In part, this problem was recognized in the 2001 Macao Government Guidelines [Linhas de Acção Governativa], presented by the

198 This was already observed by Santos, 1998, p. 95.
Chief Executive to the Legislative Assembly. According to Edmund Ho Hau Wah:

"We shall continue our efforts to spread juridical knowledge through the media, seminars, and exhibitions and we shall slowly place on the net and on CD-ROMs all the legislation of the Macao SAR, including the legislation approved between December 20, 1999 and December 31, 2000."\(^{199}\)

Why are Macao’s Chinese residents so interested in having a good knowledge of their legal rights? First, nearly half of Macao’s Chinese residents tend to be refugees or economic migrants from mainland China. They are acutely aware or sensitive to legislation that grants them rights which they could never enjoy or exercise back in mainland China. Second, despite the significant amount of legal reforms that have taken place in mainland China since the 1980s, Macao’s Chinese residents have a deep distrust of mainland China’s legal system. For example, in December 1989, six months after the Tiananmen crackdown, Survey Research Hong Kong conducted a poll for the Macao branch of the Portuguese News Agency, Lusa, amongst the three main resident groups in the Portuguese-administered enclave: Chinese, Macanese, and Portuguese. When asked about their preference for a judicial system for Macao after 1999 only 8% of the Chinese respondents preferred the Chinese legal one. However, 35% of the Chinese respondents preferred the application of the Portuguese legal system, while 32% preferred the English system. Regarding the nationality of judges after 1999, 57% of the Chinese respondents wanted judges of Portuguese and Chinese nationality. Only 6% believed that they should be Chinese nationals, while 5% preferred that they should have only Portuguese nationality (Lusa, pp. 5-6).

However, the most tangible evidence that Macao’s legal system is becoming more relevant to the Chinese community has been the considerable increase in the number of legal suits before Macao’s courts. According to available statistics, in the 1990s there was a steady increase in the number of suits in key four judicial areas: High, Labour, Civil, and Criminal Courts.

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\(^{199}\) "Linhas de Acção Governativa para o ano financeiro de 2001 do governo da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau (Síntese) [Guidelines for the 2001 Fiscal Year of the Macao Government SAR (Synthesis)], Ponto Final [Macao], Year 8, 2\(^{nd}\) series, no. 417 (November 17, 2000), p. 8.
The number of cases presented to the High Court increased from 136, in 1994, when this court came into being, to 345 cases in 1999. This means an increase of 253%. If we turn to labour disputes that end up in labour courts, the picture is more or less the same for the same time period: 256%. However, if we measure from 1990 up to 1999, the net increase of labour grievances augmented by 1,100%. This shows that Macao’s Chinese labour movement, which used to be controlled, to a large extent, by pro-Beijing forces, has discarded to a certain degree informal backroom settlements and has instead decided to address its complaints through formal institutions. This is a very important departure from traditional Chinese behaviour.

The number of cases presented to civil and criminal courts also demonstrates an increase in the number of suits filled with both types of courts. If we measure from 1994 to 1999, the number of civil cases increased from 1499 to 1772. This translates into an increase of 118%. On the other hand, the number of criminal cases expanded from 2166 to 3912, or 180%. This trend remains more or less the same if we measure from 1990 to 1999. The number of civil cases increases only by 140%, while the criminal ones grew by 137%. Overall, the increase is less than in High Court and labour cases. Nevertheless, if we take into due consideration the years of the triad wars, which took place between 1996 and 1998, the number of civil and criminal cases surpasses those of the High Court and labour grievances. During this period, in an attempt to control the VIP rooms in Macao’s casinos, the triads involved themselves in an all out war against each other. However, in 1999 the number of grievances returned to normal levels (see figure 1).

Another key indicator of this trend is the quantity of complaints filed with the Macao Commissariat Against Corruption [Comissariado Contra a Corrupção – CCAC][200]. This office was established in 1992 with the main goal of dealing with corruption and illegal administrative acts carried by public institutions. The complaints usually relate to corruption practices amongst Macao Government’s departments and other public entities. The number of personal complaints increased from 78 cases in 1992 to 209 in 1999, while the number of anonymous

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[200] This independent office was set-up in 1990, but only came into being in 1992. Originally, it was known by the rather pompous name of “High Commissariat Against Corruption and Administrative Illegality” [Alto Comissariado Contra a Corrupção e a Ilegalidade Administrativa]. However, after Macau’s handover it changed its name to the present one.
ones rose from 43 cases in 1992 to 165 in 1999. As the number of personal and anonymous complaints increased, the number of media complaints decreased from 29 in 1992 to just 1 case in 1999. The complaints filed by public entities against another and initiated by the Anti-Corruption Office have largely remained stable (See figure 2).

**Cases by courts, 1990-1999**

![Graph showing cases by courts from 1990 to 1999](Image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>High Court</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Civil</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>2853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2710</td>
<td>1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>3006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2212</td>
<td>2987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1499</td>
<td>2166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>2992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>1462</td>
<td>4626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>5563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4498</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>3912</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Macau Yearbooks.

In order to reinforce the powers of the Anti-Corruption Commissariat, the Macao Legislative Assembly unanimously approved a statute (lei) in August 2000 that granted search powers on a par with criminal police investigations, including the right to search premises and arrest suspects. Certain CCAC staff members were granted the right to carry firearms when they take part in high-risk operations. The scope of investigation of the CCAC, which is solely answerable to the Chief Ex-
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Executive of the Macao SAR, continues to be restricted to the public sector. Shortly after the approval of the new statute, the Macao Anti-Corruption Commissioner, Cheong U, argued that his office should be granted the right to investigate corruption practices in the private sector, when doubts arise out of government contracts with the former.

Types of complaints filed with the Macao Anti-Corruption Commissariat

![Figure 2]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Public entities</th>
<th>CCAC</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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202 “Comissário Contra a Corrupção traça o futuro do CCAC: investigar a privada” [Anti-Corruption Commissioner Outlines the Tasks of the CCAC: Investigate the Private Sector], Ponto Final [Macao], Year 7, 2nd series, No. 407 (September 8, 2000), pp. 4-6.
Other empirical evidence

But available data goes well beyond the legal domain. If we analyze the level of participation of Macao residents in the enclave’s polity and at political mobilization it can be easily argued that the participation levels have increased considerably in the 1990s.

Political participation

To ascertain the level of political participation by Macao’s residents three key indicators can be used: electoral participation, turnout rates, and the quantity of civic associations participating and elected in Macao legislative elections. Electoral participation in Macao remained essentially restricted to Portuguese citizens (i.e. the local Macanese and Portuguese from Portugal) in the 1976 and 1980 legislative elections. However, due to a major power struggle between governor Almeida e Costa and the speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Carlos d’Assumpção, the former enfranchised the Chinese community in order to break-up the control of the Macanese over the legislature (Fernandes, 2000, pp. 390-392). Since 1984, the number of registered voters in Macao legislative elections have increased quite considerably from 51,454, in 1984, to 128,613, in 1999. This translates into an increase of 250%. Despite this significant increase, only 50.17% of the population was registered for polling, as of 1999 (see figure 3). 203

If we look at the turnout rates in Macao’s legislative elections for directly elected seats, it will be noticed that it has been increasing, and it fares rather well with Portuguese and Western averages. Since the enfranchisement of the Territory’s Chinese residents, the turnout rates have been rather good (See figure 4).

203 “Documentação: comparação entre os resultados do recenseamento eleitoral e a população de Macau com condições para inscrição eleitoral” [Documentation: Comparison Between Electoral Registration and Macao’s Population Able to be Polled], Administração / Xíngzhèng [Macao], vol. 13, no. 3 (September, 2000), p. 1023.
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Voters' Participation in Macao, 1976-1996

[FIGURE 3]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Registered</th>
<th>Voted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3647</td>
<td>2846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4195</td>
<td>2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>51454</td>
<td>28970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>67604</td>
<td>20049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>48137</td>
<td>28526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>116445</td>
<td>72498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Boletim Oficial de Macau [Macao’s Official Gazette].

Turnout Rates in Macao’s legislative elections for directly elected seats, 1984-1996

[FIGURE 4]

Source: Boletim Oficial de Macau [Macao’s Official Gazette].

Compared to turnout rates in the last decade-and-half of Portuguese legislative elections Macao is doing rather well. The turnout in Portuguese elections was 74.16%, in 1985, two years later it decreased to
71.57%, in 1991 it dropped to 67.77%, in 1995 slightly decreased to 67.14% and it dropped to 61.84% in the last legislative elections in 1999. This overall trend is not only a Portuguese but also a Western phenomena. Throughout the 1990s, in the Western world the turnout rates have fallen to nearly 60%, while in the U.S. and Switzerland the figures are much smaller. In the U.S., for example, it has fallen to less than 50%. In Switzerland, it has remained historically at little over 50%. Overall, it can be stated that the turnout rates in Macao’s directly elected MLAs (Members of the Legislative Assembly) fall within Western electoral trends.

On the other hand, the number of civic associations participating in indirectly elected seats in the Macao legislature has increased throughout the last four polls. In 1984, only business organizations and a miscellany of charity, cultural, educational, and sports associations had the right to choose indirectly elected legislators. However, in 1992, labour and professional organizations were granted the right to participate in the polls for indirectly elected MLAs. Besides the opening up of the process to labour and professional organizations, the number of associations participating in indirectly elected MLAs increased 163%, between 1984 and 1996 (See figure 5).

Number of registered organizations granted the right to participate in Macao’s indirectly elected seats, 1984-1996

![Figure 5](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Labor</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Boletim Official de Macau [Macao’s Official Gazette].
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This data corroborates Yee’s findings that a “new electoral culture” has emerged in the 1990s, with “local characteristics, commonly accepting equality and the right of participation in democratic politics” (p. 771). In short, there is strong empirical evidence that Macao has indeed become a parochial-participant civic culture.

Political mobilization

In terms of political mobilization, there have also been marked changes. In 1989 the Macao Chinese residents participated quite heavily in demonstrations and sit-ins against the Tiananmen crackdown (Fernandes, 2000, pp. 448-451). Since then annual vigils have been conducted in the enclave to remember this event. For example, in June 2000 around a hundred demonstrators congregated in front of the S. Domingos Church, in downtown Macao, to hold a three-hour long vigil, where videos of the Beijing Spring and a photo exhibition remembered the crackdown\(^{204}\).

In May and June 2000, massive labour demonstrations and sit-ins took place in Macao. They were against the perceived inaction on the part of the Macao SAR government in addressing the unemployment situation in the enclave, officially at 6.8%, but in reality approaching 10%. At the same time, two independent labour organizations\(^{205}\) emerged to mobilize workers against the unemployment situation in the Territory and to challenge the PRC-controlled Macao General Workers’ Union (MGWU).

Conclusions

In this paper, it is argued that Macao’s Chinese residents are becoming more “responsible and competent citizens” not only in the legal domain, but also at the participatory and mobilization levels of political development. This is an on-going process that is strongly linked to swift political developments taking place in Taiwan, Hong Kong

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\(^{204}\) “Uma centena de pessoas recorda Tiananmen” [A Hundred Persons Remember Tiananmen], Ponto Final, [Macao] Year 7, 2\(^{nd}\) series, no. 394 (June 9, 2000), p. 6.

\(^{205}\) The two rival labour organizations are “The Self-Help Association” and “The Association for Mutual Assistance and Defence of Macao Workers’ Rights.”
and mainland China. In short, Macao is moving gradually towards a parochial-participant civic culture.

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