UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Sociology and Social Policy

Changing Macanese Identities in the Post-Handover Era

by

Margarida Cheung Vieira

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Sociology and Social Policy

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CHANGING MACANESE IDENTITIES IN THE POST-HANDOVER ERA

Margarida Cheung Vieira

On 20 December 1999, Macau closed the chapter of more than four centuries of Portuguese rule and officially became one of the Special Administrative Regions (S.A.R.) of China. During these centuries, a creole culture emerged along with a community of racially mixed individuals, commonly known as the Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002). While many of them have opted to disaffiliate themselves from the 'capital of Portugueseness' (Pina Cabral, 2002:41), for the purpose of conglomerating with and adapting to the major Chinese population in Macau, others remain severely proud of their Macanese identity. By employing a theoretical framework in mixed race studies (Bhabha, 1994; Ali, 2003; Song, 2003), this thesis will explore the Macanese's identity, language and culture as a consequence of the impact of post-handover in Macau. The focus will be on how the Macanese, as a racially mixed community, have managed and negotiated their identity, language and culture in this context. The perspectives of positioning will be amplified, since there is an apparent lack of research in Macau.

By utilising biographical research in qualitative methodology, this thesis examines the Macanese context due to sinicization from the interviews of three sample groups (Category A, Category B and the Category C). The disparities in ages and experiences are specifically arranged to allow their aspirations and perceptions to be explored and discussed as being mixed in the dominating Chinese society.

Despite the consequence of the handover, my results show that younger Macanese are keen to search for new ways to adapt and to preserve their community and cultures from dissipating. Many have acknowledged the significance to look beyond the traditional norms (as previously adopted by the older Macanese generation) and to acquire a receptive attitude with the major Chinese population in order to endure their sustainability in contemporary Macau.

Table of Contents

List of figures

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Margarida Cheung Vieira

declare that the thesis **Changing Macanese Identities in the Post-Handover Era** and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- None of this work has been published before submission:

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest and sincere gratitude to both of my supervisors, Professor Pauline Leonard and Professor Derek McGhee for their inspiration and encouragement over the years to me as their student. I would have never been able to achieve this far without their guidance and trust to motivate me in my PhD process.

I would also like to thank my boss Dr José Luís Sales Marques for his support in allowing me to pursue my PhD while working at the Institute of European Studies of Macau.

My sincere appreciation for my dear friend Stella Lee for her encouragement and in challenging me with new insights to discuss my work during our short lunch breaks. My heartfelt thanks also goes to my dear friend Jana Javornik for her incessant support and encouragement since the first day we met at the university. Furthermore, I also want to thank Zhixin Frank Feng, for his kind support in assisting me towards the final stages of my thesis.

I also want to thank all my friends at the University of Southampton for their thoughtfulness and for being part of my academic journey.

My thanks also go to all the participants who have contributed their time and sharing their stories with me in making my research unique.

Lastly, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my loving grandparents, Antonio Felizardo Jacinto and Maria Aida Jacinto, your love for me will be always be cherished and will forever remain in my heart.

Definitions and Abbreviations

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

DSEC – Statistics and Census Service, Government of Macao Special Administrative Region

S.A.R. – Special Administration Region

Chapter 1: Introduction

The term 'Macanese' signifies a Creole indigenous group who are also of Portuguese ancestors (Pina Cabral, 2002:39). Initially, Macanese were the descendants of Portuguese men with Indo-Chinese, Siamese and Goanese women, who can be traced back to the mid-sixteenth century when the first Portuguese arrived in Macau (Morbey, 1994:204). As stated in Pina Cabral, the mid-1970s was a significant period that shifted the Macanese community's identity (2002:41). Although previously rooted in Portuguese, from this time the Macanese sought new ways of positioning and identifying themselves in Macau. As such, the handover on 19 December 1999 not only signified the ending of a Portuguese administration, but also threatened old acculturated cultural structures embedded in the Macanese identity, language and culture. These were replaced with 'greater affinity' to assimilate with the Chinese Other (Amaro, 1994:227). This thesis will examine the impact of the handover on Macanese identity, language and culture from the perspective of contemporary Macanese, through an examination of the strategies which my participants employed to adapt to these changes. More specifically, my thesis aims to explore how the Macanese deploy and position themselves as a racial mixed community in 'Chinese Macau' after the handover period. The studies previously conducted on this racially mixed group tend to emphasise its historical past. From the best of my knowledge, very little research has moved beyond this historical perspective in order to explore this community in the wake of the handover in 1999. In this thesis I will bring to light new perspectives on how the Macanese have negotiated, navigated and adapted to change in order to survive in Chinese Macau. This will be the first research to focus on these issues in Macau.

In this study, I will employ Bhabha (1994), Ali (2003) and Song's (2003) theoretical frameworks which are extensively used in studying mixed race individuals to analysis and discuss the empirical data taken from the interviews in my findings chapters. The following research questions will be explored in this study:

1. What mechanisms do the Macanese employ in order to negotiate and re-appropriate their identities in the Chinese administration?

2. What impact did the post-handover have on the Macanese identity, language and culture?

3. In what ways do the Macanese position themselves as a mixed-race minority group in contemporary Macau?

My contribution to this body of work on mixedness and mixed race studies is to test their theories out in a unique context such as Macau where mixedness in the consequence of centuries of being mixed in terms of races, cultures, language and religion.

This chapter will begin with reference to the formations of Macau, and provide a brief review on two identity markers, namely religion and food, and how they are practiced by the Macanese community. This will be followed by a discussion on the background of the Macanese, including their marriage, language and identity practices. The latter two aspects will be examined in greater depth in this thesis, as I argue that they are central to the influence and shape of the Macanese positioning in light of the handover. To conclude the chapter, I will outline the methodology used in this study.

1.1 Formations of Macau

Due to statistical data shortages, it is impossible to know the exact number of inhabitants who identify themselves to be Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002:37). The figures estimated from Pina Cabral were approximately 7,000 Macanese recorded in the early 1990s (ibid.). His results also found the number of Macanese living overseas such as in Hong Kong, Portugal, Brazil, Australia, Canada, the United States (especially California), and in Portugal greatly outnumbered those living in Macau (Hao, 2011:105).

Located on the Pearl River Delta on the southeast coast of China, Macau sits on the western bank of the Guangdong Province, 60 kilometres west of Hong Kong. As a small city with only a total area of 30.3 square kilometres, it includes the densely populated Macau peninsular which is connected by a bridge to the two islands Taipa and Coloane and to the Cotai Reclamation area where the latest international casinos and hotels

infrastructures are located. As recorded by the Statistics and Census Service of Macau, the total population in 2014 was 636,200, an increase of 0.3 per cent from 2012.

On 20 December 1999, Macau officially became one of the Special Administrative Regions, along with Hong Kong, of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Stipulated in the Basic Law under the "One Country Two Systems" principle, Macau is allowed to be ruled under a capitalistic system and to maintain its autonomy for the next 50 years till 2049 (Gunn, 2005:176). Before I go further, it is essential to be acquainted with Macau's role and status, during the four centuries of evolution (1557-1999), and particularly after 1999, both as a remnant of Western expansion and the hub of Chinese's modernization (Wei, 2014:xxxiii) which began with arrival of the Portuguese ships.

1.1.2 A concise historical review: trade and religion

The Portuguese maritime exploration was significant for two important consequences: religion and commerce (Coates, 1978: 2). In the early fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Macau had outshone many Asian countries by playing a major role in world of trading, as a result of the success of maritime exploration. By settling on Macau as their Far East destination, the Portuguese traders were able to set up a temporary base close to the Chinese islands (Lampacau and Shangchuan) to the southern coastal region of Guangdong. These eastbound ships not only carried traders, but missionaries as well.

In just five years after the Portuguese arrival, the number of inhabitants multiplied and included five priests and 400 Portuguese who had already been residing in Lampacau (Hao, 2011:12). By the late sixteenth century, the missionary's activities had established a strong Christian community, turning Macau into the 'Diocese for China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea and Cochin-China (now Vietnam)' (Cheng, 1999:52). And in 1563, a further 600 Chinese from Macau and other parts of the Guangdong area were converted to Catholicism (Hao, 2011:124). As such, religion is still one of the 'powerful integrative forces' (Yee, 2001:136) for the preservation of Macanese social identity. Between 1970 and 1990, the traditional Macanese marriage structure (Macanese with Portuguese or Macanese) began to shift, whereby marriages involving a Macanese man with a Chinese woman became the norm (Pina Cabral, 2002:173). This change

was crucial and significantly hampered the Macanese's acculturation in their religious practice of today. Similar to religion, food is central for emotional sense of belonging and reflecting memory for the Macanese people, as the next section will illustrate how food is deemed as an identity for the racial mixed community.

1.1.3 Food as an identity marker

Both Holtzman (2006:365) and Sutton (2001:73) state that 'sensuousness' of food is an essential vehicle to evoke memory, as well as for 'regulating and encoding major social relations' (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997) in food events. Feast celebration is one of the many forms to maintain and sustain lasting memory, particularly when fostered between individuals sharing stories of the past (Sutton, 2001:160). Food, as noted in Counihan and Van Esterik (1997:2), can convey more meaning to people than meaning attached to objects and practices. The celebration of social exchange in the context of a Macanese feast is central and an evocation that induces memory, family, sense of community, and culture (Delamont, 1995:26).

In retrospect, the arrival of Portuguese traders had, on the whole, changed the eating habits of local inhabitants (Coates, 1978:44). And mixing is the key to Macanese cuisine. What characterises Macanese dishes are how a whole range of foreign spices, from Malay, Africa, Goa, Portugal and Chinese co-exist to complement each other. Similar to its identity, the richness of Macanese cuisine was forged from the intertwining of both western and eastern cultures which were embraced and celebrated by this racially mixed community. In chapter 7, the themes of religion and food will be re-examined to explore to the Macanese context in regards to the handover in Macau. I will now focus on the Macanese as a racially mixed people and the transitions they have lived through before and after 1999.

1.2 The Macanese

Figure 1: (left) Macanese Family (Silva) 1935; (right) Wedding 1934. (Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2015)

Despite a number of local literatures arguing that the "Macanese" terminology should be collectively used to apply to all people born in Macau, the majority of the Chinese populace would prefer to be identified as 'Macau people' than be confused with the term 'Macanese' which is commonly used to define the descendants of mixed Portuguese and Chinese people (Teixeira, 1994:85). In Pina Cabral's description, the earliest Macanese were offspring of Portuguese men with women from Goa, Malay, Indochina, and Siam (2002:39). It was only from the late nineteenth century (Berlie,1999:23) that intermarriages with Chinese women began (mainly of lower class, such as the *tanka* or fishing women, slaves, and orphans) (Pina Cabral, 2002:39) but this practice had gradually dissipated in the mid-1970s (Hao, 2011:104), as will be discussed in the next session.

The Macanese can be classified by three distinctive features, that is, their 'language, religion and physical appearance' (Pina Cabral, 2002:39). It is however still possible to become Macanese even if the individual does not possess any of the characteristics represented above. In essence, people may opt to identify themselves as Macanese

even without mixed Asian and European ancestries (ibid.). Similarly, some Chinese individuals spoke Portuguese, were educated in Portuguese schools and socialised among the racially mixed community.

Studies have also found those who are of racially mixed descent acquire little to no Portuguese language skill. This is particularly the situation of the current generation who were mostly educated in Chinese, English or both languages (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:421). Since 1999, there are signs that some Macanese are tending to opt for a Chinese identity, as Pina Cabral points out 'there is a certain element of personal option in this identity' (2002:39). This 'identity' volunteerism and assimilation, which I will explore in my data chapters (see chapter 5 - 6), are not related to sentiments of national belonging in relation to the state, but rather for the acquisition of an instrumental 'flexible' identity suitable for the Chinese labour market (Ong, 1999:133).

This has not always been the case. As a consequence of their Portuguese dominated upbringing, the majority of Macanese identified strongly with their Portuguese ancestry and it was only after the mid-1970s that their Chinese ancestry gradually gained significance (Pina Cabral, 2002:41). Many Macanese were aware that the Cantonese would eventually replace the Portuguese after Macau returned to China. Such an instrumental disposition is common in mixed-raced individuals, where one ancestry is prioritized over the other in a particular context (Waters, 1990:7). Some studies refer to these choices and practices as a form of 'passing' (Song, 2003:68; Ali, 2003:13), which allows the individual to bypass a disadvantaged position. This is mostly associated with lower 'racial status' (Song, 2003:68), usually from black or brown to white. However, I argue that in the context of Macau, and particularly after 1999, the passing to a non-white identity, such as to Chinese, is more salient. This will be explored in greater depth in my data chapters. Moreover, the post-handover had, to a great extent, shifted the language and culture assimilation of the older generation of Macanese. The findings chapters (see chapter 5-7) will examine the reasons for these changes.

In recent years, studies have shown that the post 1999 will generate a multi-layered and 'new national/cultural, cosmopolitan identity' combined of Macau characteristics

mixed with values of the past (Fung, 2004:411-412; Lam, 2010:671; Hao, 2011:198-199). These studies will be helpful for my investigation in studying the Macanese identity and its positionalities among other social changes in the Macau after the post-handover period. I will also discuss these in my findings chapters (see chapters 5-7).

1.2.1 Marriage and its consequences in the Macanese community

Once, cohabitation between a Portuguese man and Chinese woman was complicated. In the late nineteenth century, Macau recorded 32,960 girl orphans who were abandoned because of the 'sexist preference of Cantonese parents' (Pina Cabral, 2002:167). As a result, many left the orphanage to work as servants for Macanese families at a very young age. The marriage prospects for these girls were limited, being mostly restricted to Macanese men of low economic background or the Portuguese soldiers who chose to remain in Macau. As observed in the past, a Chinese man who opted to marry a Macanese woman would have his ethnic identity be taken away from him. Often progenies from these marriages were deprived from the connection with the Chinese community (ibid.). Similarly Cantonese was rarely chosen for their children's education and was rarely spoke in the home (Chapter 6). In the mid-1970s, "ethnic" marriages were disrupted due to the garrison's withdrawal to Portugal, and in that same period, the economy of China and Macau grew stronger. This leads to a period of rapid change, when marriages between Macanese and Portuguese significantly decreased (Pina Cabral, 2002:173-174).

The social change referred to above had, shifted the traditional Macanese matrimonial tradition mostly restricted to a Portuguese male marrying a Chinese woman of Chinese or mixed ethnicity. As previously mentioned, both the studies of Pina Cabral (2002:41) showed that Macau's economy in the mid-70s was documented as a watershed, the beginning of a new era. The city developed rapidly with new infrastructures (including a new casino, a Jai alai stadium, and garment factories amongst others), and there was a suggestion that women's position in society had changed. What had emerged and replaced the old norms were new intermarriages between Macanese men and Chinese women of higher social status, as well as Macanese women with Chinese men (Morbey, 1994:207). Moreover, the class/ethnicity stratification documented in

matrimonies became less distinct than it used to be. These social changes were significant. They altered the tradition of Macanese intermarriages, and also influenced the Macanese community formation and its language which had previously been Portuguese structured.

1.3 Language changes

According to Pina Cabral, Macau's main language in nearly three centuries was the Patuá, a creole dialect that closely resembled the Portuguese Creole largely spoken in other places (from Cape Verde to Timor) under the Portuguese rule (2002:40). About the same time, various forms of Patuá were also spoken and became the main commercial languages of Southeast Asia up to the eighteenth century (ibid.). In contrast to the Portuguese language, the Patuá was merely a popular dialect and ultimately lost its usage as a language, while being replaced by standard Portuguese which was taught in school.

In spite of four centuries of ruling, the Portuguese failed to change Macau into a Portuguese speaking city (Yee, 2001:56). In general, Macanese are bilingual and equally competent in Chinese (Cantonese) and Portuguese, as a consequence of their mixed background. However, Cantonese is often the language spoken at home (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:421). Based on the Macanese families I observed during this study, most participants were fluent in Chinese (Cantonese) and speak two languages, besides Portuguese. However, Cantonese and English are still the most commercially used languages in Macau today. What is more, Hong Kong has played an important role in popularizing Cantonese language through the media (Cantonese-pop music and soap operas). In contrast, the Portuguese language now appears to lack its practical application in social and economic contexts (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:423), as over 98.5 per cent (Hao, 2011:182) of people in Macau speak Chinese (Cantonese and some Mandarin). Most importantly, many Macanese were not convinced about the future of Portuguese, which had to a certain degree determined their choice of Cantonese language for their children and to assure their own career prospects. In sharp contrast, their Cantonese and English were both 'gaining [a] considerable foothold' (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:422). Thus, for the majority Macau people,

Portuguese is viewed as belonging to the past, whereas the future will require Cantonese and English.

1.4 Intra and inter divisions

Despite Macau's reputation as a place where the Portuguese, Macanese and Chinese reside, the last 400 years showed they have mostly lived independently and have rarely interacted (Hao, 2011:115; Yee, 2001:134). According to Coates (1978:43), the Chinese in the past were forbidden to live inside the Portuguese settlements, unless they were Christians: this was demanded by both Portuguese and Chinese. This shows that a racial and religion social boundary has existed in Macau for a long time. Although the ethnic relationships between the Macanese and Chinese have relatively improved in contemporary Macau, evidence has revealed the boundaries between them have not fully dissipated. In many ways, these boundaries are the result of inequalities and divisions rooted in ethnicity which has resulted in a stratified relationship between the ethnic groups in Macau (Scott, 1996:19). This stratification is the outcome of an asymmetrical social differentiation, thus producing a hierarchical structure and unequal resource allocation (Anthias, 2001:369). In fact, such divisions are not only found between distinct ethnic groups in Macau, but divisions are also found among the Macanese themselves, and the latter will be examined in the data chapters.

Furthermore, one of the elements to contribute to the stratification in Macau is social class. In Anthias' description 'class is a multi-layered and diverse signifier of social rank [to categorise under certain criteria for example], inheritance…wealth, and economic resources' amongst others (2001:368-369). Class stratification is another consequence of the social divisions that function as a way to demarcate the mixed race community. This is done by prioritizing those positioned from the top echelons, namely the "elites" (consisting of the bourgeois class, lawyers, architects and high-ranking governmental officials). This elite class were close to Portuguese power during the colonial period. Subsequently this hierarchical social order is based on a structure of 'advantage and disadvantage', which acts to exclude and reject others (Payne, 2006:6). At present this has been downplayed largely because the Macanese consist of only a

few thousands and are overshadowed by the Chinese. The tables have now turned somewhat, and the Chinese are now the opulent group who dominate the local economic and also the political arenas.

1.5 Identity choice

In retrospect, the history of Macau has never existed in a unitary manner, but has always been bound together with the history of the Chinese, Macanese and Portuguese (Hao, 2011:115). In Hao's research, he shows that the majority of local Chinese in Macau do not readily identify with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese of Macau identify more with the Macanese culturally and politically (2011:199). This is a result of the long history of colonial influences (Fung, 2004:405). Moreover, the omnipresent Sinicization underpinned by the local media is very pervasive, with the daily broadcasting of the national anthem on local television being one of many tactics to valorise patriotic sentiments to the general public (Fung, 2004:408). The objective of the broadcasting of the national anthem was to evoke a 'nationalistic' assimilation, but it has nonetheless failed to obtain a similar effect for everyone in Macau, particularly for the older Macanese. Firstly, not all local people desired to be 'Chinese' especially following the handover in 1999. Secondly, most Macanese in their mid-50s or above resisted the Chinese identity. On the whole, the Macanese community who remained after 1999 expressed no desire to surrender their Portuguese identity or nationality for a Chinese identity and nationality, although there were a few that did, and this will be fully discussed in my findings chapter (see Chapter 5).

Many Macanese have sought out alternatives to set up their own platform in Macau, not in the civil service as the previous generation did, but by establishing business cooperation with mainland China and Portugal. Moreover, the Macanese Youth Association is another one of racially mixed associations, which began operating two years ago, the aim was to mobilise Macanese youth and to get them get involved in social events and civic life (Leitão, 2011). With that being said, it is unclear whether these youngsters share the same enthusiasm with the older generation to uphold and

conserve their own endangering community, culture and identity. In the next session, I will briefly outline the methodological design which will be applied in this study.

1.6 Methodological design

In order to explore how contemporary Macanese have positioned and adapted after 1999, I conducted 17 semi-structured interviews with Macanese individuals who were living in Macau during the time of the interviews (February to September, 2013). The sample was purposely designed to select participants who were able to discuss their roles, experiences and meanings of Macanese, before and after the handover period. Thus, I include some participants in their late 20s and some who were much older (the oldest participant was in his mid-60s). Subsequently, the age range was also chosen to document two generations by utilising a sociological perspective to examine the Macanese aspirations and dispositions in relation to the dynamic changes in the Macau discourse (see Figure 5). The data collected will be analysed and discussed to investigate the Macanese in accordance to three themes: identity, language and culture. Each theme will be drawn on and interpreted using the empirical interview data collected, and employing a thematic analysis. These themes are significant in terms of the investigation of the consequences of the handover, especially in terms of shifts that have taken place regarding Macanese identity, language and culture.

1.7 Thesis outline

This thesis will firstly discuss four major historical periods (see Chapter 2) to highlight the social, economic and political past that has significantly shaped the recent Macau context. Chapter 3 will focus on my theoretical framework on mixedness and explore the Macanese awareness as a consequence of the sinicized effect that has impacted their identity, language and culture, with regards to before and after the handover in 1999. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology of this study. Chapters 5 to 7 comprise the three themes of my study, Chapter 5 looks at the Macanese's identity, and how they have perceived and positioned themselves both as racially mixed individuals and as a community, under the influence of the handover. Chapter 6 examines how the Macanese affiliate and disaffiliate themselves by using languages, namely the

Cantonese language to survive and adapt in the social context of contemporary Macau. Chapter 7 looks at how the handover had impacted on the Macanese culture (by emphasising religion and food) as cultivated over centuries of acculturation as a racially mixed community. In the conclusion, Chapter 8, I will discuss the contribution of this research, its limitations, and suggest directions for further research avenues to provide new insights for researchers to explore this racially mixed community.

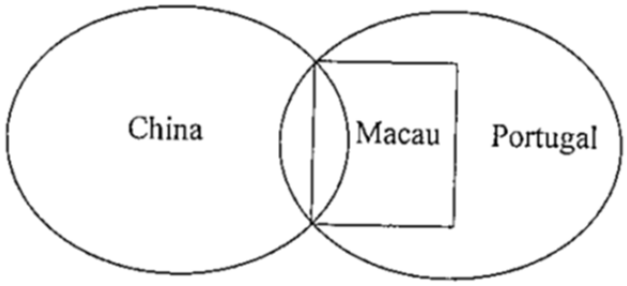
Chapter 2: Social Changes that shape the Macanese in Macau

2.1 Introduction

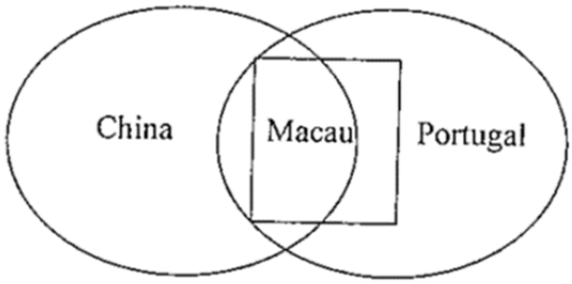
> There is no other city that could replace Macau and no other people that could replace the Macanese, who have borne witness to such strong, present and historical, progressive changes. Political transformations and the great demographic changes have shifted the 'cultural typography' of Macau, naturally influencing the Macanese who have not ceased to adapt to these changes in search of an identity to fit into (Watts, 1997:287).

In order to understand these social changes and the impact they have had on the Macanese, it is important to firstly examine how the social, economic and political conditions of the past have shaped the formation of the Macau we observe today. The aim of this chapter is not to produce a comprehensive account of Macau's history, but rather, examine the impact of four major periods of history which were responsible for the development and transformation of the Macanese people (Wu, 1999:17). In chronological order, they are (1) the Colonial Period of 1846 – 1976, (2) the period as part of Chinese territory under Portuguese Administration 1976 – 1988, (3) the Transition Period of 1988 – 1999, and finally (4) the Post – 1999 period. The diagram below demonstrates the Macanese alignment between Portugal and China throughout Macau's history as a consequence of the economic and political upheavals under both Portuguese and Chinese sovereignty (Wu, 1997:17).

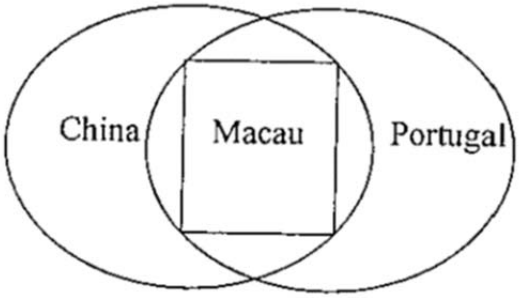
Colonial Administration Period (1849 – 1976)



Chinese Territory under Portuguese Administration Period (1976 – 1988)



Transition Period (1988 – 1999)



Sino-Portuguese Co-operation Period (from 20 December, 1999)

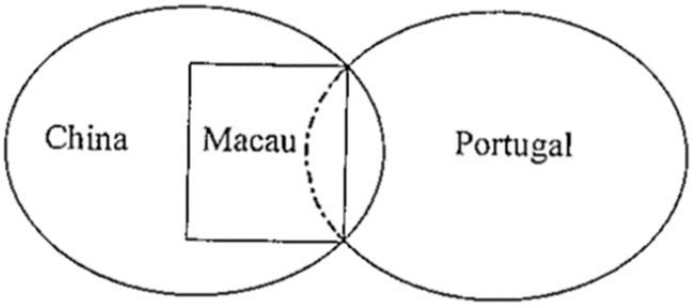


Figure 2: The Position of Macau from 1849 – 1999 (Wu, 1999:17)

2.2 The colonial administration period

Before the decline of the colonial era, Hao (2011) suggests there are three key events that are evidence of the waning of Portuguese colonial power in Macau. First, was the Amaral incident in the 1840s; second, the signing of the Friendship and Trade Treaty in 1887, and lastly the 1922 riot where Portuguese soldiers were seen opening fire on a crowd of unarmed Chinese people (Hao, 2011:43). The clash was provoked by a Portuguese soldier who attacked a Chinese woman that triggered the mobilization of an angry crowd, which eventually became a public protest on the streets of Macau.

The Amaral incident of 1840s was named after the governor João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, who was sent from Portugal 'to restore the Portuguese's official status in Macau's and re-establish the city to become a free port' (Shipp, 1997:71). Upon his arrival, he began to impose taxes on Chinese fishermen, which had never been levied since the establishment of Macau in 1557, as territorial matters were governed separately between the Chinese and the Portuguese people. He was known for delivering harsh orders. Amongst others, these included shutting down two Chinese custom houses which had operated since the 18th century, suspending payments on the annual lease to the Chinese government, destroying Chinese graveyards and farms, and removing squatters to build new roads (ibid.). These unwelcome and drastic changes ultimately exacerbated tensions between the Chinese and the Portuguese in Macau, and he was later assassinated by some enraged Chinese. After his death, the Portuguese took revenge with a victorious attack on the Chinese soldiers. The Portuguese were led by Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita. This attack helped to re-establish Portugal's sovereignty. His achievement was later commemorated by the Macau government in 1940 by a monument in the Senado Square, but it was later demolished during the "123 incident" in the mid-1960s during the communist revolution. The renewed Portuguese control over Macau compelled the Chinese to sign the Protocol of the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Portugal. Under this treaty, China had to agree to 'perpetual occupation and government of Macau and its dependencies by Portugal' (Gunn, 2005:64).

However, the treaty had less impact than the “123 incident” (in the mid-1960s) which resulted in the Portuguese surrendering their supreme authority over Macau. Hence, political power reverted to the Chinese (Gunn, 2005:155). The event, which occurred on the first three days of December 1966, (hence the source of the name), was directly linked with the political influence of China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The origin of the 123 incident was 15 November 1966, when a dispute between Chinese and Portuguese policemen broke out over the building of a new pro-communist school. It culminated in a minor clash with only a few injuries; but no investigations were carried out by the government. Two weeks later, hordes of construction workers, students and their Communist supporters marched into government buildings protesting against the lack of action from the government with regards to the events of the 15th November. On 3rd December, Portuguese policemen were sent to the school site, and eventually destroyed the unfinished building. The following day, hundreds of students and members of the Macau Federation Trade Unions stormed and sacked the Macau City Hall, the Government House, the Leal Senado and the Santa Casa da Miscericórdia de Macau. The riot intensified on the 5th December as gun shots were fired by the Portuguese policemen on the demonstrators. In total, 8 casualties were reported from the shots fired by the policemen, 212 were injured during the clashes and 61 people were arrested (Shipp, 1997:89). Furthermore, the government was compelled to release a statement apologising to the families of the eight deceased individuals and for the police brutality against the Chinese. The event not only undermined the Portuguese’s dominant rule, but also reversed the supreme power of Macau to the Chinese. Although it might appear that the Portuguese were in ultimate control during the colonial period, nonetheless, it was always a shared sovereignty between the Portuguese and Chinese throughout the history of Macau. In spite of these incidents, at the time China expressed no desire to take back Macau, as its main purpose was to terminate Portuguese power that began with Amaral’s regime (Pina Cabral, 2002:74). As a result, authority was reversed to the ‘gaail fong’, a local group of neighbourhood associations (Labor Union 澳門街坊會聯合總會) that offered welfare support, but also controlled the larger population, trade unions, various schools, the Chinese hospital, and the Chinese newspaper amongst other institutions.

In terms of business, most of the leading businessmen in Macau were members of this union and politically allied to China.

The aftermath of the 123 incident brought with it, along with major political changes, different possibilities in terms of how the Macanese identified themselves ethnically (Pina Cabral, 2002:66). For many of Macanese at this time, being racially mixed was no longer regarded as an advantage. The 1960s also crippled the local economy, many Macanese turned towards Hong Kong, serving as intermediaries for the British and local translators, while some worked for major commercial companies as clerks. Independent and free from the connections with Portugal and Europe, this group of Macanese managed to seek for themselves an economic niche which served to 'mark out a territory of relative privilege' whereby they could distinguish themselves from the 'impoverished Chinese' (Pina Cabral, 2002:67). As for the local Macanese, the mid-1960s was a period where many of them began to gradually abandon their Portuguese connections in search of new ways to affiliate with the major local Chinese population (ibid.). This will be explored in the next sections.

2.3 The post-colonial era: a Chinese territory under Portuguese administration

In order to mark the status of Chinese sovereignty over Macau and Hong Kong, in 1972 Huang Hua, who represented the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, petitioned to remove the status of both Hong Kong and Macau as "colonies" claiming these two cities had been subject to unequal treaties imposed by their colonists (Shipp, 1997:95). A clandestine agreement was signed by the Portuguese and Chinese to affirm Macau's role as a Chinese territory but which was to be administered by the Portuguese. Under such conditions, Macau's political status remained unchanged. At the same time, the statute also postulated that Portugal still possessed the right to appoint future governors to serve in Macau but with a role restricted to administration. In 1974, the minister of decolonisation officially announced that Macau was no longer a Portuguese colony, and clearly mapped out the role the Portuguese in Macau. Further to that, after the rapid period of decolonisation in Africa and Asia in the mid-1970s (Gunn, 2005:159), the Portuguese also withdrew its garrison

and relinquished its claim on Macau. In retrospect, Portugal had tried twice to return Macau to China, firstly during 1967 after the fiasco of the 123 incident, and again following the Portuguese revolution in 1974. Yet, China declined both requests to take over Macau, even though the city was no longer a Portuguese colony. The reasons why the Portuguese returned Macau to China were:

> According to both [former Macao governors], Lisbon did not really care about Macao in the 1980s and the early half of the 1990s. [In fact] before the political transition began in April 1987, when the Sino-Portuguese agreement on Macau's future was signed, Portugal had swept the territory under the carpet. (Lo, 2008:3).

Indeed, the geographical distance between Portugal and Macau undermined the former to exercise its control over Macau but following its withdrawal from Africa in the mid-1970s, Portugal diverted its attention to other aspects of foreign and domestic policy, which did not include Macau (ibid.). After the signing of the Joint Declaration, the Portuguese realised the importance of their withdrawal from Macau, as it was Europe's last Asian colony, and that its withdrawal should be carried out in a more 'dignified manner' than the hasty retreat during the de-colonisation of Africa (ibid.). For the Chinese government, delaying the reclamation of Macau was the wisest possible choice to ensure the political stability of Macau, even though it had stronger designs on Hong Kong where most of the central international financial centres were located.

A factor that had a significant social impact in Macau was the withdrawal of military troops. This was one of the major causes of the shift in the norm of intermarriages between European Portuguese and local Chinese women (Pina Cabral, 1994:234; Hao, 2011:104). Following the withdrawal of the military, more Macanese intermarried with Chinese partners. As such, as many Macanese had anticipated, the changes in intermarriages would in due course undermine their religion (Amaro, 1994:224) and Portuguese language acculturation in their community. Moreover, the neighbouring Hong Kong mass media had also bolstered the Chinese cultural elements of Macau, particularly in culture and language. As Pina Cabral points out, after the 1970s:

> Young people – Macanese and Chinese alike – no longer looked up to European culture as their point of reference. They looked towards Hong Kong and Taiwan and, beyond that, to Japan [and] the United States. (2002:175).

As Macau slowly regained its prosperity in the late 1970s, it was clearly run by the Chinese elites, comprised of local Chinese who had resided in Macau for more than two generations and controlled the city's commerce. The post-colonial period also saw less tension between the Macanese middle class from the administration and the Chinese middle class of the private sector.

A further social change was that, in order to integrate with the Chinese middle class, the Macanese begun adopting a 'borrowed identity' (Li, 1997:505) in the form of informal Chinese names (ibid.). The underlying presumption of such acquisition implied, but was not restricted to, a receptiveness of the Chinese 'other', and a strategy to narrow the gap between the Macanese and the general Chinese population (ibid.). It is interesting to know that it is common these days for many Macanese to include a Chinese name in their Macau identification cards. To echo Pina Cabral, such practices are major indicators of shifting identification practices. As such, both the colonial (1946-1967) and the transition period (1987- 1999) were equally significant in terms of reshuffling the gender, class and ethnic acculturations in relation to the Macanese and their future (Pina Cabral, 2002:177).

2.4 The transition period

The late-1980s are also called 'the Transition Period', during which Macau was preparing for the arrival of Chinese sovereignty. One of the urgent tasks the Portuguese had to undertake after signing of the Joint Sino-Portuguese Declaration was to 'localise' the civil service. It is helpful to understand first and foremost, the different perspectives of Beijing and Lisbon in relation to the three major issues concerning the localisation of Macau civil service and these will be discussed next.

For the Chinese government, localisation primarily concerned the legal establishment. Localisation involved the substitution of Portuguese judges, lawyers and procurators

with local Chinese counterparts. They believed that by placing more local Chinese, in the upper echelons of the civil service, the legalisation of Chinese, as an official language, would be resolved (Yee, 2001:57). The perspective of the civil service, however, slightly differed from that of the Chinese. Whereas the latter was singularly rooted in 'sinification', the Macanese civil service incorporated an element of 'Macanization' in this process too (Yee, 2001:42). Firstly, it was clear both sides had agreed upon promoting and recruiting local Chinese residents to senior positions in the civil service. Secondly, and based on the perspective of 'Macanization', the Macanese civil service argued that promotions should be given to bilingual Macanese who held middle rank positions in the civil service after the Portuguese left. Lastly, and to echo the first perspective, 'Macanization' demanded that promotion and recruitment of civil servants should be based on merit and qualifications, irrespective of the individual's nationality or race (Yee, 2001:42). As a result of the policy differences, both Chinese and Portuguese authorities failed to reach a consensus on the localisation issues. The Chinese continued to attack the Portuguese's lukewarm attitude towards the promotion of Chinese civil servants to higher positions. As a matter of fact, localisation was only implemented as 'an official policy' during 1990, by the Melancia government (1987 – 1991) under the remit of preparing the people of Macau to rule Macau (Lo, 2008: 3). Although Melancia prioritised the importance of localisation, Rocha Vieira - his successor and the last governor of Macau was more concerned in developing the local infrastructure (such as the new airport amongst other things) and sustaining the Portuguese-Chinese relationship. In addition, the mid-1990s 'turf war' over casino profits in relation to Macau's underworld (Pina Cabral, 2002:213) and the Asian economic crisis were, to a certain extent, responsible for delaying the process of localisation. Unimpressed by the Portuguese's slow pace in facilitating the transition and the process of localisation, the New China News Agency, being the official representative of Beijing, set up "the shadow government" (Pina Cabral, 2002:15) to monitor the progress of the transition. With the help of Xinhua's organisation, Beijing took over Macau without much effort and was also able to secure elite government positions for local pro-Beijing Chinese, who were brought up or educated on the mainland. The organization also effectively appointed independent elites to the local legislature as well to the political consultative committees of the PRC (Yee, 2001:156).

Unlike Hong Kong's diversified socio-political structure, where pro-democratic forces still prevail, Macau was and still is unilaterally dominated by pro-Beijing social and political groups (ibid.). Moreover, compared to Hong Kong, Macau's transition was less significant to Lisbon and Beijing and hence both countries would not risk the health of their ongoing diplomatic relationship over Macau's future. Most important of all, the progress of Macau's transition and its future was solely controlled by the PRC, and not the Portuguese. In addition to that, the different historical and political structures of Hong Kong and Macau vary greatly and this reflects the differences in the population, both during the pre and post 1999 periods.

2.5 The advent of a new sovereignty

On 13 April 1987, the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration was officially signed to return Macau's sovereignty back to China on 20 December, 1999. Under this agreement, Macau would continue to enjoy the same rights and freedom for the next fifty years' transitional period (Gunn, 2005:174). Moreover, according to Gunn, Macau would also acquire 'its own dispensation to make laws, with its free port intact, and with other concessions to its history (ibid.). Although Hong Kong and Macau are both Special Administrative Regions of China, they do not share the same Basic Law. Unlike Hong Kong, Macau's Basic Law allowed foreign passport holders to take on central posts in the Macau administration, with the exception of the Chief Executive after 1999. Moreover, and one of the major differences, was the issue of dual nationalities which would allow 40,000 or more Macanese/Chinese people the right to possess both Portuguese and Chinese passports (ibid.). Under Portuguese law, the nationality of the individual could be passed to direct descendants regardless of their birthplace. This however contradicted with Chinese law, which banned individuals from such practices. In a press conference, the Prime Minister of Portugal, Cavaco Silva came forward to make this statement to reiterate the same issue and to proclaim that:

> Whoever is Portuguese now or becomes Portuguese before 1999 will have the right to remain Portuguese in the future, and so will their children and grandchildren (Gunn, 2005:175)

Ultimately, China conceded to treat the Portuguese passport only as a travel document (ibid.), which implied that there would be an estimated 90,000 Macau residents who would receive full Portuguese citizenship compared to only 8.3 per cent of the six million Hong Kong people who could obtain British passports. The disparity between the two passports (Macau and Hong Kong) meant that the former allowed the passport holder to live and work in Portugal and other European Union countries, whereas the latter would be treated only as a travel document and did not permit the individual to work or live in United Kingdom or Europe. The second concession, which is stipulated in the Macau Basic Law, was that stricter control over immigration from China was to be enforced after 1999. The third and final concession was that Macau should continue to be an entertainment/gambling centre for the future benefit of the SAR (ibid.).

2.6 A summary of the gambling city and its social problems

Gambling can be traced back to as far as the sixteenth century and is still the major source of income supporting Macau's economy. Its success was partly due to the high demand from mostly Chinese people, who sought excitement and fortune (Pinho, 1994:247) through betting in the city. As gambling is illegal in Hong Kong and in China, Macau is placed in an extremely lucrative position to benefit from 'this spatially restricted legal region' (McCartney, 2005:40). In 2013, the gambling industry employed 56,602 staff (Statistic and Census Service, Macau SAR, 2014) with an increase of only 5,000 since 2001 (Lo, 2007:209). The large numbers of employees was the result of the casino licence from one monopolized company being extended to three concessions by the Chinese government. Its aim was to replicate a "Las Vegas" style entertainment centre combining casinos, conferences and resort centre into one. In recent years, Macau has 'the world's fastest-grown economy' (O'Keeffe, 2014) simply due to its booming gambling industry. However, in June 2014, the Macau casinos industry recorded its first flagging growth since its opening in the 2001. It was estimated that gambling revenue may plummets by over 30 per cent in its year-on-year decline (BBC, 2015). This is the result of the crackdown of the Chinese president's campaign to curb corruption, money laundering and capital flight in Macau. Amid other reasons, the

slow economy in China and restrictions in visa applications have further crippled the gambling revenue. In fact, during President Xi's last visit to Macau at the end of 2014, he had advocated to diversify the city into a leisure and touristic centre rather than relying on its gambling resource alone. However, Jorge Godinho, a visiting professor at the University of Macau, argued that this would be very difficult, as Macau had failed to diversify its economy over the past 160 years (O'Keeffe, 2014). As such, the influence of casinos had simultaneously created a range of sociological and economic problems. They include, but are certainly not restricted to, conflicts with migrant workers competing for (mostly labouring) jobs, prostitution, skyrocketing housing prices, heavy traffic congestions and a 'lame-duck' government (Yee, 2001:148). Although these are not new problems, the government are being severely criticized for its inability to deal with them seriously. Moreover, research carried out on gambling activities in 2003 by the Institute for the Study of Commercial Gaming at the University of Macau documents that two-thirds of the 1,121 local residents studied, aged between 15 and 65, were engaged in a least one form of gambling activity (ibid.). Among them were students and pathological gamblers. The two concessions listed here are helpful to reflect on changes in contemporary Macau.

2.7 The pre 1999 and post-handover

In general, most of the Chinese people in Macau were/are not assimilated with the Portuguese. During the 1970s and 1980s, there were large numbers of illegal mainlanders who arrived in Macau seeking better lives (Choi, 2015). Among them were intellectuals who were trying to escape the oppressive conditions of China, and those who were connected to clandestine activities (Pina Cabral, 1994:239). As a result of the low population growth in Macau, these new immigrants occupied a fairly large portion of what is known today as the "Macau people" (Yee, 2001:71). In total, there were roughly 70,000 illegal immigrants who were granted legal residency in 1982, 1989, and 1990 by the Portuguese government. In fact, 40 per cent of Macau's residents consisted of new immigrants from the mainland who arrived in the late 1970s (Yee, 2001:156). The members of this group came with different ideologies and ways of thinking compared to local citizens, and they are still emotionally attached to China.

Regardless of how difficult life was, some of these mainlanders expressed contentment at the freedom they engaged in Macau including free education and better organised public services for themselves and their children.

If we look back, the Macanese were largely an underprivileged group, compared with the Chinese and the Portuguese, where each held central roles during the process of the city's transition. Clearly, their former position as the intermediator for the Portuguese and Chinese groups and their involvement in Macau's politics during the mid-1980s, was notably dimmed by the increasingly dominant Chinese (ibid.). For example, the protection of the Macanese and their community after 1999 was not made explicit in the Basic Law. This fostered feelings of resentment towards the Portuguese and the Chinese. Yee's (2001:146) sample of the Basic Law provides helpful insight into the politics surrounding the Macau Basic Law.

When the Macau Basic Law was signed in 1993, which became Macau SAR's only public law after the handover, the term 'Macanese' was not mentioned (ibid.). Instead, the term 'Macau residents of Portuguese descent' was used in Article 42, chapter 3 of the Basic Law. Although the term 'Macanese' was not used (and without doubt its exclusion raised concern), this was implicitly referring to the Macanese, who were the only people in Macau of Portuguese descent, and not the Chinese. Yet I concur with Yee on the second issue that the Macau Basic Law failed to clarify whether or not a Macanese could opt to become a Chinese national, even though few Macanese would choose to surrender their Portuguese nationalities after 1999. As dual nationality is not recognised under China's Nationality Law, if a Macanese retains his or her Portuguese nationality, the individual 'will be jeopardized by the Basic Law', as important government positions will not be given to him or her, but will be reserved only for Chinese nationals (Yee, 2001:143). Yet if the Macanese opts for Chinese nationality, he or she will automatically become a 'national minority' in a society dominated by Han Chinese. In fact, many Macanese were concerned that their interests were being undermined under the Basic Law such as their retirement funds (for civil servants), as after 1999 future recruitment and promotion opportunities were inexplicitly defined. Further, many Macanese were also concerned that after 1999, the Portuguese language would not be afforded equal status with the Cantonese language,

even though it was formally included as one of the official languages of the Macau SAR. With regard to these aspects of the transition, two questions emerge: would the loss of the privileged position of the Portuguese language side-line the Macanese in the new administration? And should the Portuguese have provided a safety net to the Macanese before they left Macau?

Although the end of the Portuguese administration left many Portuguese and Macanese concerned, not all 'were sad about the end of Portuguese rule' and indeed, some felt that the Chinese government would perform better and surpass the former administration (Lo, 2008:8). Further, others argued the Portuguese government had failed to give precedence to the local education system, by only prioritising the Portuguese language (ibid.). The major population, which is of Chinese descent, expressed no desire to learn the Portuguese language because of its difficulty and impracticality compared to English, which is widely considered a universal language. I will return to explore the language issue in greater length in the following chapter, both as a language and a survival mechanism applied to the Macanese discourse.

2.8 The post 1999 period

Social change involves political change and this holds true for the history of Macau (Watts, 1997:287). It is for this reason the post-1999 period is particularly important in terms of exploring the Macanese and their roles, in light of the past and present socio-political conditions and how they affect the position of the Macanese in terms of their ability to negotiate their position in the new context. From the political turmoil in the mid-1960s to the handover in the late-1990s, members of this racially mixed group have incessantly been in search of a niche to belong in. As such, the anxiety to stay or leave after the handover in 1999 was characteristic of the Macanese, particularly those who were born and raised in Macau. For most of them who served in the civil service, leaving their hometown would mean relinquishing an attractive salary, their (middle-class) social status and to face uncertainties in foreign countries including Portugal. Yet on the other hand, by staying they would have to endure a Chinese government that they did not trust. Such scepticism over the Chinese government might be the result of, and not limited to, various past political disturbances in relation to Macau. For

example, the 123 incident (of 1966) and the Portuguese Revolution (of 1974) had prompted many Macanese to leave in search of better conditions in other countries. The handover was probably one more incident that strengthened the resolve of many Macanese to leave. As recorded in the Statistics and Census Service Government of Macau SAR in the 2011 census, there were 4,109 Chinese and Portuguese ethnic inhabitants (the term 'Macanese' was however not used) in Macau. Further to that, in recent years there has been an apparent inflow of Portuguese and Macanese people, both returnees and newcomers, returning to the city searching for job opportunities as a consequence of the rapid development of the casinos.

Clearly, the historical mixture of Portuguese and Chinese features in its culture is one of Macau's strongest touristic assets. Zepp envisaged that the Portuguese architecture and cuisine will remain, but is unconvinced that the language and customs will survive (1991:159). Along with Zepp, many other commentators have predicted that the post 1999 context will slowly diminish the hybrid (mixedness) culture, including the racially mixed group's identity in the city. The vice president of Casa de Portugal, a local Portuguese community organisation, affirmed that the Macanese would find difficulty in adjusting to the current Chinese administration, particularly when their intermediator role was lost after 1999 (Cheng, 2003). However, Mr. Sales Marques, who has lived in Macau for five generations, did not share this view:

> I like to think of myself as a Portuguese from the East. The term Macanese makes our perspective too narrow. We need to think globally…Of course people might say: why didn't Portugal let Macao go earlier? I can't answer for my ancestors. But we have done a lot to make Macao a decent place and create the conditions for the new Special Administration Region to be a place of opportunity (Cited in McGivering, 1999:35).

The dwindling population, along with the threat to the Macanese identity, began to raise concerns amongst local Macanese groups. Mr. Rangel, whose family has lived in Macau for ten generations, suggested it was time to pass the responsibility to the new Macanese generation to engage more in the task of cultural preservation. He also argued that without the Macanese values and traditions, Macau would lose its

distinctiveness and would become just like the rest of China (cited in McGiverings, 1999:19). Yet, nowadays, without support from Portugal and now only with a few thousand Macanese remaining in Macau, will the Macanese be able to safeguard their mixed identity and culture in Macau? Moreover, it is also important to understand that the local Macanese community consists of at least two or more generations, each associated with quite different socio-political perspectives and values due to the handover. For Hao (2011:195), those who formally lived under Portuguese sovereignty would be unlikely to identify with the current Chinese government or the PRC. Many Macanese had anticipated that the post 1999 period would bring about new challenges for the local mixed identity attributable to the process of de-colonization and sinicization. Fung's (2001:595) concept of the Hongkongers' identity after the handover is helpful for understanding the comparable transition in Macau, especially since both cities were previously colonised and are currently Special Administrative Regions of China. The example of Hong Kong helps to spell out the consequences resulting from a range of societal changes, for example:

> Truncated from the China's national ties, Hong Kong developed an indigenous cultural identity, which was affiliated with its own territory and its own way of life – a common set of collective values, largely the legacy of Chinese values hybridized with the British imposed ritual and norms. This Hong Kong identity had no obvious nationalistic component, nor did it have a political affiliation with any sovereign state: certainly not Great Britain, and for the most, not China either (Ma and Fung, 2007:173).

The topic of the Macanese identity will be further explored in chapters 4 and 7, and these chapters will also examine how the different generations within this racially mixed community are positioning themselves in contemporary Macau. The purpose of this current chapter is to provide some historical background on Macau as both a colonised and decolonised city. By examining four major socio-political periods, this chapter explains how and why Macau's political power shifted hands and examines key issues leading to the retrogression to China. It also discusses how the ramifications of these social changes have affected and influenced members of this racially mixed group's dispositions of today. Moreover, this chapter helps to serve as a basis to

understand the complexity of the Macanese position of being intertwined between two cultures and the choices' dilemmas and concerns that characterize the Macanese experience since 1999.

The thesis will now turn to investigate the theoretical framework of this thesis as applied to the study of mixed racial development in Macau. It will also proceed to explore Macaneseness in terms of four major themes, namely identity, language, religion and food, on how they have been and are being performed, negotiated and managed from the days of the Portuguese colony to the current Chinese administration.

Chapter 3: Literature review

3.1 Introduction

In order to understand the complexities of the Macanese, and to gain an informed perspective with regard to their status as a mixed-race community in contemporary Macau, we must first understand their roles and positions as subjects being shaped before and after the handover era in 1999 of Macau. My thesis will draw on theoretical frameworks to explore the social and political changes in the wake of the handover and how they have impacted the racially mixed people of – the Macanese. In this chapter I will discuss the Macanese by looking at their identities, language and culture, to examine how their ambivalent positions of being mixed are managed, performed and negotiated vis-à-vis two administrations, namely the Portuguese and the Chinese. I will also investigate the impact of sinicization together with other social, economic and political influences which have affected and shaped them.

This chapter will discuss the relevance of Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993), Bhabha (1994), Ali (2003), and Song's (2003) theoretical frameworks on mixed race studies for the investigation of the Macanese and how they understood themselves as a racially mixed community in the post-handover context. By applying Bhabha's conceptual framework of 'in-betweenness' (1994:71-73), I will explore Macanese ambiguity in light of their hybrid upbringing and their being excluded from 'full' affiliation to both ethnic worlds. Firstly, I will begin with a discussion of the concept of mixed race in order to aid our understanding of how the Macanese ascribed and positioned themselves in the context of the social changes under the Chinese administration in Macau. This will be followed by a discussion of the central theoretical concepts used to explore mixed-race developments, and how the centrality of mixedness is applied as a vehicle to divide and stratify ethnic groups under the structure of class and social identities. In order to examine their mixed raced background, some local historical events which have been discussed in chapter 2 will be referred to here, in order to illustrate the formation of the Macanese. I will pay particular attention to the social and political changes before and after 1999. The Macanese context has been

celebrated in the work of a number of local writers (Conceição, 2002; Senna Fernandes, 2004), yet most tend to illustrate it from a historical perceptive, that is, as backdrops to exemplify this racially mixed community's distinctiveness. Yet, what interests me most are the consequences of the post-handover period and how this particular racially mixed community has positioned and adapted itself to the societal and political changes in contemporary Macau. This approach has been largely neglected in the local academic field. In this thesis, I will be employing mixed race studies from a sociological perspective, to explore the three key themes of identity, language and cultures (with a focus on religion and food), to explore Macanese positionalities in this unusual context.

3.2 The meaning of 'mixed race'

The term 'mixed race' itself is contradictory, as it is presumed to result from, and be produced, by the combination of 'pure races' (Parker and Song, 2001:7) to create a new form. In the US, research into mixed race groups have significantly increased and mixed race groups have been celebrated as embodiments of intertwining cultures (Ibid.). One of the most influential figures is Maria P. P. Root who declared the 'Bill of Rights for racially mixed people' (1996:7). In one of the principles she argues that mixed racial people should possess 'the right to loyalties and identification with more than one group of people…to foster connections and bridges, and broadening one's worldview, rather than perpetuating "us" versus "them" schisms and antagonisms' (1996:13). This principle will be explored in the context of the Macanese in Macau discourse as this chapter unfolds.

As humans, we are repeatedly categorised and re-categorized by one of the most powerful identification labels, namely of race (Williams, 1996:193). As Song argues, 'one's race does not necessarily trump other aspects of identification [as] the analytical and lived lines of difference between racial, ethnic, religious, and national modes of identification can be quite blurred' (2010:352). From a sociological perspective, race functions to categorise the person's phenotype as a result of their differences from others in order to assign 'membership' alongside those who share identical characteristics. Hence, a mixed race person's ambiguous visual appearance may not fit

neatly within such categories and will likely increase the chances of experiencing prejudice from both ethnic racial groups with which he or she affiliates.

Anzaldúa's description of a mixed race individual is described as being 'cradle in one culture, sandwiched between two cultures, straddling all three cultures and their value systems' while struggling between his own flesh and borders (1987:100). Tizard and Phoenix argue that in some countries mixed race people are conferred 'an intermediate status' by white people, placing them below white people but at the same time superior to black people (1995:1399). In contrast, mixed racial individuals in Brazil are exempt from being labelled as 'opprobrium' simply because they comprise the largest segment of the country's population (ibid.).

In general terms, a mixed race person is perceived by some societies as an anomaly and a problematic figure that possesses 'a majority and minority image into one identity' (Thornton, 1996:108) as a result of the combination of contradicting values and positions found in different ethnic groups. In Stonequist's illustration, a mixed race individual is a 'marginal man' (1935:1) who undergoes a 'process of abstraction' (ibid.) because of one's dual identity, are analogous to a 'psychological limbo' (Zepp, 1991:162). Cheng compares the hybrid person to a pathetic figure who wanders in a 'liminal state' (1999:179) between both cultures and groups where he or she holds no position. As such, such hybrids are seen as threats that tend to have the potential to dilute and degrade white purity, and this depiction is mostly applied to individuals who are second generation immigrants and hyphenated identities (Pieterse, 2001:227).

In contrast, Anzaldúa argues that mixed race individuals are not stagnated or fixed. She describes a 'constantly "crossing over"…of races, rather than resulting in an inferior being, [but rather] provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool' (1987:99). Bhabha adds to the delineation of hybridity which involves an alienating movement to open an interstice for:

> Negotiation where power is unequal but its articulation may be equivocal. Such negotiation is neither assimilation nor collaboration. It makes possible the emergence of an 'interstitial' agency that refuses the binary representation of social antagonism' (1996:58).

He coins the concept of 'the third dimension' (1994:71) which is, as he states is not derived from the colonized or the colonized other but is carved out of the colonized otherness (ibid.). Additionally, this dimension is the result of the discontinuity to the indigenous and the western, often ambivalence and spatially split (ibid.), observed in racially mixed individuals.

3.2.1 Labelling mixedness

As highlighted by Williams (1996:203) physical appearance is one of the features by which others identify mixed race individuals and this identification usually occurs without the agreement of the person being observed. In fact, many racially mixed people articulate that their physical ambiguity often leads them to be misrepresented in terms of their race and heritage (Williams, 1996:202-203). Many biracial people's physical ambiguity bears assumptions where they may be mistakenly attached to a certain racial group under a certain racial pattern, largely created out of the imagination of the observer (Williams, 1996:203; Root, 1996:8). As such, mixed race individuals, including myself, are faced with comments that contest their ethnic origins, such as "you don't look like a Chinese", "you are not Portuguese?" or "are you from the Philippines (Williams, 1996:203)?" A racially mixed phenotype very often, but not always, excludes the mixed race individual not only from the binaries of white and non-white groups, but from a range of multiple ethnic group typologies as a consequence of their ambiguous physical appearance (Ali, 2003:12). In terms of their status, in certain countries, biracial individuals are given an intermediate position conferred to them by white groups, often fostering an inferior position under the category of 'whiteness' but superior to the Chinese, as observed in the colonial Macau context (Tizard and Phoenix, 1995:1399). A study by Tizard and Phoenix found that people of mixed ancestry were in the past, viewed with considerable degree of resentment and disdain by white people, as they were held accountable for diluting the 'white blood' through their inferior race (1995:1399). Offensive idiomatic terms used for labelling mixed race people were numerous, and include mongrel, mutt, mulatto, half-breed, half-caste and 'marginal individual' (Song, 2003:9). Although labels are powerful comments to reflect how society views the mixed race population

and their existence (Root, 1996: xxiii), they tend to outline a sense of exclusivity from the larger population to reinforce group solidarity among individuals (Ali, 2012: 171) and also establish "us" and "them" boundaries between smaller and bigger groups. Much of the above focused on the European and North American context in which whiteness is imbued with privilege. However, I would argue that these studies and their findings do not perfectly translate to the Southeast Asian world, nor to the context where the process of 'mixing' has developed over centuries, in places such as Macau.

3.2.2 The process of race shifting

Irrespective of the individual's heritages, mixed race people can suffer through being labelled as being incomplete and fragmented individuals (Root, 1996:8) and may be excluded from one of the ethnic groups where previous generation held membership. Song suggests that this can lead to a mixed race person to prioritize one ancestry over another 'whether by choice or through assignment by others' (2003:67). For example, if a person is part Portuguese and part German, he or she will likely be considered to be 'passing' as non-Portuguese, as both are white heritages, hence no 'racial opposition' is performed (ibid.). However, it becomes problematic, if the individual is part Portuguese and part Chinese, then he or she will be accused of 'passing' as not one, but both ethnic groups (ibid.). Using the example of a Macanese individual again, if the person claimed his or her Portuguese identity, he or she would be accused of denying their non-Portuguese heritage and of being 'inauthentic' to oneself and the society overall (ibid.). Thus, the notion of 'passing' implicitly illustrates a shifting of identities, often applied by multiracial people to enable them to bypass any unfavourable conditions which might be reflecting to a non-white status.

Ali highlights that the process of 'passing', or being able to 'pass', should not be perceived as an intentional resource to benefit white supremacy or to avoid the conflicts of being racially mixed, but rather to 'negotiate identities around multiple differences' as a result of the multiple positions ascribed to biracial people (2003:13). In addition, the concept of the 'passing' process is celebrated in the works of Root

(1996:13), Song (2003:68), and Ali (2003:13). For example, Song has interrogated the meaning of 'passing', in arguing that:

> Passing needs to be reconceptualised, not as a straightforward, uncomplicated resource possessed and knowingly employed by light-skinned mixed people, but rather as an ethnic option with a heavy cost, and one which mixed people may not always be able to control (2003:69).

As such, a multitude of local colonial literatures have been critical of the use of 'passing' which may, intentionally or not, work to the benefit of a white privileged status (Song, 2003:68). However, the Macanese discourse is too complex to encompass only one type of 'passing' as it also involves 'passing' for economic benefits, which supports the theoretical concept of a "flexible citizenship" (Ong, 1999:6). This term redefines the typical meaning of citizenship to illustrate a sense of choice of citizenship, for economic reasons. Nonetheless, how does this process of 'passing' (ethnic and economic benefits) apply to the current Macanese generation in the sinicized Macau and what are the reasons behind it?

3.2.3 Mixed race development

In general, the binary system of Black and White is widely adopted in the West to conceptualize mixed racial people and their development (Stonequist, 1935; Root, 1996; Thornton, 1996). The mixed race literature can be categorized into two main groups: development perspective and perspectives focusing on marginalization and stigmatization such as in the works of Root, (1996:13) and Kerwin et al, (1993:221). Some theorists, such as Thornton, have moved beyond the traditional conceptual framework in mixed race development. He suggested that mixed race individuals should have the right to bond with two existing (side by side) worlds, largely the minority and the majority, instead of identifying with only one that incorporates both (1996:114). In Spickard's study he points out that race, should not always be regarded as a negative label even when applied as a tool of dominance to exclude the 'Other' under the 'one-drop rule' system. In contrast, it can function as a positive source for 'self-esteem, mutual help and sense of belonging' of subordinate individuals to share a

communal identity and experience (1992:19). Using Macau as an example, the Macanese will likely share trust with other Macanese as members of the same minority group, at least in a 'free conversation', but that sort of degree of trust may not be shared with other non-Macanese.

Moreover, Kerwin et al (1993:221) underpin Crawford and Alaggia's findings (2008). Their work is helpful in refuting the accusation that marginalization necessarily characterises mixed race individuals (Stonequist, 1935:7). They propose four important concepts in their study which they argue help young people construct their racial identity: 'parental awareness and understanding, validation, and choice of racial identification' (Crawford and Alaggia, 2008:93). The conceptual frameworks proposed by Crawford and Alaggia (2008) and Kerwin et al (1993) are useful, but I would suggest that it is only applicable in generic terms, as evidence from my data shows that marginalisation still persists in individual cases, even though it is rarely raised or discussed in the local literatures on Macau.

3.3 The structuring of class with race (non-biological)

For Payne, people are socially divided according to 'sociological labels' created out of our perception and based on the cultural significance of the labels we have learned to ascribe to others (2006:4). In the way society is structured, inequalities exist between communities, and can be split into categories such as 'class, age, gender, ethnicity, and health' (ibid.). Among these categories, a hierarchical structure has emerged. Members refer to others in terms of their 'inferior' and 'superior' economic positions, while also consigning them to social cliques, according to social evaluations assigned to the specific class one belongs to (Bottero, 2005:69). A good example of this is how the traditional or elite families were positioned in Macau from the past, where they dominated the top echelons of the Macanese community stratification ladder. Payne states that social inequalities created along these lines will likely cause groups to divide and become stratified due to an imbalance in resource allocation (Payne, 2006:6). A study by Anthias argues that social divisions are the result of the inequalities attributed to oneself by others in relation to inferiority and issues of hierarchy (2001:837). In principle, inner categorization functions by adopting traditional labels associated with

race (for example, black/white) to constitute social identification of the self and others (Hogg, 1987:101). As stated in Thornton, race as delineated from a sociological perspective resembles a person's social location as a 'proxy measure' of the individual's experience of the group where he or she belongs (1996:104). Such categorisation, for example when applied to the context of race, reinforces to underpin identity among in-group members by excluding others (Hogg, 1987:102) to legitimize social stratification. Moreover, in the study of inclusion and exclusion, for example in race and ethnic subordination studies, are central to challenge the 'moral binary' that being 'included is good and excluded is bad' (Anthias, 2001:839). It will be interesting to understand the ways in which the Macanese position themselves within the context of Macau. Will they be prepared to let go of their 'racially mixed' membership in order not to be marginalised by the majority Chinese? In this context, it is important that any discussion of the stratification process should not be unilaterally focused on the marginalised, but should examine the stratifying structure as a whole.

By examining theories of mixed race, the following sections will now explore the Macanese identity, language and culture and how they are being shifted and being negotiated before and after the transitional period. Indeed, the post 1999 period signified the beginning of unprecedented dynamic changes in the social, economic and political arenas. It was arguably the most challenging moment for Macau and particularly for the Macanese, who were brought up with a strong Portuguese heritage rooted in their identity, language and culture.

Before I proceed, it will be helpful to briefly describe how 'colonialism and post-colonialism' are represented in the Macau context. I would argue that, in this case, as they do not follow the scholarly presumption that colonisation necessarily indicates conquest, and decolonisation indicates independence.

3.4 A peculiar kind of colonial and post-colonialism

According to Clayton (2013:26) one key colonial period was the epoch following 1846, which began with the arrival of the Ferreira do Amaral as governor, where he imposed self-governing control over Macau (see Chapter 2). Another colonial period was during

the mid-1960s (especially the 123 incident) which happened during the peak of the China's Cultural-Revolution (see Chapter 2), when the Portuguese ultimately relinquished the supreme authority of Macau over to China (Gunn, 2005:158). However, the colonialization in Macau does not fit into other colonised Asian countries, for example in countries like Singapore, the Philippines, Laos, Malacca (now Malaysia), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) India, Indonesia, Burma (now Myanmar), Brunei, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Cheng, 1999:198). In Cheng's description, Macau's colonization and decolonization are regarded as an 'anomaly' (ibid.) as it does not mirror the orthodox political theorist's standard of colonization that equates to 'conquest' and decolonization that implies to 'revolution' (Cheng, 1999:199). Unlike other Portuguese colonies, Macau's colonialization represented a different discourse of colonialism, post-colonialism or neo-colonialism. In fact, it was merely a process that involved the transferring of political authorities between Portugal and China, while no signs of subversion of military force were observed. For some Macau people, colonialism was perceived as foreigners (Portuguese) occupying Chinese territory, to access benefits through Macau's political system for their own protection as well as for those who can speak the Portuguese language (Clayton, 2013:26). The latter was evident during the Portuguese administration period, where the Portuguese language was seen as instrumental for the acquisition of status and authority over the major Chinese population in Macau. This will be examined in my findings chapter on identity and language (see Chapter 5-6). As depicted in Clayton, the Portuguese four centuries' presence in Macau was not perceived as colonialism, but rather a 'shared sovereignty' (Clayton, 2013:26) between the Portuguese and Chinese. As such, this 'shared sovereignty' came to an end by 20 December of 1999 in Macau, that marked the change of a new era from the Portuguese to Chinese governance.

3.5 Formation of the Creole Community

The handover symbolised a major transformation of sovereignties. It also revived Macau's socio-economy and at the same time shifted the role of the Creole community, who had occupied a key role for centuries to liaise between two different ethnic worlds. Commonly referred to as Macanese, they were integrated by the

Portuguese and Chinese through the processes of marriage (which includes cohabiting and concubinage) as well as by religious conversion, particular during the Portuguese colonial period (賈淵、陸凌梭：《颱風之鄉-澳門土生族羣動態》(澳門：澳門文化司署，1995)，頁 44; Pina Cabral, 2002:22).

Marriages were usually between Portuguese men, mostly soldiers or sailors in Macau, with local Chinese women mostly from lower classes, such as fishing folks and slaves (Pina Cabral, 1994:230). Despite the couple different ethnic backgrounds, marriage was deemed an effective way to improve and legitimize the couple status in society after having children. Consequently, they would be granted immediate membership to the Creole community and simultaneously gained access in attaining government jobs, where the majority Chinese people were under-represented. The study of (賈淵、陸凌梭：《颱風之鄉-澳門土生族羣動態》，頁 45) confirms that cohabiting was prevalent between Macanese men and local Chinese women, as well as a few cases of Chinese concubinages. While the latter may be perceived as some sort of an embarrassment in West, it was however acceptable in Chinese society during the 1940s and 1950s for a man (Portuguese) to bear children with his (Portuguese-speaking person) wife and his concubine (of Chinese descent) (ibid.). Even if such relations were considered illegitimate by marriage or were short-lived, the children who were born of local women would be still recognized as offspring by their Macanese or Portuguese fathers (Pina Cabral, 2002:22) and would eventually obtain full membership as Macanese.

The second integration was by the process of conversion. People who opted to convert to Catholicism usually did so at a very young age. The converted individual would be given a Portuguese Christian name and would be integrated as members of the Creole community. Until 1841, conversion to Catholicism was banned for Chinese people. Those who were found defying this ban would have their Chinese ethnicity symbolically ‘taken away’, and had their long plait of hair (a symbolic figure, indicating them as subjects of the Manchu emperors) cut off. For the majority of Chinese citizens, conversion was regarded as a disloyalty to both their ancestors and identity. In 1846, the Qing Dynasty government was compelled to allow conversion for Chinese people, largely due to an increasing rise of converted Chinese Catholics after the Opium Wars (Pina Cabral, 1994:231). Converted individuals did not possess any Portuguese

bloodline, yet they along with their children shared no difference with other Creole community members and would be equally treated as Macanese or Portuguese (Pina Cabral, 2002:165). Besides conversion being an effective way to reproduce the Creole community, for some it was clearly an objective they associated with political and social privileges gained through the process of integration.

3.6 Deconstructing the Macanese position

Before the 1999 handover, many Macanese struggled with the decision of whether to leave or stay in Macau. The political instability that the handover caused was akin to other periods of historical turmoil in Macau, such as the mid-60s (see chapter 2), which prompted a displacement and re-location of the Macanese population, many of whom chose to leave their homeland behind. In Flynn's (2007:468) definition, home represents and where one's root are located, and the continuity of generations' attachment to the land. The parting with home in the case of the Macanese connoted a (temporal or permanent) departure from 'pleasant memories, intimate situations, a place of warmth and protective security amongst parents, brothers and sisters, [and] loved people' (Sarup, 1994:94) cultivated and nurtured in a spatial context.

As for those who stayed, there was, however a dire concern that their status position as a mixed-race community would be challenged and contested as a result of the socially and politically disparities held by the Chinese majority, most of whom were closely connected to mainland China. As a close knit community, the Macanese affiliation to Macau is salient, where memories are central to shape experiences and interrelations among themselves and as a group (Blunt, 2005:506). With only a few thousand Macanese left in Macau, this community is strategically struggling to remain and to adapt to socio-political changes after the handover. Keeping the Macanese legacy alive in the place that is home (Flynn, 2007:468) for them and their kin is of great importance. In spite of their efforts to re-adjust, the Macanese have also come to acknowledge that their intermediary role had been rendered less significant. This is particularly the situation in the civil service, which was once dominated by the Macanese (Jacobs, 2011). As the Chinese administration took over, new rules were implemented in the civil service, and language was evidently among them. More than

that, many Chinese civil servants are trained to become bilingual; hence, the advantage of speaking the Portuguese language is no longer deemed a short route into a civil position. In Noronha and Chaplin's research, they point out that Cantonese has clearly surpassed Portuguese as the primary language and is now 'the medium of learning in schools, professional and vocational education institutions (2011:411). However, it is unclear whether the majority Macanese people have shifted to speaking Chinese. This is one aspect of the post-transition Macanese experience I will examine in the following section.

3.7 The post-handover choice

As discussed in the earlier chapter, the elderly Macanese identify mostly with the Portuguese heritage. Most Macanese in their 50s and above are mostly educated in Portuguese. As a consequence, many of this group held middle-ranking positions in the civil service during the colonial period, as well as in the legal, accounting and architectural sectors of the labour market where Portuguese language dominated (Yee, 2001:133). Since most Macanese are bilingual, they served as intermediaries to bridge the gap between the (European) Portuguese and the Chinese populations during the Portuguese administration. In addition to that, the 1980s created a multitude of career opportunities for the Macanese, particularly those who returned to Macau after their studies in Portugal, and so they were almost guaranteed a high position in the government sector. Nonetheless, the approach of the handover, together with the lack of trust towards the Chinese government, significantly undermined their confidence in continuing to live in Macau. However, in spite of power shift to the Chinese government, many of the Macanese remained. What I am interested in exploring in this thesis is how and in what ways did they manage and negotiate their vulnerable status as a racially mixed community in sinicized Macau after the handover of 1999?

3.7.1 Localisation

A survey conducted in 1995 among the Macanese showed that 39.1 per cent were either 'unsatisfied' or 'very unsatisfied' with the pace of the civil service localisation (Yee, 2001:140). The implementation of localisation (which was described in chapter 2)

was intended to localise the civil service, the law and to usher in the Cantonese language as the official language of the administration. Results from the survey indicated that the Macanese felt they were sidelined in the localisation plan. In fact, on February 1994, the government issued 'an integration plan' (ibid.) that operated like an optional choice for civil servants but it was clearly designed to satisfy the needs of the Macanese. The plan was to bring together qualified civil servants to work in Portugal, with each one being given two options, either to stay and serve the Chinese government or work for the Portuguese government in Portugal after 1999. Out of a total of 6,400 civil servants, 4,915 remained to work for the Chinese administration. Among those who left, some chose to work in the Portuguese government, while others chose to leave the civil service entirely or opted for early retirement. The reasons given by those who opted to leave varied, some expressed a lack of confidence in the new administration, while others were fearful that Cantonese would overtake Portuguese as the first language of the civil service (Yee, 2001:147). In retrospect, language, (which will be discussed later in this chapter), seems to act as a double-edged sword for the Macanese. Although the Portuguese language legitimized its users' superiority over the subaltern (Blumer, 2012:119) during the colonial period, this shifted to the Cantonese language, which is now used to suppress Portuguese users after 1999. It is noteworthy to point out here that the survey figures used to demonstrate this incident were results taken before 1999 and was restricted to the Macanese civil servants only; hence I argue they may be under-representative of the Macanese as a whole in the current situation of Macau.

3.7.2 Restructuring the civil service

As for the Macanese who chose to serve for the Chinese government, one of the prerequisites was to acquire proficiency in written Chinese Yee, 2001:147). The status of the Chinese language thus became 'the *de facto* (original) monopoly of politics' (Bourdieu, 1991:47) and functioned as a powerful stratifying mechanism to include and exclude, with the aim of undermining 'the marginal, the underdeveloped, the periphery, the 'Other' (Hall, 1994:396). What language did in this context, was to transcend the normative usage applied in a communicating instrument to become 'a

new language of authority' (Bourdieu, 1991:48) by the government over the Macanese of those who were not equipped to communicate in Cantonese (especially in writing) Chinese. One participant (a Macanese civil servant) in my research noted that immediately after the handover all official memorandums, documents and the computers system (keyboards, software, etc.) were changed to Chinese. This sudden switch left many non-Chinese (Macanese) civil servants feeling squeezed out and excluded. The table below (Figure 3) shows the language skills of civil servants taken from Yee (2001:56). These figures from 1987 demonstrate a 19.6 percentage discrepancy between spoken and written Chinese pointing to the Macanese civil servants who could not write Chinese.

Percentage	Language	Level
50.8	Written Portuguese	Fair
53.4	Spoken Portuguese	Good/Fair
85	Spoken Cantonese(Cantonese)	Excellent
65.4	Written Chinese	Good/Fair

Figure 3: Macau Civil Servants language proficiency (1987) (Source: Yee, 2001:56)

3.7.3 Adaptation to a new government

As demonstrated in chapter 2, the political changes during the mid-1960s (the 123 riot) and 1970s (the departure of the Portuguese troops) were among the two major events that had impinged upon the Macanese decision whether to remain or not after the handover. What followed is responsible in shifting the significance and balance of Chinese-ness (in the place of Portuguese-ness) to become the identity, language and culture for the next generation. As a result, the Macanese (from the late 20s to 40s), are better equipped in the national language and experienced less polarisation with the Chinese populace (Yee, 2001:138). The truth of the matter is, the Macanese community on the whole is now much less of a threat to the Chinese population mainly

because the racial mixed community make up only 2 - 3 per cent of the total population (ibid.). Furthermore, many had already begun to acknowledge the importance of China and Chinese language (Cantonese and Mandarin) both in the economic and political local sectors in Macau. As a minority group, the current Macanese generation's competence in the Cantonese language has helped them to succeed in the labour market. However, can we assume that their career prospects are better than those of the Macanese employed during the Portuguese administration? I will explore this future in my analysis chapters.

3.8 A divided society

Although Macau is considered a place 'with communities from the East and West which complement each other' (Macao Government Tourism Office) in fact, the Portuguese, Chinese and Macanese do not relate easily to each other (Watts, 1997:295; Cheng, 1999:203; Hao, 2010: 171) and exist separately. Da Silva draws on the 'Tri-stata' (2009:25) to exemplify the elder Macanese peoples' feeling of inferiority that might have caused them to detach from the other ethnic groups. However this is less observed these days among Macanese in their 30s or the younger population. In terms of the social context of Macau, the Macanese and Portuguese have separate community organizations, such as the Macau Club, the Holy House of Mercy, Macau Home of Portuguese Association, the International Institute of Macau, the Macanese Education Promotion Association and the Oriental Foundation. Likewise, the local Chinese people also have their own community organizations with a Chinese ethnic membership (Hao, 2010:112). The reasons why the Macanese and Chinese choose to organize and socialize in this way have been explained in terms of language barriers, which are in turn associated with the colonial past. For many older Chinese people, the past (and particularly the 123 incident in the mid-1960s) was an oppressive period that not many would want to be reminded of. As for the Macanese, the future is associated with their increasingly vulnerable position which could result in them being side-lined by the majority population. I will now turn to examining how the Macanese people re-situated and affirmed their position to blend in with the sinicized population.

3.9 The structuring of the mixed-race identity

For generations the appropriation of both Chinese and Portuguese history, values and ideologies has helped to shape a unique Macanese 'cultural identity' (Cheng, 2001:321) which is associated with sharing a commonality and with defining themselves 'as members of a collectivity' (Jenkins, 2010:43). It is assumed that the more strongly an ethnic group maintains its history, tradition, and language, the more likely it will enable itself to sustain its ethnic identity and position in society.

Macau's social political milieu has always played a crucial role in terms of the Creole community's evolution in respect of the Portuguese and Chinese sovereignties. As such, the choice of practicality appears to be of major concern on how individuals positioned themselves as observed from the Macanese context.

During 1846-1967, Macau witnessed an outpouring of Macanese seeking to become Europeans (Pina Cabral, 2002:38). Many perceived this as a privilege to enhance the Creole community as well as their language and culture. According to (賈淵、陸凌梭：《颱風之鄉-澳門土生族羣動態》(澳門：澳門文化司署，1995)，頁 56), Macanese with Portuguese language skills, would be prioritized and allocated to middle ranking positions in the government. Although most Macanese are also Cantonese speakers, their standard of proficiency differs, even to this day. Many succeed to become intermediators between the government and the Chinese community who lack Portuguese language skills. This largely justifies why most Macanese in their mid-40s and above, monopolized middle and higher rank government positions.

The strong affiliation of Portugueseness remained for the most of the twentieth century till the end of 1970s (Pina Cabral, 2002:38). However, the departing of the Portuguese troops in December 1975 (ibid) ultimately shifted the Macanese's ethnic disposition previously rooted in Portuguese. Evidently, political power was overtaken by the Chinese authorities. What followed the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration in 1987, was that the Macanese realized their advantage in getting government positions was no longer relevant (Yee, 2001:138). This means that while most Macanese's parents are secured with a government retirement pension, the Macanese in their 40s and under expressed higher levels of anxiety towards their

future. Those who either could not or would not leave Macau opted to drop the Portuguese language in their education and many were sent to Anglo-Chinese schools instead. In addition, the prevailing Chinese-influence from the nearby Hong Kong mass media further amplified the resistance towards the Portuguese-speaking culture. This clearly reflects why Macanese born after the mid-1960s are on the whole weaker in Portuguese language skills than the previous generations. On the plus side, this served to reinforced a 'new process of ethnic reformation integration' to draw the ethnic gap closer between the Macanese with the Chinese community (Pina Cabral, 2002:75).

In retrospect, the social changes in the late 1970s were of great significance in positioning the Creole community in an intercultural condition between two ethnic worlds, where each can be easily accessed (Pina Cabral, 2002:141). As a result, many young Macanese embraced their difference with pride in occupying dual ethnicities (Kerwin et al, 1993:221). However, on the other hand, despite experiencing less demarcation between the Chinese and themselves, some Macanese found themselves constantly depicting signs of incomplete integration due to their overlapping references (Pina Cabral, 2002:141). This condition seemed to be less pronounced than in the past, but has tended to become more visible after the Portuguese left. Zepp boldly points out that their ambiguity towards the future Macau has always presented in the Macanese sub-conscience, and that somehow they are not willing to take a clear stance on those issues (1987:134). To this day, their inability to obtain 'ownership' of their future is still echoed in their language and culture (Zepp, 1991:155-160), mimicking Bhabha's conceptual framework of a 'liminal space' (1994:71-73) in how they perceive themselves as being mixed.

The transformation of administrations has compelled this mixed racial group to acknowledge the importance of being "in" the social structure but to also avoid being marginalized by that social structure. In this respect, their choice of Chinese-ness clearly reflects a strategy to reduce the gap between themselves as a minority group and the dominant Chinese populace in the society. However, in doing so, does it hamper their identification with their Portugueseness? In light of the city's social changes, the younger generation's alignment with the Chinese is probably the most practical option. The fact is the Macanese have acknowledged that the current societal

structure has changed and that it has profoundly weakened their identity, language and culture. In order to uphold their community, many Macanese realized that sustaining the 'norm' of Macanese practice, akin to the previous generation, and blindly focusing on the Portuguese side might not be an appropriate strategy. Moreover, the effect of sinicization after the handover has been on the whole precipitated the new generation's assimilation with the Chinese. It is, however, important to understand that the meaning of 'Chineseness' discussed here is disassociated from the ideologies of those from mainland China. The concept of "Chineseness" in both Macau and Hong Kong, commonly implies a 'backward mainland China' (Ma, 1999; Ng & Cheung, 2001, cited in Ma & Fung, 2007:173). Rather in this context, it refers to a specific "Chineseness" which is bred out of local discourses and ideologies, which have been created over a lengthy colonial period (Fung, 2004:401; Hao, 2011:195).

In fact, no Macanese can escape the fact that being part of a mixed-race community means often encountering the issue of not being fully accepted in or by other ethnic groups, particularly in Macau. As such, what mechanisms will the Macanese employ to position their 'mixed-racial' cultural markers in order to avoid being side-lined by the majority population?

3.10 Negotiating identities for adaptation

The change of administrations was significant to the subsequent reconstruction of the local social, as well as the political and economic significance of Macau. As for the Macanese community, most of them are sceptical about what the future of Macau holds for them. Before I proceed, it is important to understand the problems of 'affiliation and dis-affiliation' in relation to groups, to address the problems of the Macanese as a group, which had evolved during and after these changes.

In general, ethnicity is regarded as a major resource to connect the individual with a group who share identical cultures and heritage (Fenton, 2010:91) as well as to group 'ethnic resources which can be used for struggle, negotiation and the pursuit of political aspects, both [as individuals] for the group [and] as a whole in relation to

other groups' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992:8). For example, ethnic identity is important as it serves as a backbone to underpin the group or community to which one holds membership. For Hall:

> Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions…… and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (1996:4).

In terms of minority individuals, their commitment and membership to their own ethnic group is central to sustain social identity. However, assimilation into a group should be voluntary, in order to allow space for the individuals to 'affiliate or disaffiliate' with their own communities (Song, 2003:42). In the event that an individual chooses to disaffiliate with a group, he or she may risk the condemnation of others and consequently being banished by group members. This is particularly difficult for minority group individuals as there is the fear of losing the support of other ethnic group members. There are many ways to dis-identify from an ethnic group, such as choosing friends and peers from another ethnic groups in order to be accepted by the wider population. There could be a whole range of reasons for members to opt out, such as for 'political or social interests' (ibid.) or simply because of the need to 'survive' given a wider societal context. In addition, the set of affirmations created in Root's "Bill of Rights" (1996:7) encourage and support the idea that multiracial people should have the right to identify with more than one group of people (ibid.). Not only has Root challenged the rigidity of monoracial affiliations, she also highlights the importance of connections in narrowing the gap between "us" and "them" amongst ethnic groups (1996:13).

In terms of group membership, mixed-race individuals are subjected to being mistakenly identified as ascribing to a different ethnic group to that which they actually hold membership. For example, when I was a student in Hong Kong, most of my friends thought I was 'pure' Chinese, largely because of my physical appearance until I began speaking with an atypical Hong Kong accent; consequently my ethnic membership was then challenged. Yet in Macau, my Macanese features have only

afforded me a 'partial membership'. This is largely because whilst I share some similar cultural habits, my Chinese upbringing, phenotype, accent, education and multi-layered identities dis-affiliate my full membership from a typical Macanese that very often associates closer with the Portuguese ancestry. That being said, mixed-race individuals often perform similarly to myself in an unconscious manner because they may acquire the choice of negotiating between the multiple identities that they possess (Ali, 2003:13). As in the case of the Macanese, it might be due to other factors entrenched from the past that stereotyped and marked them as different from other ethnic groups, which I will explore in the findings chapter dedicated to identity.

The way to Chinese-ness will certainly challenge this mixed race group. Some studies have explicitly argued that Macanese will become Chinese after the handover (Amaro, 1994:227), whilst some assume Macanese identity will be short-lived and will likely disappear in Macau (Morbey, 1994:208). In this thesis, I will examine whether, in line with these predictions, the Macanese identity will cease to exist, from the perspective of a mixed age group of Macanese in contemporary Macau.

Despite the fact that Macau is now part of China, the Macanese and most of the local born Chinese (mostly referring to those who were brought up with western ideologies from the colonial past) will be unlikely to identify with the PRC (People's Republic of China) as their pasts were on the most part constructed and influenced via Portuguese ideologies (Hao, 2010:196). In terms of travelling documents, many Macanese and Macau Chinese citizens hold a Home Return Permit (回鄉證)[1] and a Macau Special Administration Region Passport (澳門特別行政區護照)[2] for travelling convenience.

[1] The Home Return Permit or Mainland Travel Permit is a travel document for Hong Kong and Macau permanent residents who are PRC citizens to return to their homeland. However, it does not function like a passport and are restricted to travelling in China only.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Home_Return_Permit, retrieved on 16 February 2013)

[2] The Macau Special Administrative Region passport is an international travel document issued to permanent residents of Macau, who are subject to PRC. They could also at the same time, hold a Portuguese or other foreign passports as travel documents.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Macao_Special_Administrative_Region_passport, retrieved on 16 February 2013)

This does not, however, imply their intention to become Chinese, but that many Macanese felt the necessity to acquire a 'borrowed identity' (Li, 1997:505) in the form of a Chinese name and related documentation. In fact, it has become quite common in recent years for many Macanese to acquire both a Chinese and Portuguese name on their Macau identification card. According to Li's studies, such practices are effective as a short cut to create a 'relationship of solidarity and intimacy' (1997:505) as well as to bolster a homogenous identity with the Chinese public.

3.10.1 Acquisition of a new identity

Gunn (2005:154) notes that Macau in the late 1940s was a sanctuary for many Chinese who had fled from communist oppression in the mainland. In essence, Macau's population comprises of approximately 30 per cent Chinese from the mainland who arrived in the territory between 1979 and 1980 (as described in chapter 2), but who kept their Chinese identity even though they lived under the Portuguese administration. For these 'recent' immigrants, the handover was just a celebration of exchanging polities, whereas it signified an emotional departure of the Portuguese fatherland for the majority Macanese community. Clearly, the Macanese resistance to the Chinese administration after 1999 was to a large extent the consequence of their affiliation with Portugal that had hindered them from assimilating to the Chinese identity (Fung, 2004:402). As Fung argues, even though a profound change in sovereignty has the power to disrupt the local population and its culture, with additional 'opportunity and imagination' (ibid.), it could, also allow an agent with a 'local' identity to emerge. As Hao states that:

> A new Macauan identity is still in the making, facing the challenge of reconciling the differences in the Chinese and Portuguese identities into one Macauan identity without sacrificing one's own ethnic identities, using abundant historical heritages. (Hao, 2011:198-199)

However, are we implying that the Macanese are willing to reconcile the different components in relation to local values to access a localised identity as Hao postulates? For these mixed-race people, the post 1999 period marked a sense of abandonment by a government that had previously existed for centuries. According to Amélia António, a

Portuguese lawyer, who lived in Macau for the last thirty years, 'there is no support whatsoever from Lisbon' (Mendonça, 2009). She claimed the only assistance the Macanese could get to sustain the Lusitania culture was from 'Beijing and the local chief executive [to] support the Portuguese community as part of Macau's identity' (Mendonça, 2009). The fact is, China has thus far provided unprecedented social and economic support for Macau, firstly by listing the city on the Macau World Heritage to promote it as a "Historic Centre" (Macau Government Tourist Office). Secondly, the Macanese gastronomy and Patúa (the Creole dialect) have been jointly listed by the Chinese government as intangible cultural heritages of Macau in 2012, with the help of the Macau government. In recent years, the central government of China has expressed concern for the need to diversify the city's economic resources rather than singly relying on its gambling revenue (Macau Daily Times, 2012). This was underpinned by the Chinese President Xi Jinping's last visit to Macau on December 2014, where he proclaimed that he wanted to develop Macau into a leisure and tourism centre by utilizing its unique combination of eastern and western cultural characteristics (ibid.).

In terms of the city's economy, Macau was no less a globalized or cosmopolitan city than the nearby Hong Kong, it was only after the opening of the gambling industry that 'thrust [the city] into the spotlight' (Wei, 2014: xix). Although the gaming industry has achieved massive success after the Chinese took over Macau, this was not the plan the Chinese had in mind. Along with the city's rapid economic changes, there seemed to emerge a gradual 'extension of dependency for the constitution of identity as well as to access to new forms of individualization' (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997:40; Yan, 2009:xv). By using the example of China, Yan suggests that when a city (such as in the situation of Macau) 'undergoes the modernization process [it tends to illustrate] a number of features of individualization' (2009: xvii). The consequence of the gambling effect has assisted Macau in creating more opportunities, both in the hospitality industry and small self-owned businesses competing for profit. Furthermore, the loss of the 'safety net' (chapter 2) of a position in the civil service has by and large forced some Macanese to break free from the reliance of his or her community or family to seek career prospects elsewhere in the Chinese labour market (Beck and Beck-

Gernsheim, 2012:35). However, breaking free from one's community as delineated in the 'individualization' process can also be understood as an act of 'selfishness' (Munro, 1985:1; Yan, 2009:289) and not giving 'face' (Faure and Fang, 2009:198) to where one belonged, particularly in a Chinese societal context. This is somehow mirrored in the Macanese community who shared similar Confucian values with the Chinese people. As King indicated 'Confucianism focuses on the relationship between the individual and [group] and are both inseparable and interdependent' (1985:57). Taking into account these paradoxical constraints, in this thesis I will examine how the Macanese will manage to transition from collectivism to individualism in order to access self-development and success in the unfolding context.

3.11 The re-appropriation of the Portuguese protagonist

Jorge Morbey (1994:208) boldly argues 'there is no Macanese culture' because what we observe is a confluence of Portuguese and Chinese features rooted in Macanese language, cuisine and life styles. His expression is however polemical, given that it is specifically its mixedness that gives uniqueness to this culture. It is precisely the morphing of two or more cultures together to bring forth a dynamic third culture (Bhabha, 1994:71) which defines the Macanese culture.

As widely posited, the return of Macau to mainland China will slowly dissipate the Portuguese influence along with its social influences. However, this was apparently not the intention of the Macau SAR government. In fact, one of the government's tasks was to re-construct a national identity after 1999, as Lam confirms here:

> Such a construction indicates a process of nation building targeted at consolidating a sense of we-ness (of Macau) [solidarity] about common history, memories, symbols and cultures, and the belief in the importance of practices beneficial to governance [to cultivate] political allegiance to the state and feelings of identification with the territory and fellow citizens. (2010:658).

By doing so, it hopes to sustain and to combine national (China), local (Macau) and international (European) identities within Macau in order to enhance its economy as one of the Special Administration Regions of China. The economic downturn that

crippled the territory during 1996 - 1999 meant that the government had to effectively rescue Macau. In doing so, China was also able to demonstrate its economic power to the world and reinforce the 'regime's political legitimacy and its people's political unity' (Lam, 2010:659).

Before I proceed, there are two issues that are worth outlining here with regards to restoring Macanese culture. Firstly, the government's intention to revive the Portuguese language is part of an economic international strategy that would act as a bridge between China and other resource-rich Portuguese speaking countries such as Brazil, Mozambique, and Angola for the purpose of expanding China's trade and investments. Secondly, the government also opted to create a local identity for Macau by initiating a new relationship with the Portuguese (ibid.) that was different from the relationship established during the colonial period.

This means that the new Macanese identity will likely encompass an array of colonial elements, but will be culturally rather than politically based, as it is Macau's distinctive 'cultural' elements to promote the city on the world stage with the support of China (ibid.). What is perplexing here is that, although Macau and Hong Kong are both SARs of China, the two cities show stark differences, in light of the disparity of treatment under the Basic Law policies. As perceived from an analytical standpoint, Hong Kong's colonial past under the United Kingdom's rule has been criticised and repressed, whereas the Portuguese colonial regime seems to have been explicitly praised by the Chinese government. Even its Lusitania features have been branded to promote the city. Cheng argues that the reason why cultural colonialism has prevailed in Macau was not because of the intention of the ex-colonizer, but rather as a consequence that China 'constitutionally invites the continuity of the white man's burden' (1999:214). This is supported by the fact that although Macau has departed from Portuguese colonial rule, China intentionally allowed the Portuguese legacy to survive after the handover. She also found that even though Macau became a decolonized city, it had not been completely removed from the context of colonialism, because of the 50 years autonomy period granted to the territory under the 'One Country Two Systems' principle. Furthermore, despite being part of China, Macau is governed under a 'capitalist system' (Gunn, 2005:176) unlike the rest of China which is ruled under a

socialist system. In terms of its judicial system, a major part of Macau's law is still based on Portuguese law. All of which leads Ngai to conclude that 'Macau is part of China but not completely Chinese' (Leung, 2009:10-12).

To return to the subject of the differences between the way Macau and Hong Kong were treated, it might be helpful to briefly examine the framework of the Sino-Portuguese relationship with China before and during the transitional period as this might explain some of the differential treatment given to the formerly colonized cities. The four centuries of Portuguese colonialism in Macau had on the whole, always been regarded as 'milder and less violent' (Chan, 2003:495) than the British colonial period in Hong Kong. Chan further stated that the relationship between Britain and China has evidently worsened particularly under the Patten governance during 1992 – 1997, which had significantly tarnished the 'bilateral cooperation over Hong Kong transition matters' (2003:500) with China. In contrast, the lesser levels of conflict with the Portuguese administration have helped to create a more amicable relationship between Beijing and Lisbon. In light of this, China was seen to concede that several of the issues proposed by the Portuguese should be maintained in Macau after 1999, one of which was that 'the interest of Macau residents of Portuguese descent...their customs, culture and tradition should be respected' (as stipulated in article 42 in the Macau Basic Law). Further to that, the Portuguese language will continue as one of the official languages of Macau besides Cantonese (Chan, 2003:502; Cheng, 1999:207, 214). Most importantly is, the concession China made to Portugal on the problem of dual nationalities, even to the extent of compromising its own nationality law, which, as alluded to earlier allows 40,000 Macanese to continue to possess a Portuguese passport (Gunn, 2005:175). The inconsistent treatment of Hong Kong and Macau might also reflect the different political status that Portugal and the U.K. hold in the world arena. Portuguese is a small country and a member of the EC and NATO, while the U.K. has major significant influence over international political issues and is also a close ally of the U.S., and thus the latter may pose a 'potential threat to Chinese communism' (Chan, 2003:503). However, rather than these geo-political issues, for the Macau people, an 'apolitical society' (Berlie, 1997:173), the revival of an unstable economy tarnished by triad wars before and during 1999 was their main concern. In this respect,

has the new administration posed a problem for those Macanese who chose to remain? This is also an issue I will pursue in this thesis.

3.11.1 Language: a form of identity

In this section, I will turn to a discussion of language. In Edwards' definition, language is deemed as one of the identity markers to assign membership to cohesive groups by sharing common 'accent, dialect, and language variations' (2009:21). Similar to other Chinese groups, the Macanese have their own distinctive dialect, which is a combination of both Portuguese and Cantonese, but spoken with a unique accent. This dialect is the result of a long history of intertwining and mixing both ethnic worlds to construct a particular language and accent, hence making it unique. Giles and Johnson articulate that language acts to promote a 'stronger cue to an individual's ethnic belongingness than inherited characteristics (such as skin colour)' (1985:203) amongst other features. Language in this context is instrumental; it can reinforce group solidarity that stems from a shared past in which family, the self, and community are performed and negotiated within and across boundaries of its own kin (Alexander et al, 2007:786). In particular, certain accents and dialects depicted in language would likely assign the speaker to a particular social class or group (Edwards, 2009:21). For example, one of the distinctive Macanese features is their mixedness epitomized in their identity and language that demarcates them from the Portuguese and the Chinese. It is assumed that Macanese use this approach to exclude themselves from the larger population.

The above section has illustrated a range of language practices associated within the societal context, for the purpose of inclusion and self-exclusion of members in societies. They are helpful in the discussion of the specific groups represented above, yet how do these practices connect to the Macanese of this generation who may want to affiliate with the majority population?

3.11.2 On speaking Cantonese

Another specific dialect worth mentioning here is the Patuá, which was spoken for almost 300 years until the 19th century (Hao, 2011:105). Even at its pinnacle, there

were only a few thousands Macanese who spoke it (ibid.). In the last twenty years, the creole dialect was revived by a local Macanese drama group, *Doci Papiaçam di Macau* who have been working assiduously to bring the Patuá back, although primarily for dramatic performances. This creole dialect epitomised a strong historical tradition of hybrid cultural origins (Wong, 1997:333) and consisted of Malaysian Portuguese, Chinese, Indo-Portuguese, English and Malaysian, amongst others (Hao, 2011:105). It was replaced later by the standard Portuguese being taught in schools, thus hindering the continuity of the Patois to prevail in Macau. As such, the mid-1970s incident (as discussed in chapter 2) was a significant period for shifting demand towards the Cantonese among the Macanese population. In addition to that, many Macanese were concerned that Macau would eventually become part of China, which would significantly undermine the role of the Portuguese language after the handover. As Noronha and Chaplin point out 'since the return of sovereignty….preference and priorities have changed' and emphasising the Cantonese language was seemingly on the rise (2011:411).

As the handover drew nearer, many Macanese felt the necessity to reposition themselves in order to survive and adapt in the new Chinese Macau. Being progenies of a small mixed racial group, their mixed-ness often marked and at times categorized them from the 'normative interior as Other' (Luke and Luke, 1999:226). This has led to their exclusion from the majority population as a consequence of their image of mixedness (Cheng, 2001:328). This is one of the major issues my data chapters will investigate. These cultural differences, often found in racially mixed people, caused them to 'negotiate and re-negotiate' (Williams, 1996:208) their somewhat ambiguous roles within society. Though having dual identities, and speaking both the Portuguese and Chinese (Cantonese) languages, the Macanese ascribe themselves in the position, to rephrase in Watts' words, of being 'neither meat nor fish, ethnically, financially [and] politically' (1997:294). In summary, even though their mixedness might grant them easy access to both racial groups, it has also cast them in a 'third dimension' (Bhabha, 1994:71) with the implicit ambiguities and uncertainty that this entails (Pina Cabral and Lourenço, 1994:121).

3.11.3 Language: an ethnic passing tool

As mentioned previously, the Macanese penchant for Portuguese-ness can be seen as a way of 'mimicking' the 'white world', (Fanon, 2008:9) by means of their partial appropriation of the colonial Other rooted in their identity, language and culture. As progenies of the mixed race, the Macanese embrace a Sino-Lusitanian heritage which allows them the convenience of accessing dual languages and to pass between both worlds, but it comes at a cost. Akin to identity, language similarly evokes strong sentiments of shared meanings to allocate the speaker to specific national and ethnic groups (Edwards, 2009:21) that share identical linguistic characteristics (such as a typical accent and language switching). Edwards suggests 'language and identity are powerful and complexly intertwined, and a context of bilingualism and multilingualism only reinforces this point' (2009:254). For example, Auer found that migrants who speak a particular style of language often group themselves together to underpin their social identity, as well as to construct a 'language island' not only from a geographic status, but also from an ideological perspective, to socially exclude themselves from the 'main land' (2005:406). He suggests that:

> Speaking a particular language is seen as an index of membership in a particular social (including ethnic) group, which is, according to these ideologies, essentially based on something else (ancestry, culture, place of origin, race et., but not language…(2005:405).

Applying dual languages, as in the case of the Macanese, confers certain 'rights and obligations' (ibid.) especially when spoken in a conversation. Such representation (in the Macanese context) galvanized a social identity to reflect their racially mixed ancestries, separating them from the majority monolingual speakers. Auer applies this situation to the typical example of European and American migrants where the majority language is connected to ethnic belonging, whereas the minority language has symbolic ethnic to sustain (amongst others) self-identification value (2005:405). Based along these lines, has sinicization underpinned or inhibited the Macanese people's adaptation in relation to their choice of language?

3.11.4 The role of the colonial languages

The monolithic influence of sinicization, and the consequences of local socio-cultural and political transformations in Macau will be a challenge for the Macanese and their language, but will this undermine their Portuguese heritage? What mechanisms will the Macanese of various age groups employ to avoid losing their mixedness and yet continue to stay connected with the Chinese population? These themes will be examined in my findings chapters.

Jenkins sheds light on the significance of language: 'identity is the human capacity – rooted in language – to know…who we are [and] who others are' (2004:5). Before 1999, the Portuguese language conferred a privileged status for this mixed race community, both in civil and social spheres, to place them above the Chinese populace. The unbalanced distribution of language was common in Macau among the Macanese and had prevailed for generations (Yee, 2001:138). That being said, most of the language choice in the family was taken under the sole authority of the father figure (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1992:106; Blunt, 2005:55). This was typical of the Portuguese side of their identity largely performed under a patriarchal influence in a domestic context as a consequence of the colonial legacy.

Language, culture and identity equally reflect the presence of the patrilineal dominance that affects various modes of representation (Blunt, 2005:55) both in the domestic and in the societal discourse. That said, the Portuguese language was mandatory for Macanese children both at home and at school, to 'maximise the capital of Portuguese-ness' and imperialism especially during the colonial period (Pina Cabral, 2002:119). In contrast, the Cantonese language, often the mother's, was less significant within the family unit. A similar issue was examined in Watts' (1997:295) study which analysed interviews with a dozen women who were tasked with examining their own histories through the lens of contemporary Macau. One of his interviewees recalled that Portuguese had to be spoken around her father. She further states "my older siblings were often beaten if they were heard speaking Cantonese in his presence" (Watts, 1997:293). One could argue that the authoritative patriarchal

structure was greatly significant for impeding or facilitating the language continuity as highlighted in Macanese children in the past.

The 1970s period was a major turning point to shape and reshape the Macanese. One of the specific changes was the marriage pattern (usually consisting of marriages between Portuguese/Macanese men with lower class Chinese women) and another was the shifting of their language disposition. The table below demonstrates that between 1975 and 1990, 64 per cent of Catholic marriages were between a Macanese man and a Chinese partner (Pina Cabral, 2002:42), or a Macanese woman and a Chinese man. The figures also highlight the change in matrimony patterns that has on the whole, mapped out the future of the new generation's language and education dispositions which were structured under Portuguese influences.

Year	Causes	Percentage
1961-74	Intra-marriages between Macanese	44%
1975-90	Decline Intra-marriages between Macanese	30%
1975-90	Increased intermarriages with a Chinese partner	42% → 64%
1975-90	Decline intermarriages with a Portuguese partner	14% → 6%

Figure 4: Changes in Macanese Marriage Pattern (Source: Yee, 2001:136-137)

3.11.5 The penchant for the national lingua

> My Portuguese ancestry was an important part of my education. Our education system was completely focused on loving the motherland, Portugal. We were taught to love a country we'd never seen' (citing Henrique de Senna Fernandes in McGiverings, 1999:94-95).

The Portuguese language has never completely disappeared in present Macau, even though it is less frequently heard or spoken. In fact, it remains the lingua franca among Portuguese people and some Macanese families, and also one of the official languages in Macau alongside Chinese (Cantonese).

As previously discussed, the advent of the handover was the major event that precipitated a change in the dominant language in Macau. Many Macanese began to

acknowledge the importance of acquiring Cantonese language skills, even those who did not possess Chinese ancestry. The following figures illustrated in Lam (2010:662) indicate that, after the handover, only 2 per cent of the total population (450,000) in Macau spoke Portuguese, whilst the majority, 98 per cent, spoke Cantonese with just a few speaking other languages. The figures also show that the Chinese people who make up the majority population 'have never been acculturated with the Portuguese culture' (Chan, 2003:507) and most had no knowledge of Portuguese language per se. Noronha and Chaplin's (2011:437) research suggests that most of this generation choose the Cantonese language or both Cantonese and English together as their medium of instruction for their education. In this respect, is this an indication that the Portuguese language is now less preferred? This will be further explored in my data chapter examining language. In a similar vein, changes in local policy has also played a major role on young people's perceptions in relation to their academic as well as their professional choices, and most importantly about being accepted and recognized in the Chinese society (ibid.). To conclude, Noronha & Chaplin (2011:423) argues the Cantonese language has the potential to dominate both in the social and political sectors of the city. This begs the question: will the Portuguese language be able to survive after 1999 in Macau? For the Macanese who choose to remain, many have acknowledged that the 'future of the city is Chinese' (Pina Cabral and Lourenço, 1994:130). Together with the rapid changes in the local economy brought about by the fast modernization of cities in China such as Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Fuzhou in terms of trade, tourism, shipping and finance, the importance of the national language both in Hong Kong and Macau has greatly increased (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:423). Although the above studies have documented the importance of the Cantonese language, they fail to justify whether the Portuguese language has been fully overtaken in the local social, economic and political spheres, as it still remains as one of the official languages in Macau. As discussed earlier, China has assigned a major role for Macau since 2003 to act as a platform to strengthen trade and economy relations between China and Portuguese speaking countries (Lages, 2009). Indeed, the Portuguese language is one of the reasons that grant Macau the advantaged role as an economic link with more than 200 million people in Portuguese speaking countries who also share the identical language.

In the next following sections, I will discuss how religion and food, as markers of identity, are interrelated with the Macanese by discussing the ways they are practiced and experienced in Macau discourse.

3.12 Religion as performance and cultural practice

Both language and religion are psychologically and socially related and employed as 'markers of group-ness', some of which are associated with the language of religion, and some concern the work of missionaries (Edwards, 2009:101). Hemming and Madge argue that religious identity 'shapes our personal identities and [make] us the people we are' (2011:40) across a wide range of social contexts and influences. Some of these influences are responsible for contributing to the formation of religious identity which include: the role of 'parents, extended family, intergenerational relations, religious climate in school, friends and peers, faith community leaders, neighbourhood and the media (radio, world wide web and television)' (Hemming and Madge, 2011:42-43). However, faith, community leaders and media images are complex issues, which will not be discussed here as it requires rich data to explore them (ibid). In terms of religious identity, it provides for people a feeling of stability, and fulfils the need for belongingness which in turn helps to build self-esteem (Ysseldyk et al, 2010:67). A good example is discussed in Chong's study in which she examines the case of second generation Korean Americans who were side-lined by the majority population as a consequence of their racial status. In her research, she found that the church had a powerful role in creating 'group empowerment' (1998:282) and in evoking positive group values to enhance a positive collective image for the Korean American in society. Although religious cohesion is significant for interconnection, the participants represented in her research do not share an identical social background with the Macanese, as racial issues such as 'prejudice, racism and discrimination' (ibid.) were not the main reasons for believers to affiliate with the church. In some cases, religious identity has been shown to be more important than one's ethnicity or race. Using religion as a set of guiding beliefs, it has a 'uniquely powerful function in shaping psychological and social process' (Ysseldyk et al., 2010:60). This is particularly the case with the elderly Macanese, who were mostly brought up as Catholics, and had

experienced religious identity as having a dual advantage both for an eternal positive group membership and for the promotion of well-being (ibid.). Research findings by Aspinall and Song on mixed race individuals' identity options also found that the significance of some individuals' religious identities surpassed their racial and ethnic identities in terms of significance (2013:143).

Even though Macau was an important centre for Christianity in the 17th century (McGivering, 1999:207), this religion is less evident these days. In fact, its influence is limited only to local education (Catholic schools) and a few social welfare associations. More recently, there are approximately 18,122 practicing Catholics remaining, which is barely half of what there was 30 years ago, and the proportion of Macanese devotees has significantly dropped from 15 per cent in the 1970s to only 4 per cent (Greenless, 2007). Clearly, there are noticeably fewer Catholics marrying in Church or being baptized. However, religion continues to be a significant force (Hao, 2011:105) to bond the Macanese people together, especially the elderly group. Despite the number of Catholics having notably declined, religion has developed towards more of a personal practice (such as keeping holy objects, such as statues at home), rather than being seen as an 'emotive and public symbol' (Zabielskis, 2014: 5). More than that, the ageing local clergy has experienced a shortage of priests, and has to turn to South Korea for help in recruiting faith leaders to fill up for the local dioceses' vacancies (Greenlees, 2007).

However, freedom of religion has not been completely banned despite Macau being a Chinese city. For example, one of the major Catholic events, the Procession of Our Lady of Fatíma, still unites thousands of Catholic (mostly Macanese) participants each year. As one elderly Macanese participant affirms 'as long as we are physically healthy, every one of us will surely join the procession' (BelaMacau, 2007). Despite facing an ageing mixed race religious community, what is the significance of religion for the Macanese who are in their 30s and under? I will explore this question in my data chapter on culture.

3.12.1 Employing cuisine to sustain the Macanese heritage

Food is often associated with meanings cultivated from the past through memories and practices that are associated with family, society and religious gatherings (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997:3; Blunt, 2005:205; Holtzman, 2006:373). Akin to religion, food also functions as a link to one's racial heritage to a homogeneous community, to sustain a 'social continuity' (Chivallon, 2001:461) and to perform group solidarity (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997:3). Delamont (1995) suggests that food is inseparable from religious identities, practices and beliefs. For instance, the Jews and Muslims are forbidden from consuming pork, and fasting rituals are applied to certain religions on specific days. According to Delamont:

> Food and mealtimes are an important part of the daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal and annual cycle, and foods are used to mark special occasions – both regular feasts (such as Christmas or the end of Ramadan) and life-cycle events such as births, marriages and deaths (1995:26).

Our daily activities such as food preparation and eating may consciously and unconsciously shape our sense of identity and belonging. And like its culture, the rich condiments in Macanese cuisine reflect an acculturation of both East and West elements which is highly hybridized. Indeed Macanese food is closely linked with the mixed race people's culture as a form of cultural identity. For example, McGiverings highlights that 'it grew from the history of Macau' (1999:186). To experience Macanese food is like discovering 'Portugal [and its] colonial and trading history' by evoking Goa, Brazil, Malaysia, Africa, China, Thailand, and the Philippines in the form of food (Doling, 1996:54). Similar to their identity, Macanese food is a mix of mixtures, a hybridized version 'thus makes difference into sameness, and sameness into difference' (Young, 1995:26) while breaking away from its culinary origins. Rather sarcastically, one of my Macanese participants refers to it as 'a corrupted version of Portuguese dishes'. For centuries, Macanese food served as a conduit to connect the past with the present (Holtsman, 2006:363). However under the influence of a rapid

growing social economy, its sustainability as a cultural practice within the Macanese community is being challenged.

In the domestic sphere, food may be significant to a woman's unique relationship, such as in the bonding between a mother and daughter, which involves the transmission of 'passing and sharing collective and personal experiences to the younger generation' (Sutton, 2001:137). Many Macanese family recipes might be verbally passed on in similar practices. These recipes, according to Doling (1998:65), are guarded as family heirlooms and only handed down privately between family members. Moreover, Macanese food exemplifies one of the quintessential examples of ethnic (particularly Portuguese and Chinese) merging, as depicted in Pieterse's (2001:221) conceptual framework of hybridity to 'developing new combinations, as in the process of grafting', in order to allow a new form to emerge, to underline the representation of 'a third space' as conceptualised in the theory of Bhabha (1994:71-73). Evidently, Macanese cooking is the pride of this racially mixed community. Research findings by Cecília Jorge show that:

> The Macanese enjoy their food and are hearty eaters: they know all about eating, they talk about food, how to prepare it and who the best cooks are, especially when they talk with friends. They like to eat and are not ashamed of it and this is accepted for what it is. And, as a rule, they are gifted cooks because they impart their eclectic characteristics to their pots and pans (2004:13).

3.13 Enhancing a shared identity with food

Unlike the withering fate of the Creole language, Macanese food today has gained much success within the territory and overseas. This is evident in the study of Cheng which she reveals that:

> Macanese food, being a distinctive culture invention and acquiring a status as 'cuisine', is what Hong Kong's hybrid food and beverages failed to attain during its 150-year colonial history (1999:205).

Regardless of its success in Macau, as one Macanese argues, modern Macanese cuisine does not reflect what a Portuguese recipe should be, so it is only a Chinese (or other ethnicity involved in this matter) person s' mimicry of the original dish. The challenge of "original" Macanese food in this context, is to 'evoke sentiments of anti-modernism, and suspicion of kitchen gadgetry or other short-cuts or celebration of less intensive cooking labour of the past times' (Sutton, 2001:146). Yet, in spite of its outcome, the finished product will always lack what Delamont calls 'the Oedipal flavour' that gives food its meaning vis-à-vis one's family, homeland, childhood, and celebration ascribed within oneself (1995:24). Given this cultural importance, the question is asked: will the Macanese of this generation be able to maintain its culinary culture?

As Catholics, Macanese celebrate Christmas, weddings, and baptism through the rituals of eating and cooking at home. In Blunt's delineation, home is depicted as 'a material and an affective space, shaped by…social relations, memories and emotions' (2005:506). In fact, both the home and eating are often intertwined and documented as a central part of Macanese culture, but more so in the past, because as the city develops and living spaces become smaller, large gatherings are increasingly taking place in restaurants. As the economy of Macau developed, more women entered into the labour force, and this, combined with the demotivation of the younger generation, has somewhat contributed to people cooking less traditional Macanese food. Further to that, the ubiquitous fast food industry and restaurants have conveniently provided other options for people to eat outside their home in order to ease their busy schedules. However, are these changing culinary habits the main factors hindering the cultural practices of this mixed racial group? Are there other mechanisms that could help to prevent traditional Macanese practices from disappearing and who will take up the responsibility of sustaining it?

3.14 Conclusion

The introductory chapter has illustrated the events that occurred in late 1960s and mid-1970s that drew the Macanese's awareness to the need to embrace its Chinese Other. This chapter has then examined how this awareness and embracing of the Chinese Other impacted upon their identity, language, and culture, before and after

the handover, and how it has underpinned the move towards Chinese heritage as a means of adapting to post 1999 Macau. The theories of mixed race are also outlined in this chapter in order to conceptualize a range of interrelations connected with 'mixedness' which determine group inclusions and exclusions. As Anthias argues, 'social divisions' are the result of inequalities presented to oneself and others because of 'inferiorisation' and hierarchy (2001:837). This concept is helpful in any examination of the competition among groups, particularly between the Macanese and other groups but also amongst themselves. However, it is unclear if the issues listed here point to the social structure where Macanese are positioned, and therefore will be explored further in my data chapters.

I have also raised arguments in regards to the shortcomings of existing studies into the Macanese positionalities and their affiliations. Many of the issues discussed here were more prominent in the past (before the handover) thus may not be sufficient to reflect the current local socio-political conditions. Therefore, they cannot be applied to validate arguments about the Macanese positions after the handover era which this research seeks to explore.

For instance, Zepp boldly argues that Macanese do not possess a 'true mother tongue [nor] do they speak their own language' (1991:160). This thesis does not dispute his argument, however it is evident that most mixed race individuals speak in a distinct way, which is not one but a combination of two languages (or more), inherited from their parents. According to Edwards, language and identity are intrinsically intertwined, and being bilingual increases the significance of this point (2009:254).

Likewise, both Pina Cabral and Lourenço (1994:119) support Morbey's (1994:208) argument that the Macanese do not have a distinct culture. However, interestingly, this is contrary to the research by Appiah, in which he argues that it is not necessary to own a common culture (1994:115). He applies examples from India and contemporary Africa where they also do not practice or share one single culture. I suggest that this concept raised by Appiah is an important source in the study of the Macanese's case, which I return to examine further in my analysis chapters of how mixed race cultures are practiced and managed in contemporary Macau.

Moreover, the stark contrast articulated in Bhabha (1994:71) and Ali (2003:171) in connection with the meaning of the 'liminal space' also needs to be fully investigated. Other central issues surrounding 'mixedness' and 'in-betweenness' in relation to the Macanese's positions as a minority group will be examined as well. It is also important to take into account the socio-economic and political transformations particularly after the handover.

Food and religion were also discussed here and were presented as mechanisms through which these indigenous practices might be prolonged in Macau. It also introduces the idea of bringing back the Portuguese heritage in order to promote the city and to accentuate its past. This is done through accessing the indelible Portuguese characteristics to benefit tourism and trade as a consequence of the city's long history with Portugal.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology that has been employed to examine the issues introduced in this literature review. Biographical research methods have been applied to examine the Macanese as a mixed race population in Macau since 1999 with the aim of addressing the following research questions:

- What mechanisms do the Macanese employ in order to negotiate and re-appropriate their identities in the Chinese administration?
- What impact did the post 1999 handover have on the Macanese language, identity and culture?
- In what ways do the Macanese position themselves as a mixed-race minority group in contemporary Macau?

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The post-handover is often perceived as the arrival of a daunting new sovereign power (due to the mid-1960 riot) that prompted many Macanese to leave in search of better prospects overseas. Those that remained were betting their futures on a government that was unknown. Some feared their mixed race identity would be challenged and ultimately compelled to surrender their Portuguese nationality. To this day, there are still Macanese who refused to cross the Chinese immigration border from Macau with a mainland Travel Permit; they would rather queue up with other non-Chinese with their Portuguese passport. Their resistance to possessing a mainland Travel Permit, in part suggest their lack of trust towards the Chinese sovereignty, even though Macau is now a Special Administrative Region of China.

When I began my research in 2009, there were clearly split sentiments articulated from different generations (namely the old and young Macanese) in relation to the new administration. However, at the same time, there were noticeably signs that my generation (aged between mid-30s to late 40s) were keener and more inclined to work on narrowing the ethnic gap between ourselves and the Chinese population. As a mixed-race Macanese myself, neither my education nor language is based in Portuguese. Despite my lack of Portuguese-ness in growing up, my name and the different ways I positioned myself state that I am Macanese. In fact, not being brought up the traditional Macanese way has its advantages, as it allowed me to look beyond the meanings as being Macanese, in the Macau context. What has captured my attention to do this research was to understand how other Macanese from Macau perceived themselves, precisely after the handover. Furthermore, the research hopes to present their dispositions and experiences (amongst others) both as individuals and as a community, and examine how they deployed themselves as a racially mixed group amidst these dramatic socio-political changes in Macau.

The literature in the previous two chapters discussed some of the key social transformations that have influenced and affected the Macanese people as a

consequence of the pre and post 1999 socio-political changes in Macau. In order to deepen our understanding of the issues raised in both chapters, 17 interviews were conducted with Macanese individuals for the purpose of exploring Macanese experiences, dispositions and notions of mixedness. This chapter will present the rationale for the research methods that have been applied in studying this racially mixed group in light of the societal shift vis-à-vis the two administrations. I will always discuss some major underlying problems with conducting research in a small 'village' (a term used by one of my respondents). In addition, I will also discuss my insider position as a researcher; ethical concerns; and how the data was collected and analysed for the purpose of this study.

4.2 Methodologies

Bryman's (1984:84) suggests that qualitative methodologies are effective in exploring issues of language, minority groups, ethnicities, class, and identities and their changes in society. Each qualitative method is employed according to its own specificities and varies according to the different research contexts (Bryman, 1984:78). Denzin and Lincoln also point out that qualitative research 'involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical material….that described routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (2000:3). Moreover, applying qualitative methods allows the researcher to connect to the respondents' experiences and their viewpoints through field notes, recordings, and interviews (ibid.) to obtain rich data.

In order to examine the complexity of the Macanese in Macau, my thesis employs qualitative methods through a combination of biographical research and semi-structured. The former method has been applied by both sociologists and psychologists to interpret and study social events and individual biographies (Flick, 2014:42). The evoking and analysis of stories in previous research has proven to be a significant method in capturing 'communities of memory, structured through age, class [and] race' (Plummer, 1995:22). Nonetheless, narrative research also has its limitations, as such narratives may be affected by the situation in which they were collected (Flick, 2014:273). Thus, this research has also utilised semi-structured interviews (to be discussed in the following section) to uncover 'first hand testimony'

(Smith, 2003:347) from the Macanese participants' life histories and experiences and the context in which these occurred (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:155). Polkinghorne suggests that human experience complexities require thick data to interpret its richness (2005:138), and interviews allow the participants to convey his or her personal experiences within which memories and meanings are rooted (Smith, 2003:348).

4.3 Researching mixedness

Crawford and Alaggia used in-depth interviews to study how family influences in Canada were significant in shaping mixed-race youngsters' identity in terms of their mixed-ness. In their research, they found that family structures, openness and family awareness in discussing race issues all have important effects for mixed racial identity in youth development (2008:93). Whilst what they had documented was useful for studying youth identities, their study lacked the broader perspective of examining societal influences outside of families on mixed-race individuals. In Macau, Noronha and Chaplin (2011:413) developed a chain sampling in-depth analysis to study how local mixed-race people perceived language as a tool for managing academic, professional and vocational prospects after the handover. Similarly, their research was limited to the educational system and education policy. Although both studies demonstrate the complexities of mixed racial people from different perspectives, they fail to capture how mixed-race identities and experiences wax and wane as a consequence of the socio-political influences - such as after the transition period, in Macau - which my research has sought to explore.

Elsewhere, US studies that looked into racial identity in biracial children have been criticised for being underdeveloped and neglected by counselling professional researchers (Kerwin et al, 1993:221). For example, Stonequist's (1935:1) study suggested that mixed race individuals were 'problematic' and 'marginalized' but these findings were refuted both by Kerwin et al. (1993:228) and Tizard and Phoenix's (1993:162) research. In mixed race studies, Tizard and Phoenix use semi-structured interviews to study 58 mixed-race adolescents from 32 different schools in London to look at their mixed parentage and how they defined themselves in relation to their

race (1995:1402). Song also applied 326 cross-sectional study design and semi-structured online survey, to conduct a sub-sample of in-depth interviews with 65 survey respondents (2010:268-269). She found significant diversity among her respondents in relation to their 'mixed-ness' being shaped by cultural, familial and societal factors. For Song, 'the meanings of being mixed are in fact contested and in flux, not only by different types of mixed people themselves, but by various analysts of race' (2010:35). Taking into account the rapid societal changes Macau had encountered under the Chinese administration - the mixed-race generations (both previous and current) are being challenged and contested in their search for new ways of positioning themselves. By using a sociological standpoint, this thesis will explore the Macanese and their community in order to understand how their mixed-ness (Ali, 2003; Song, 2003) and their social positions were undermined, negotiated, and managed after 1999. The next section will discuss the methods employed in my research.

4.4 Research methods

In this study 17 semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants in Macau during the period February to September, 2013. I found this method was effective in gathering rich data, providing greater flexibility for the respondents to express themselves and also allowing follow-up topics to be discussed during interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:155). The majority of my interviews lasted between one and two hours with the duration largely depending on the respondents' enthusiasm and the level of details they wished to express. The median length of the interviews was approximately 70 minutes. Before meeting with my interviewees, I had prepared a list of thirty questions specifically designed around a number of key themes identified from the literature review. These themes were divided into four sections, each with its own set of interview questions. Arranging the questions in a particular order was far more effective than listing them randomly (see Appendix 1). The first 5 general narrative questions aimed to gain insights from the respondent's life stories (Stroobants, 2006:49). The three columns underneath were the key themes (identity, language and culture, each with 8, 6 and 9 questions respectively) identified from my

literature review. The bottom section contained the two final questions of the interview. I found this design helpful in detecting when participants' responses covered several themes, and also to probe for further detail or clarification when participants showed lack of consistency or made assumptions during the discussion (Hannabuss, 1996:25). When this happened, I would generally follow with a short comment such as "can you elaborate a bit more on that?" or "what did you mean by that?" so that the respondent expand on the subject. Ultimately, to achieve a good interview, both experiences and practices are among the essential elements as highlighted in Kvale and Brinkmann:

> Good interview research goes beyond formal rules and encompasses more than the technical skills of interviewing to also include personal judgement about which rules and questioning techniques to invoke or not invoke. The proficient craftsman does not focus on the techniques, but on the task and on the material, the object, he or she works with. (2009:87)

Many of my Macanese participants were unfamiliar with interviews or had not been interviewed before, thus establishing a certain level of "trust" between them and myself was important. Due to my limited social network, I adopted the snowball sampling process to extent the number of participants. In a small place such as Macau, this process would not have been feasible without utilising the guanxi[3] of the intermediaries who referred me to other potential participants. The truth of the matter was, without guanxi, it would not have been possible for me to reach these less accessible participants. However, in order to gain the guanxi 'favour', it was necessary, for me to establish a certain degree of trust between the 'referrer' and I, and to clearly explain why his or her contribution was needed. Ultimately, the guanxi had proven effective to ease the anxieties of many of the participants, allowing them to be open during the interview and share their thinking and experiences with me as a researcher.

[3] Through the connection of one single guanxi, (a Chinese concept) the individual can have access to a much larger network of connections. The more guanxi (connections) a person has, the more opportunities one will get both for interaction privileges and benefits in multiple ways (Fan, 2002:548).

However, this sort of intrusion in gaining 'access to their lives, their minds, their emotions' (Lofland and Lofland, 1995:39) might exert an imbalance of power prompted by me, the researcher, that exceeds the normative dialogue between two equal individuals. Therefore, the interviews needed to be executed with caution and consideration, particularly in terms of not compelling the participants to respond when they were not comfortable in doing so (Charmaz, 2003:317).

Before our meeting, some respondents were quite anxious and inquired whether the interview would be filmed or whether they should be properly dressed for the occasion. Generally before we met, I telephoned each respondent individually to introduce myself and also to briefly explain the purpose of the interview and why were they chosen to take part in it.

Before the interviews began, a pilot test was conducted with a colleague, but the results were not included in the data. Most of the interviews lasted around one to two hours, thus maintaining an interactive connection with the respondent was essential (Ellis and Berger, 2003:469) to ensure a smooth and successful interview. In order to get the respondent into the right frame of mind and to talk openly, the interview began with a 'warming up' narrative question which asked them to describe themselves and their background. Although yielding data from the interview was important, it was also my responsibility not to let the respondent dwell too long on one question, which was the case of a few of my respondents, because time was so constrained in each interview and it was equally important to explore the other questions. This could be sometimes challenging when the respondent arrived late or had to leave early because of personal reasons. In this case, I had to act promptly and focus on fewer questions to take advantage of the limited of time left for the interview. But regardless of how constrained we were for time, it was still important to encompass all three themes (identity, language and culture) to obtain an overall view of those findings.

4.5 Interview locations

In compliance with the participants' requests, most of the interviews were conducted after office hours at locations mostly of their choice. Before my actual interviewing began, my ideal was to meet in a quiet restaurant or café to share one productive hour in conversation with as little interruption as possible. However, this only occurred a few times. Because convenience was the respondent's primary consideration, we sometimes had to settle for locations that were crowded, mainly because everyone was finishing work and were gathering at the same places at the same time. Regrettably it had affected the recording quality as some of the verbatim responses could not be clearly captured. In terms of location, not all were selected by my interviewees; there were also those that we decided upon together. However, choices were dictated to a certain degree by whether they were taking place during lunch time or after office hours (when most of my interviews took place). There was one incident where the participant had only one time slot available to do the interview, and so we ended up meeting on a rainy day inside a public garden because it was around her neighbourhood. So my interview locations included a public garden, the corner of the entrance lobby of a private company, noisy coffee shop, restaurants and a very busy cafeteria. Interviewing in these locations was quite a challenging experience for an early career researcher like myself, and making the wrong choice of location might have impacted on the quality of the recording. This was something that I had wanted to avoid as we might not have a second chance to repeat the interview properly. However, there were some well-chosen locations, where we were less disturbed, but never as quiet and comfortable as in the respondent's home or office. Unfortunately, private domains were rarely offered. In fact, only one of the Portuguese or Macanese participants offered to conduct the interview in their home. According to one of the participants, this is a common cultural practice in Macau whereby only very close friends and family members are invited to visit people's home. Thus, there were only four interviews that were carried out at participants' home or office. Out of those interviews conducted in private locations, only two of them, both with Macanese participants (one a friend and the other my neighbour) took place in the home, and two took place in participants' offices, in the meeting room. Unlike public places,

private domains clearly helped the participants to relax and increased their confidence in discussing the issues being raised, even those that were sensitive.

Unfortunately, there were other complicated issues that should be mentioned here. Although the tranquillity of the home environment was more suitable and preferable for recording, it was also where other family members live and might be present during the interview. During two interviews our conversation was interrupted because the respondent paused to ask other family members for verification on certain issues. Besides this, other interruptions such as the phone and door bell ringing impacted on the continuity of the interview. Chavez (2008:478) suggests this sort of interference might have been easier to handle by an outsider (which will be discussed further in a later section) who did not have any connection with the respondent. Moreover, both my role as an insider (Macanese) and my topic of research allowed other family members (also Macanese) to join in, which became problematic particularly if the interview took place in their home. In general, most of the apartments in Macau are considered small, and the only space available to conduct the interview is the living room (which is often also used for dining), which was also a potential site (Blunt, 2005:14) for family members to randomly engage in the process. In my case, there were two incidents during the same interview where we had to pause, because the respondent was seeking other family members for help in clarifying a particular matter. As such, I let the interview proceed without making any attempt to dissuade the family members from taking part, but stated on my notes that such an interruption had occurred.

4.6 Sampling frame

17 respondents aged between late-20s and mid-60s were selected and were all recruited in Macau for the interviews. This age range was selected so that respondents would be old enough to comment on important issues and discuss the meaning of the socio-economic and political transformations of both administrations pre and post 1999. The respondents were selected from four categories as follows:

- Bloodline – those who were from Macau and possessed Portuguese ancestors

- Assimilation – those who did not possess Portuguese ancestors, but had converted to the Catholic religion and had adopted a full Portuguese name from his/her godfather. They were mostly brought up in Portuguese schools and had adopted the Portuguese lifestyle which closely resembled the Macanese (details of which were fully described in chapter 2).
- Portuguese who have lived in Macau and were married to local Chinese spouses.
- Individuals who were educated in the Portuguese language but did not have Eurasian ancestry, yet could still be categorized as Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002:39).

Participants in this study were recruited in two ways. 11 were acquaintances of mine, while the other 6 were recruited through a snowballing sampling technique. This method was chosen because of my limited contacts within the Macanese social network, (as I had studied in an English school and had lived in a Chinese neighbourhood. The table below shows that out of the 17 participants, 8 were employed in private companies, 5 were civil servants (with one participant recruited into the civil service after the handover), 3 were self-employed and 1 was a retired civil servant.

A summarized description of Participants[4]

Pseudonym Names	Approximate Age	Gender	Parents' Ethnicity	Profession
1. Ana	Mid 50s	F	Portuguese & Chinese	Civil service
2. Ivone	Late 50s	F	Portuguese & Peruvian	Retired civil servant
3. Manuel	Late 50s	M	Both Macanese	Private company (white collar)
4. Alfonso	Early 30s	M	Both Macanese	Private company (white collar)
5. Silvio	Mid 30s	M	Macanese & Port. w/ Spanish	Civil service
6. Edith	Late 40s	F	Both Macanese	Civil service
7. Mateus	Mid 60s	M	Both Chinese	Private Company (Blue collar)
8. Marina	Late 50s	F	Portuguese & Macanese	Private Company (white collar)
9. Flora	Late 20s	M	Chinese and Portuguese	Private Company (white collar)
10. Fausto	Mid 40s	M	Macanese & Portuguese	Civil service
11. Priscila	30s	F	Both Chinese	Private company (white collar)
12. Jorge	30s	M	Both Chinese	Private company (white collar)
13. Rafaela	Late 30s	F	Both Macanese	Self employed
14. Joaquim	Late 30s	M	Both Portuguese	Private Company (white collar)
15. Sandra	Mid 50s	F	Both Chinese	Civil service
16. Chico	Late 50s	M	Portuguese & Macanese	Self employed
17. Filipe	Mid 50s	M	Macanese & Chinese	Self-employed

Figure 5: Participants' description

4.7 The researcher's role and reflexivity

In research, when studying one's own ethnic group, the researcher might have the tendency to affiliate himself or herself more closely with members of his or her own group (Chavez, 2008:478). By contrast, an outsider researcher could disassociate themselves from the common understandings and acquire, in some circumstances, an advantageous position over that of an insider (ibid.).

[4] Despite that their parenting, see Figure 5, all participants fit into the categorisation as Macanese and worked and resided in Macau.

Macanese are on the whole a rather tight-knit community. However, being a Macanese in this research was helpful to establish an intrinsic trust with my participants, as we shared identical membership of the same racially mixed community. The bond that is created out of being Macanese allowed the participants to open up their feelings and incited them to other sensitive issues. In addition, the narratives collected in this study are central to exploring how the Macanese managed to adapt after the post-handover as noted in chapter 3, there has been very little research on this topic.

Generally the Macanese identify themselves with those that share a collective behaviour and identification, differentiating themselves from the Chinese and Portuguese. Such behavioural disposition was similarly expressed in Williams' (1996) research of biracial individuals. My research adopted similar tactics in the hope that my Macanese identity might constitute a convenient way to build rapport with participants, and to get them to share their experiences with me. For Young (2004:191) 'the researcher's multiple selves [such as] class, gender and class status' are relevant features ascribed by participants to position an insider or outsider role for the researcher (ibid.). In the next section I address my insiderness and outsiderness as a researcher and also discuss the use of a qualitative approach based on interpersonal relations to look at how issues of identity and language were performed and managed during my research.

Many studies have discussed the advantages of 'insiderness' in research, as well as how the status of an outsider might hinder the researcher during interviews. While this thesis does not dispute what some researchers have explicitly stated, it is also the case that these positions are fluid, and were continuously being challenged (O'Connor, 2004:169) during the course of the fieldwork. For example, in my research, I occupied both the insider, (being a Macanese and friends of some participants), and outsider position (as a researcher studying in the UK and in many cases a stranger to participants). Nonetheless, my insiderness could only grant me the position of a 'partial insider' (Chavez, 2008:475) because of my semi-detachment from the Macanese community due to my Portuguese language deficiency and my limited social

network. This meant that my 'lack' had potentially decreased my 'insiderness' of not being Macanese enough.

4.8 A reflection on my insider's role

Conversation is the primary channel of our interaction with others in our daily lives, but a research interview is different from a conversation between friends. It is, as Kvale and Brinkmann state 'the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge' (2009:3) between the interviewer and the interviewee. As many Macanese participants can speak two or three languages (Portuguese, Cantonese and English), switching to words or phrases in Portuguese during the interview was common, and that was when my rudimentary Portuguese language skills were challenged. Consequently, it resulted in requests for translation by me as a researcher and ironically, as a Macanese. But my request was never denied because my respondents realised that my educational background was in English, which is quite common among third generation Macanese. However, from a researcher's standpoint I question whether if my proficiency in Portuguese had been as strong as my proficiency in Cantonese this research might have generated a different perspective. Although the Portuguese language is less spoken these days among the younger group, it is still regarded as a 'key symbol' of the Macanese people as well as a means to exclude others (see chapter 3 and also the analysis chapter's section focusing on language). Alexander et al suggest that language and also dialect 'form part of a discourse of similarity and difference than can be used to recreate or contest a notion of shared identity vis-à-vis apparently similar 'others' (2007:791). Consequently, language should not be viewed merely as a mode of communication, but rather when applied in a specific context it emerges in the form of a power to include as well as to demarcate memberships of social groups (ibid.). Thus, I argue that speaking the language might, to some extent, enhance my 'insider-ness' during my fieldwork, as Giles and Johnson write:

> Language is important in interethnic relations because it is frequently a criteria attribute of ethnic group membership, a cue for interethnic categorization, and can readily become a primary symbol of ethnicity as

> well as being the ideal medium for facilitating intra-ethnic cohesion (1985:206).

Hence, my mixed race background on the one hand identified me as Macanese and an insider, but on the other hand my lack of proficiency in Portuguese language, to some extent, weakened my membership within the Macanese community and my status as an insider. In fact, out of the three vectors (language, phenotype, and religion) to exemplify the Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002:39), only the last one may be said to define me. Except for my grandfather's generation, who had the strongest acculturation with the Portuguese, many of my second generation family members inter-married with the Chinese, hence their children were culturally and ethnically less Portuguese. However, my 'concealed Macanese identity' was not difficult to detect by the majority of my participants perhaps due to the accent reflected in my spoken Cantonese. For Young (2004:188) whilst the status of insiderness has always been highly valued by researchers, in essence, both the insider and outsider positions are often continuously shifting. And a major part of this distinction depended on how it was applied, especially in the case of my snowball sampling experience.

4.9 Snowballing effect

Acquiring more participants for my research interviews was a rather challenging task because of my small Macanese social network. Most of my friends are Chinese, and live in a Chinese neighbourhood and studied in an English school, and this limited my chances of socialising with Macanese or Portuguese people. I therefore had to seek help from friends in referring their friends and co-workers as potential candidates for the interviews. I found this sort of snowballing strategy particularly helpful in creating 'an immediate platform' (O'Connor, 2004:173) to reach a small and somewhat 'hidden' mixed-race population. Although the numbers of referred participants increased, I acknowledged however that this method might limit the diversity of participants, through producing uniformity in age and lifestyle between the participants and the person that had referred them (a so-called network effect). With the exception of identity and age, the stipulation was that participants had to be Macanese and in their

late twenties or above, and no other criteria for the referrals were specified. As expected, the participants bore close resemblance to the referrer. In total, 5 of my participants were obtained via the snowballing technique. In addition, the rapport created from friends' referrals had obviously reinforced my 'prior acceptance' (O'Connor, 2004:172) among those whom had been referred to this study. However, insider status did not always guarantee a privileged position. On the contrary, this position could be 'threatened [or] ruptured' (Young, 2004:194) by certain phenomena and situations. An example of this was from a Macanese male who showed no interest in being interviewed after realizing that he might have to discuss his assimilated Macanese identity with me (see chapter 3). The meaning of assimilation which has already been raised in the chapter 3 is less observed and practiced in Macau these days, and very likely the individual's past might be an inappropriate topic of discussion if he or she is intent on hiding his or her identity. This begs a question: is every assimilated Macanese concealing their identity? And how do they identify themselves in contemporary Macau? I will address these issues further in the data chapter on identity.

In doing research, sometimes sharing group identity might give the respondent the misconception that I would fully consent with any issue(s) he or she raised, even if they did not agree with my viewpoint. Getting too involved might sometimes create a disproportionate balance of prejudice which would affect the results of the research (Chavez, 2008:490). Therefore, during my interview process my integrity and fairness had to be rigorously maintained.

4.10 Hindrance of an insider

Chavez points out that 'for an insider researcher…..when researching one's own, we may tend to draw ourselves closer to participants as members of our ingroups…while outsiders have the advantage of detachment from the field' (2004:478). Whilst the homogeneous identity drew me closer to my participants, it also, at the same time, disrupted the flow of information for the same reason. For Young, insiderness was helpful in establishing rapport out of a shared sameness, but it could also lead to 'impatience or confusion' (2004:188). Often this assumed closeness between the

researcher and the researched is so intertwined, a sense of assumption had knowingly been taken for granted, that further investigating and probing meanings might hinder the rapport that has been established. For instance, in several interviews, participants use expressions like “you know what it is like to be Macanese” or “you know how we sometimes say things like that”. This enabled me to either comment or to follow-up with another question. These expressions connote a ‘taken-for-granted-ness’ attitude that was a result of my insiderness, which had established a ‘known’ assumption that because we were both Macanese we shared an understanding of the topics being discussed. In fact, neither of these expressions was explained to me during or after the interview. Clearly a common understanding was perceived because the respondent believed his or her point was sufficiently explicit so that no explanation was needed. This left me to reflect if my insiderness had been beneficial up to this point. It also led me to ponder just how much of the Macanese identity I had acquired, besides my name and a small portion of the Macanese tradition still followed by my family. My lack of coherence, which stemmed from the fact that I was not raised in the traditional Macanese way, sometimes hindered my understanding of what was being conveyed by the participants. Unlike Chavez (2004) and Young (2004), I argue that my insiderness had never been fully expressed and had only been partially utilised, because of how I was raised the non-traditional Macanese way. The work of Ellis & Berger (2003), Young (2004), Chavez (2008) and O’Connor (2013) on this issue had enabled me to consider that the position of an insider status might not be the most conducive position for data collection. In fact, it might be that an insider status had many disadvantages – the extent of which depended on how a situation is managed by the researcher. Similarly, being an outsider may have its advantages and could play a significant role in the production of valuable data. As such, in my case, being a researcher and studying in the UK had to a great degree enabled me to gain some level of respect from my participants. For that matter, I concluded that the insider role was unstable and problematic because it potentially restricted my position as a researcher, despite some initial advantages with regard to establishing rapport. In contrast, the position of an outsider might have provided more freedom, and perhaps participants would have been less restricted in their ability to follow up with questions when in doubt, as there

would have been little shared connection or (taken for granted assumptions) between the researcher and the participants.

4.11 Challenges of conducting research in a 'small village'

Interviews are a human interaction where ideas and conversations are exchanged. But in a research interview, the researcher has to create a friendly environment in order to help the interviewee relax enough to share his or her experiences and most importantly, to bridge the 'hierarchical gap' (Ellis & Berger, 2003:469) between the researcher and the participant. And, unlike a normal conversation, the research interview is usually structured with a number of set questions, which in the case of this study were controlled by me as a researcher. Since every participant is different and there are no fix rules or procedures to follow, an interviewer's creativity is needed. As such, my full time job working with both new students and lecturers (in the institute coordinating workshops and courses) seemed to enhance my performance and my confidence during the interviews.

Establishing rapport was another important factor generated through guanxi during my fieldwork, but what followed after was equally important and therefore should not be underestimated. Unlike in the UK, Macau resembles a 'village' where there is a high possibility that two individuals (the participant and I) are likely to meet again at other local events (formal or informal). In a close knit community like the Macanese, any negligence in handling participants' identity might result in unnecessary misunderstandings and disputes between us. Therefore, it is important to take all possible precautions to conceal the participants' identity so that readers will not be able to recognize them. For example, in the 'participants' description' table (see Figure 5) every participant's name and their profession are disguised for this reason. Kaiser (2009:775) suggests that some contextual identifiers, such as the individual's occupation, or certain quotations could lead the participants to be identified, and thus one should also proceed with caution. Moreover, maintaining a good impression is always best for both parties because the interview is only one incident, and any subsequent meeting that may follow may be far more important especially if we are residing, and also belong to the same community in this 'small village'.

4.12 Ethical issues

In social research, ethical concerns are a serious responsibility and as researchers we should always safeguard the interviewee's confidentiality not only during the research process but also after. Lofland and Lofland call it the "assurance of confidentiality" (1995:43) which directly works to protect the interviewee's identity at all times. In order to abide to the guidelines of the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton, the relevant forms (Appendix B and C) were prepared and were approved by the committee before presenting them to the respondent at the start of the interview. As both forms were written in English, they were first translated and explained in Cantonese by me for those who could not read the English language.

The participant information sheet (Appendix B) which I presented to the participants, briefly outlined the objective of my study and why they had been chosen for the interview. Participants were also informed that they could, at any time, withdraw from the interview or refrain from answering any questions at their will. Before the interview began, my participants were asked to sign a consent form which included their permission for the whole interview to be recorded. Moreover, they were also informed that the transcript of their interviews would only be used for this study, and would be locked safely away in a cabinet along with the notes for my data analysis, whilst the electronic transcripts would be stored in my computer and password protected.

After the interviews, all typed transcripts would only be read by me and in some cases would be discussed with my supervisors. Furthermore, participants' names would be replaced by pseudonyms, and personal information (including their occupation, place of work etc.) would be keep to a minimum in order to prevent others from identifying them from the final thesis (Lofland and Lofland, 1995:43). Details from the interviews would not be mentioned, hinted or discussed with anyone except, as previously mentioned, with my supervisors, when necessary.

So far, this section has discussed the ethical guidelines of this research and the next section will discuss my role as researcher and the importance of establishing rapport with participants in an interview.

4.13 Analysing method

My analysis work came from the transcripts of the interviews which included the verbatim responses of the participants. Most of them were conducted in Cantonese (generally with Macanese and Chinese participants), but sometimes the interviews were in English (with Portuguese respondents) but always in multiple languages (a mixture of Cantonese and English with Macanese) and occasionally a word or two were spoken in Portuguese, when certain expressions were necessary for emphasising. In order to ensure consistency across all recorded interviews, all transcripts were transcribed and translated from Cantonese into English by myself.

4.13.1 The translation issue

Since the Macanese participants could speak two of three languages, I suggested using Cantonese in our interviews after I had explained my education background. As a matter of fact, none of my Macanese interviewees, even the elder participants who were mostly educated in Portuguese, asked to be interviewed in Portuguese. Without any specific discussion, a tacit agreement seemed to have existed between both the participants and myself that Cantonese would be used. Except for my Portuguese participants, who I interviewed in English, the rest were conducted in Cantonese. On a few occasions, participants used a specific word or very short phrase in Portuguese to emphasis certain expressions, but the Chinese translation was always requested by me.

Temple and Edwards (2002:1) argue that the salience of translators and interpreters roles in research interviews has notably been underdeveloped, despite the number of non-English researchers having considerably increased. Most of the interviews in my research were recorded and conducted in Cantonese (with Macanese respondents), and transcribed in English. Although I could master languages in conversing, translating from the primary language (Cantonese) to the translated language (English) was rather challenging and problematic (Lopez et al, 2008:1732). There was always the possibility that some information might be lost due to the disparities in languages and meanings, and that the translating process might inadvertently introduce some level of bias (ibid).

In summary, translation is a process of replacing words with those from an alternative language, but more importantly the cultural meanings that these words represent also needed to be taken into account (Temple and Edwards, 2002:3). Hence for this reason, and also because of my familiarity with both cultures (Lopes et al, 2008:1732), I did not hire another person for this task, instead doing the translation myself. Although I had never trained as a professional translator, my job has required a certain amount of translation of paper work, mostly from Cantonese to English, and at times I have provided simultaneous interpretation from English to Cantonese for lecturers. Thus, a lengthy amount of time was invested both on the translation and transcribing task. As adhering to the original words was so important, on a number of occasions I had to replay certain parts of the recording several times to get the closest meaning possible. It was rather frustrating when there were words in Cantonese that had no direct English equivalent (Lopez et al, 2008:1734), in particular some of the colloquial Cantonese expressions that are used among the Macanese. In this case, those word(s) were highlighted to remind myself that the translation was not optimal, and a notation was included with a very brief description to substitute the Cantonese word(s). Furthermore, to ensure accuracy and reliability, transcripts would be checked again with the audio-taping for corrections before being coded and analysed.

4.13.2 Thematic coding

After the 17 interviews had been translated and transcribed, the empirical data was ready to be coded manually by the themes identified in the literature review. Although there is a range of software available for such coding, my visits to the University of Southampton rarely coincided with the Nvivo courses offered there, therefore manual coding was chosen. There are all sorts of creative ways of organizing the data, but selecting a suitable coding frame is important. In this study I applied the inductive approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79) for coding the data obtained from the interviews, although I also worked deductively using the themes generated from the literature review. Before starting, each interview transcript was re-read repeatedly in order to familiarize myself with the transcribed material. Before coding, I followed these questions to guide me through the text. How do the younger Macanese

generation see and position themselves in contemporary Macau? What mechanisms did the younger generation apply to sustain their identity, language and culture in Macau as a sinicized city?

Coding can be either theory or data-driven, to identify repeated concepts and themes across the data content (Braun and Clarke, 2006:88). Assorted coloured highlighters and 'post-it' notes (for writing small notes) were used, with each colour representing a specific theme. The colour coding system was used to divide the text into categories or segments and to establish links between different sections and themes. Initially transcripts would be coded using meaningful themes (e.g. identity, affiliation, food, language, religion, family, festivities, and class) taken from my literature review. After all the data were coded, the set of themes would be analysed by using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006:95-96). At this stage, themes would be compared and sorted into potential themes and sub-themes by developing thematic maps. I found it helpful to visually examine the relationships between various themes, and which cases they applied to, by creating three major thematic maps (e.g. identity, language and culture) which incorporated the previously coded themes. These maps would serve to identify connections and meanings in the data, and would allow me to explore the changes experienced by the Macanese and its community in contemporary Macau.

4.13.3 Using excerpts

The transcripts consist of the exact words recorded from the participants during an interview. After the coding process, some words or phrases would be taken out and used as quotes that correlated and highlighted with my key findings, which would then be included in my thesis. In qualitative research it has become common practice to include verbatim quotations from interviews taken from participants to apply in the literature review as well as in the data analysis. Corden and Sainsbury suggest that different researchers would possibly choose different excerpts from transcripts for inclusion and a major part of this decision 'depends on personal philosophical beliefs [according to] their core methodologies'. (2006:98) Quotation was also found to be effective in drawing attention to and bringing out the essence of the narrative which I wanted to emphasis or highlight. Although Corden and Sainsbury (2006:109) claim that

there are no negative consequences in using quotations from anonymous participants in this way, I argue that it might not be suitable in this study as my research is about the Macanese, who are a relatively small population. As such, not only was the participants' name kept confidentially, the individual's professional occupation had to be equally concealed. This was rather important because in Macau, if the person's name was removed, but his/her profession was exposed, if it was a unique profession, for example a legislative member, it would very likely increase the chance of identifying that person, because there are only two Macanese legislative members in Macau. This example illustrates the level of sensitivity and alertness a researcher should adhere to during the whole research process, rather than blindly follow predetermined rules set by other researchers.

4.14 Limitations

The participants in this study were not a representative sample, as it would be difficult to represent and demonstrate the complexity and diversity of the Macanese. The only participants I could access were the Macanese that I interviewed during the time of this research. This small group of participants only demonstrated a fraction of the community, as some potential participants chose not to participate in this study. As such, in qualitative methods, what is most important is the knowledge obtained from the study. It also provides the deepest insights from participants, therefore a small sample does not render it less significant as it is still very valuable and useful in examining a range of viewpoints on multiple Macanese complex issues (Kerwin et al, 1993:222). In addition, as most of the participants with the exception of one civil servant retiree, were employed in the civil service or private companies, it tended to provide a less comprehensive scope of class categories (especially lower and lower-middle class) within the Macanese population being studied. Also, the lack of pilot interviews did not allow me to anticipate any potential deficiencies in my interviewing technique for this study. However, this study is unique in Macau, as very few studies have attempted to employ using a sociological lens to investigate the younger mixed-race generation in post 1999 Macau. Moreover, in order to have a better understanding of mixed race individuals' roles and positionalities, this research will

also relies on other empirical findings from mixed race research (Song, 2003; Kerwin et al, 1993; Crawford and Alaggia, 2008), Macanese research (Pina Cabral, 2002; Yee, 2001; Noronha and Chaplin, 2011) and official data from the Statistics & Census Service Macau SAR (DSEC).

This chapter has discussed the various suitable methods used in qualitative research and has described the process and the preparatory work required before and during the interviews. It has also detailed how interview participants were recruited and the ethical standards and requirements applied here to safeguard participants and data in this research. It has also drawn attention to the roles of the researcher and the importance of establishing a rapport with the individual being studied. In addition, the chapter has also demonstrated the use of thematic coding and analysis from the transcribed data and the importance of, and difficulties in, translating interviews from one language to another from an audio recording, and using sensitivity in using excerpts in the Macau context. It also outlines how the interview data would be discussed and analysed and will be applied to structure the three themes of the findings chapters of this study, namely identity, language and culture. Each theme will be drawn on and discussed using the empirical data taken from the interviews and explored in greater depth to explore how the Macanese manage and negotiate their racially mixed position in contemporary Macau.

Chapter 5: Exploring the Macanese identity after the handover

5.1 Introduction

The unprecedented changes since 1999 have caused the majority of Macanese people to search for new ways of positioning themselves in what they view as 'Chinese Macau'. In this chapter I will discuss the tensions between ethnic groups and amongst the Macanese themselves and explore how the meanings of home and belonging appear to the Macanese both before and after the handover. Furthermore, I will argue that the western concept of 'passing', often employed to study biracial individuals who pass as 'white' to access the privilege of 'whiteness', does not correspond to episodes of passing in the Macanese context in contemporary Macau.

In order to examine the Macanese experience and how the post-handover context has shaped their positionalities as a mixed race community (and as mixed-race individuals), the three findings chapters (including this one), will ulitise a participants' typology as shown below. Category A and B are both designed in accordance to participants' age. C is however different. Termed 'Category C' or the hybrid group, this category alludes to participants' ambiguous positioning between ethnic categories, that is, the characteristics that are excluded from both ethnic worlds (the Portuguese and the Chinese).

1. Category A – participants aged between mid-40s to mid-60s.
2. Category B – participants aged from the late 20s to 40s.
3. Catagory C – a hybrid group where participants demonstrate a elements of in-between-ness as a result of not being able to fit in to either ethnic group.

This chapter will now begin by firstly examining the Category A group and will proceed in accordance to the typology listed above.

5.2 Sentiments of a lost community

When I began my research in 2009, almost a decade had passed since the handover of Macau to China. Memories of the former Portuguese administration remained in the minds of many individuals who claimed membership of the racially mixed population. Sadly though, since the handover, some Macanese have been struggling due to the lack of Portuguese support which had, for generations, provided a sense of cohesiveness, particularly for those with closer affiliations to their Portuguese ancestry. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for this thesis, I conducted 17 interviews and collected narratives from participants aged from their late 20s to their mid-60s. This age range was selected to explore how participants from two different generations experienced and also adapted to the post-handover context.

As a result of the handover and the ending of the Portuguese regime, a significant number of Macanese migrated to Portugal and other countries for many different reasons (as covered in chapter 2). For the few thousand Macanese who chose to remain, the shift of administrations was indeed challenging. This was particularly the case for one of the participants who was formally educated in Portuguese and explicitly denounced her Chinese roots as this quotation depicts:

> *Margarida: Do you still consider Portugal your country?*
>
> *Marina: Yes, it is my roots. I do not agree that China is my roots, which is why I do not affiliate myself with the Chinese national anthem. I hate it because they stole our place. We were in good shape before but now Macau is a total mess.*
>
> *(Marina is in her late 50s).*

Findings from this study show that the majority of participants from the Category A group who were formerly educated in the Portuguese language, as illustrated in Marina's case, tended to associate closely with their Portuguese roots. The quotation above from Marina clearly illuminates her stance. It is largely negative. Her attitude towards the Chinese administration can be compared to a burglar '*they stole our place*' which highlights her animosity towards the Chinese administration. In her narrative, Marina referred to two bosses of different ethnicity, claiming the Chinese boss was the

worst since '*a Portuguese boss will save you but a Chinese boss is not like that*'. However, an interesting message surfaced from her findings when asked about her home. Although she noted that her heart belonged to the old Macau, not to the Chinese government, she expressed no intention to leave Macau. In fact, many elder Macanese shared similar feelings with Marina. Nevertheless, Macau is the home for many of them. They still find solace in the midst of all the chaos since the Chinese government took over. Returning to Marina, her constant comparison of the current societal changes with the former Portuguese administration evidently foregrounds her distrust of the Chinese government. In addition to the above, evidence from this study found that the impact of the handover has generated another problem: many Macanese have realised that their intermediary role is no longer an asset in 'Chinese Macau'.

5.3 The loss of the "safety net"

Previously deemed a valuable asset, the Macanese's intermediary role offered them a certain status as well as benefits. Their bilingual skills enabled them to act as a liaison between the Portuguese and Chinese during the Portuguese administration. In the post-handover context this role has become obsolete. This is particularly the case in the civil service, where demand for Cantonese has surpassed that for Portuguese, although both remain the official languages of Macau. I will explore this further in the next chapter on language.

According to a number of participants, since the handover power has shifted to the Chinese (socially, economically and politically) and the majority of participants, including those in Category A and Category B, have become aware of their vulnerability of being racially mixed and surviving as a minority group after 1999, as this quotation illustrates:

> *The handover meant the end of the Portuguese administration. The Macanese are now left without, in a way, a sort of "safety net" provided by the Portuguese administration, and they are mostly Portuguese nationals, and now this "safety net" is being taken away.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

The 'safety net' mentioned in the quotation from Manuel points to the support previously provided to Macanese civil servants under the Portuguese administration. This was the result of the Macanese's role in the past as 'a go-between' connecting the middle and lower ranking civil servants. This function is reiterated in many participants' narratives. But after the Portuguese government left the Macanese, according to Manuel, are no longer secure; they feel exposed and under-protected. He believes the current Macanese role in Macau is only of 'symbolic importance.' He gave two examples to support this. First, he acknowledged the Chinese government's goodwill, in respecting the Macanese community along with its mixed-heritage culture as stipulated in the Macau Basic Law. Secondly, he mentioned the role the Macanese have played as a platform to liaison between China and the Portuguese speaking countries for trade cooperation from 2002 to 2003. However as Manuel notes, the role the Macanese undertook in this situation is a minor acknowledgement analogous to a small token of appreciation from China which he feels is merely of symbolic importance. In a similar vein, Manuel is not convinced that this would resolve any difficulty to those Macanese civil servants who do not possess Cantonese language skills, as a result of the imbalanced treatment of the Portuguese language by the Chinese government.

5.3.1 Reflections of marginalization: the civil post perception

In fact, the reflections noted above are explicitly accentuated in my findings by participants who work (or worked) in the civil service, but are less pronounced by those participants who work in the private sector.

One of the outstanding issues mentioned by participants was the disunity that exists between the Macanese and Chinese colleagues in the civil service, which has escalated since the handover. Apparently, one the main reasons that this disunity has increased is the perceived preference now given to the Chinese over the Macanese. The focus of our participants' perspectives here mostly focuses on Chinese (Cantonese) becoming the official language of the administration, for example:

> *In the place where I work, there are very few Portuguese left. The reason might be when the Chinese were under the Portuguese, they had fewer opportunities than the Macanese because they did not have bilingual capabilities; and the Chinese could not connect directly with the Portuguese without the help of the Macanese. After the handover, they could easily communicate with each other in Cantonese. In a way, they feel their role is more important. To a certain extent, they felt that they were being suppressed by the Portuguese and Macanese before, and accused the Portuguese of wrongdoings. In terms of work, local Chinese protect themselves very much, in fear that their positions will be taken away. However, with regards to promotion, the Chinese will be the ones to be promoted and the Macanese do not stand a chance now.*
>
> *(Ana is in her mid-50s).*

The quotation above underlines the isolation, conflicts and hostility in terms of group positioning and competitiveness for upward mobility in light of the pre- and post-handover between the Macanese and Chinese civil servants. As such, Ana's reflections on current Macanese civil servants tends to be largely negative, as she does not believe the Chinese government will restore privilege to the Macanese as the Portuguese once had done. In this quotation, Ana also shared Manuel's delineation vis-à-vis the asymmetrical treatment towards the two official languages after the handover. For example, she noticed that most of the internal memoranda are only written in English and Chinese - rarely in Portuguese. Ana's last sentence reflects her pessimism with regard to the Macanese's status and their chances of promotion. This may be one of the reasons why participants in their 50s or above have blatantly expressed their intention to migrate to Portugal. My research also found that many participants are dissatisfied with the social conditions in Macau. Many believed it has become worse in the last decade, as the prices of properties have soared, the air quality has become poorer, and traffic congestion has increased. These and others reasons have impeded their desire to stay in Macau.

Edith has experienced similar incidents in her department. Despite the fact that her office maintains a lot of administration work in Portuguese, she strongly felt that many things have changed and become sinicised. During our interview, she told me that applicants for jobs in the civil service with Portuguese names, namely the Macanese

and Portuguese, are often cast aside. This minimises the applicant's chance to be selected for a civil service job, regardless of whether the individual possessed Cantonese language proficiency or not. Edith depicts a desperate situation for the Macanese who, like her, are still employed in the civil service:

> *Since the handover, things are changing rapidly, let alone 50 years of autonomy, I felt it changing in 5 days after 1999 and since it was such a drastic change many Macanese found it difficult to accept and some have to seek help, because we received no help from the Macau Chinese. Many Macanese have resigned because of this sort of isolation. The heads of departments and colleagues tend to exclude and leave us stranded. There are many departments that are in such drastic situations.*
>
> *(Edith is in her late 40s).*

The different degrees of marginalisation pertaining to the Macanese as experienced in the workplace are articulated in the above quotation in regards to the changes brought about by the handover. In Edith's story, time is specifically highlighted to depict the instantaneous occurrences where these events happened, causing the individual to become stranded and isolated because of new regulations under the Chinese administration. Her narrative also shows that some of her colleagues who had served the government for several years experienced a sudden change in the language on their computers (software and keyboards). Without proficiency in Chinese, they are told to memorise the characters in order to be able to function. Consequently, many of them suffered severe depression and had to seek medical help. According to Edith, the Macanese would help the Chinese with the Portuguese language in the past, but apparently this help was not reciprocated. It could be argued that the workplace practices between ethnic groups have increased the disunity and tensions between ethnic groups within the civil service and these practices and tensions have been triggered by race and position (Scott, 1996:192; Bottero, 2005:73). However, the findings from this study show that not all participants shared Edith's views. Mateus, a retired civil servant, currently working for a private company, noted that such professional isolation and vulnerability was self-inflicted. It was the result of some

Macanese's negligence in equipping themselves with the appropriate skills (e.g. Cantonese language skills) before the handover. This is:

> *The biggest change is indeed the psychological change, because it is very difficult for the Macanese to accept the changes in the period after the handover, where many lacked something because they do not know Chinese.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s)*.

Mateus' bold statement illustrated in the excerpt above helps us understand the Macanese's fragile status in civil service jobs, as a result of their lack of Cantonese language skills. The evidence from other participants also shows that many Macanese felt their status has been significantly 'degraded', yet many expressed little intention to improve or alter their situation but were just keen to wait for retirement. The sense of being degraded in the civil service while being acknowledged in the former administration should not be taken lightly. This could be one of the plausible causes of the perceived 'us' and 'them' tensions between ethnic groups. Returning to Mateus, he was fairly convinced that very few Macanese were willing to upgrade themselves to learn the national language or seek new ways to position themselves in the Chinese environment. This shows that even though the post-handover period is tougher than the former administration, it does not suggest that the Macanese's chances of positioning are necessarily fewer, as acquiring Cantonese language skills is clearly an option.

5.4 In search of new ways of positioning

Similarly Chico, (in his late 50s and self-employed), expressed agreement that most Macanese from previous decades were relatively secure, especially in terms of access to privileged positions in the civil service. Due to changes since the handover, some participants, including Chico, have become aware of their vulnerability as a racially mixed community who feel they are being engulfed by the majority Chinese. The aims of these Macanese are to survive, to be more independent from the former administration and achieve a degree of respect in Chinese society.

Manuel, formally a civil servant, perceived that this generation would lead a more difficult life than earlier generations. One of the reasons for this is due to the current socio-political structure which evidently does not value both official languages in Macau. In essence, many participants state that they are experiencing increased competition in the labour market between themselves and the Chinese population since the handover. Hence, the need to seek new ways to position themselves in the job market is imperative, as the quote from Manuel states:

> *None of my children work in the public sector for two reasons. One is because they don't want to be civil servants, they may never, maybe because of their father (laughs)…and on the other hand, probably they are just being realistic, they don't want it to be their priority and they want to do something else, because it would be difficult.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

One significant feature of this quote is that the Macanese of this younger generation tend to acquire a more realistic perspective compared to the previous generation in labour market competition. The socio-political changes after the Portuguese left Macau prompted these younger people to seek new ways to adapt and position themselves in the labour market. However, the disproportionate treatment towards the Portuguese language significantly obstructed many Macanese of the younger generation and caused complaints from some local associations including the civil service. For Manuel, even though the Macanese had opportunities to take up liaison roles in terms of communicating with other Portuguese speaking countries by the central government of China, in reality the Portuguese language itself was being systematically devalued and sidelined in Macau. As this issue is directly connected to language, I will elaborate upon it further in the next chapter. However, on the positive side, Manuel was convinced that the local government would advocate that this younger generation would face the '*new reality*', not as civil servants but as professionals in society. As such, Manuel believed that the younger generation are better equipped and more globalised and as a result they will surpass the previous Macanese generation and be able to position themselves in the unfolding context. Manuel explained that this was already apparent through the emergence of young

Macanese entrepreneurs in Macau. However, it is worth mentioning that most of these participants are from upper class Macanese families. Likewise, a few Macanese demonstrate the inclination to take possession of other means of positioning: one of them was by adopting something akin to 'flexible citizenship' (Ong, 1999:113).

5.4.1 'Passing' for the Chinese Other

As stated in previous chapters, one of the major changes in relation to the post-1999 period has been the shift of power to shape the local social and political sectors towards the Chinese. As such, some participants noted that a few Macanese had explicitly opted out from their own ethnic group to assimilate with an identity which was no longer rooted in Portuguese. For example:

> *Margarida: Do you think the Macanese identity has changed since 1999?*
>
> *Fausto: Yes, for many Macanese I think they changed. They were the race to have big connection with the new bosses, Chinese bosses, before it was Portuguese bosses. Now they want to affiliate themselves to connect with the central government, of course Portugal has a longer ruling, so it is understandable, but this is very noticeable.*
>
> *Margarida: you mean they are becoming more Chinese now?*
>
> *Fausto: Yes, many of them have changed their passports to Chinese ones, so they gave up the Portuguese passports in order to be better connected or to have their network of business or relations more linked to the power for guanxi.*
>
> *(Fausto is in his mid-40s).*

Fausto's perception in articulating the Macanese's assimilation tends to be largely negative. This strategic repositioning of the few Macanese who abandoned the Portuguese nationality to become Chinese is a strategic move to improve their position in the Chinese dominated labour market and business sector. In fact, the rise of Chinese power in three sectors, namely the economic, social and political since the handover has expanded further in Macau. As was shown, it ended a 60 years' monopolised casino license in 2002, and opened the most profitable gaming

concessions to international companies (McCartney, 2005:41). Evidence of Macanese strategic positioning supports Ong's findings with regards to evidence of 'flexible citizens' in South Asia (1999:113). This is evident in the Macanese case with regard to some Macanese retaining their Portuguese citizenship in order to reposition themselves for the purpose of increasing their opportunities to acquire capital and social prestige after the handover. More than that, participants like Fausto were convinced these examples of Macanese repositioning do not implicitly involve cultural values, but rather have been undertaken to constitute a pragmatic opportunity to build new business relationships as well as for the benefits that accompanied these extending social and professional networks.

5.5 A split community?

There were only a few mentions of this type of instrumental or flexible approach to citizenship in participants' narratives and these were mostly related to business sector. The findings that emerge from this study show the older Macanese generation (mid-40s to mid-60s) were generally more insecure than the younger generation of Macanese. Most of the participants from Category A explicitly stated their vulnerability in terms of being a small, scattered community of only a few thousands, who were being largely engulfed by the dominant Chinese population. Other Category A participants commented on the difficulties the Macanese encountered in trying to position themselves in the new administration as civil servants, now their intermediate role had become obsolete. In addition to the above, other forms of insecurities expressed by the Macanese emerged in this study as, for example, focusing on Fausto again:

> *So they are like the centre, and sometimes they don't identify with the Chinese or Portuguese, but like they said this is my land so the other people either coming from China or overseas are like foreigners, or be treated like aliens. So of course it is very Macanese to think like this, but I see this from time to time and they feel entitled that they are the ones who have the truth about Macau and what should be done in it. So I think the Macanese culture should be like in the beginning, open to others and not closed to their own, we the Macanese and then forget the others.*
>
> *(Fausto is in his mid-40s).*

The quote above from Fausto clearly projects the different characteristics of demarcation between ethnic groups, which emphasises an ethnic chauvinism with regards to the Macanese and those who are not 'natives' of Macau. His narrative also illustrates the way the Macanese explicitly excluded the Chinese and Portuguese people. As such, its sole purpose was to construct a fortress (or ghetto) to safeguard Macanese interests in Macau through excluding other ethnic groups. However, the findings that have emerged from this study show that this 'mentality' does not apply to the participants in the 30s to 40s age group, most of whom tend to affiliate closer with Chinese in their social networks and are less threatened by the Chinese presence in Macau. I will explore this topic later in this chapter.

In contrast, a few participants aged in their 40s or above expressed strong adverse feelings towards the Chinese people as well as the Chinese administration. It is, however, noteworthy to mention that the 'Chinese' participants referred to in this context are not Chinese incomers from the mainland, but local Chinese born in Macau and who have been raised up with local Macanese values and ideologies. One participant (in her late 50s) outlined the social changes that had, by and large, degraded her to a second or third class citizen, while other participants also noticed that their privileges and roles have been significantly undermined in Macau compared to the past. That being said, the findings that emerge from this study documented in Mateus' account show that many Macanese will very likely accept the Chinese identity in the future, for example:

> *I only represent myself because this is quite a sensitive issue. I observed that they will accept it [Chinese identity] because there is no other alternative. They will openly accept it, and it is rather difficult for them because they are unsure if the others will equally accept them. We cannot ignore the fact that a bit of doubtfulness still exists in the present.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s).*

The excerpt above helps us understand the dilemmas and tensions many are experiencing since the handover. For Mateus, this situation is intensifying. As such,

findings that emerge from this study also show that many Macanese express resistance towards the Chinese identity in light of their Portuguese heritage, (with whom the majority of Macanese mostly affiliate) (Cheng, 1999:203; Hao, 2001:108). In a similar vein, Marina, who is in her late 50s, supports Mateus' assertions with regard to many Macanese in the future choosing to emphasis the Chinese aspects of their identities. Given that a large part of Macau's economic prosperity relies on China, as one of the strongest and most powerful countries in the world, the Macanese would find it hard to resist such pressure. Yet throughout her interview, Marina expressed no desire to become Chinese. However, this study has found that our participants believe that an increasingly number of Macanese are identifying with their Chinese heritage for the purpose of surviving and positioning themselves in Chinese Macau.

Like Marina, Edith's (in her late 40s) stance is clearly illustrated here. She exclusively identifies with her Portuguese roots, she told me: '*I will forever love being Portuguese'.* In fact, she was the only participant who planned to return to Portugal after her retirement. In her interview, Edith said she missed the special feeling during the Portuguese administration period, a feeling she evidently has not experienced under the Chinese government. The post-handover period has also caused another problem, which Edith defines as one of the difficult challenges she has experienced as a result of increasing animosity in the civil service amongst Chinese colleagues' namely: '*they don't accept us because we are not Chinese, they don't let us in their groups so easily'.* This tension between ethnic groups has emerged elsewhere in the findings of this study, and tends to be more conspicuous after the change of administration, particularly with regard to colleagues who work in the civil service.

5.6 The Division issue: perspectives of the pre and post-1999 period

As discussed earlier, the boundary between ethnic groups in Macau that has intensified since the handover actually pre-dates the handover and was associated with perceptions of preferential treatment under the former administration:

> *I believe it has to do with the past, because many of them [the Chinese] were not being fairly treated by the Macanese, that the Macanese were positioned above the Chinese in the civil hierarchy ladder. Even though there were no apparent grudges, it is obvious that there was animosity between them. In the past when a Chinese finished high school, he would not be admitted to a civil job, but if a Macanese finished high school he could easily apply for a civil servant job. As for a Chinese, he could never obtain the same level as a Macanese in terms of career prospects when applying for the same civil service job. I believe there is an invisible grudge, in our generation we can clearly feel it, and there is even hatred.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s)*

The quotation above from Mateus highlights how the discriminatory recruiting system operated during the Portuguese administration privileged the hiring of Macanese in preference to Chinese applicants for civil service positions. One could argue that this has contributed to the tension observed today between the Macanese and Chinese civil servants, as stated by Mateus. In fact, my findings show that participants associated with the civil service projected similar tensions at work towards Chinese colleagues. Many believed that the situation has precipitated conflicts at work. In contrast, the younger Macanese group seem to report and experience less tension with other ethnic groups. Besides, the majority of the younger group have accepted the fact that Macau is no longer in Portugal's domain. In order to strategically position themselves in the Chinese Macau, they appear to be reconciled to the idea that it is vital to integrate and blend in with a population comprised of 95 per cent Chinese.

However, people from the Category A group find it difficult to tolerate what they view as an overwhelmingly Chinese population in the wake of the handover. As one participant argues, many of the social benefits are no longer directed to local people or to the next generation anymore, but are mostly diverted to those new mainland Chinese immigrants. Despite the lucrative revenue generated through tourism and the gaming industry, evidence from the Category A participants' interviews show that many of them expressed discontentment with regard to these rapid growth industries. Many of them believe that these industries are detrimental to Macau, in terms of them being responsible for an increase in property prices and higher living costs, which

have made it more difficult for them to live in Macau. Despite many Macanese struggling to pay very high rents, some Macanese have re-located to Zhuhai (the closest city to Macau) where the standard of living and rents are relatively less expensive and more affordable than in Macau.

5.7 Exploring home belonging and new ways of positioning

Although the findings in this study illustrate that most of the Category A participants identify with Portugal, migrating to Portugal was not included in the majority of Category A participant's retirement plans. As one participant (in her late 50s and working in a private company) explicitly noted, she would rather stay in Macau after retiring, even though she has no affection for Chinese Macau. As a matter of fact, all of my participants claim that Macau is 'home' for them. As such, the spatial context presented in most of the participants' narratives is significant as it evokes collective memories of generations of family traditions and communal belonging (Rose, 1995:89-90; Blunt, 2005:13). However, the data presented from the interviews illustrates stark differences vis-à-vis home, in the Macau context. For example, Marina, who is in her late 50s, stated that her sentimentality with regard to Macau as her home had gradually faded away after 1999. She can only envision the imagined home she was closely emotionally attached to before the handover, which is very different to the Macau she perceives today. Yet, my research found that the meanings of home are not perceived in a similar manner by all the Category A participants, for example:

> *Margarida: Do you belong here?*
>
> *Fausto: Yes, I am linked to here through my father and grandfather and my cousins are still here… I relate to that particular street that my father once lived and we go to the same church, the cathedral of São Lourenço where they went and were baptised…so I relate to the space, the city and the people with my ancestors.*
>
> *Margarida: will you continue to live here after the 50 years of autonomy period (2049) expires?*
>
> *Fausto: Yes, because the nation is family that welcomes us, so I would like to.*
>
> *(Fausto is in his mid-40s)*

Although Macau is home for Fausto and Marina, their associations with the place are complex, in light of the memories and experiences that have shaped and in return are shaped by their perceptions of Macau. The above quote from Fausto projects home as a place where memories of family members and specific events are remembered and celebrated, thus his sense of belonging is represented by the integration of the past with his present. This finding is consistent with Blunt's study, which suggests the importance of home 'is a material and an effective space, shaped by …social relations, memories and emotions' (2005:506) which is clearly articulated in Fausto's narrative. What is more, Fausto's confidence with regards to his remaining in Macau after 2049 (the year where the autonomy period expires) is clearly depicted, as he aligns his position with the nation (China) as 'family', which Marina cannot bring herself to do.

5.8 Forging alliances for positioning

Another prevalent theme that emerges from the findings is that the Macanese in general are keen to remain in Macau, despite the consequences of the handover. In essence, the majority of participants pronounced Macau as home for them and the place where their family and culture are rooted. On the negative side, participants expressed anxiety on account of the overpowering sinicized effect in relation to the monolithic social changes that have been unleased under the Chinese administration. As included in participants' interviews, many are convinced that these changes are pivotal to weakening their Portuguese ancestry, which they perceive as being ingrained in the Macanese community. The truth of the matter is that some participants noticed that their community is becoming more dispersed than it was in the past and many are searching for ways to maintain their identity. Filipe is a good example of this tendency. He pointed out that Macanese in their twenties were contemplating their own identity issues. For example, he noted that many younger Macanese parents avoid using Portuguese to communicate amongst themselves and with their children, and instead are using Cantonese. This issue will be examined in the next chapter where I will discuss how the post-handover period has impacted on the Macanese with regard to their language usage. In this context, the transformation of

administrations is significant and central in propagating the sinicized influence for the society as well as the Macanese community. This has provoked a number of survival strategies amongst the Macanese, as elaborated upon by Filipe:

> *A new order has been established in Macau and this new order is one that everybody was waiting for. Everybody was waiting, either positively or negatively, but it was something that was going to happen. So it was inevitable but anyway, the rules changed, the positioning changed, the Macanese community had to re-position itself. So by adopting other kinds of strategies amongst a lot of other things is the purpose to survive as a community. So strategically they had to forge alliances with other affiliates to be on the surface of the water, in order to float.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s)*

The centrality of the need for the Macanese to re-position themselves as a racially mixed community in order to survive after 1999 highlighted the importance of seeking help from other resources: as Filipe refers to it, as forging *'alliances with other affiliates*'. Yet the suggestions articulated by Filipe's were relatively uncommon amongst my other participants. My findings actually suggest that the Macanese tend to be rather insular people: in the general context, 'coalitionism' is not one of their characteristics. What is more, this highlights the difficulties the Macanese might face in terms of positioning themselves as a racially mixed community in order to survive in the new Macau. Perhaps '*forging alliances*', as mentioned in Filipe's quotation, is less about coalitionism with other marginalised communities and more about the instrumental acclimatisation to the Chinese reality which might necessitate shifts to Chinese citizenship even at the expense of abandoning their Portuguese nationality. This finding is consistent with Ong's (1999:113) study, which suggests that the acquisition of a 'flexible citizenship' would be for the purpose of positioning themselves closer to Chinese power. This strategic shifting of citizenship could earn them a place in 'Chinese capitalism and claim the ethnic-Chinese status to be part of the business network' (Ong, 1999:7) as well as reinforce their political relationship with Beijing. More than that, it will likely enable some Macanese to try to gain access to an enhanced social status and be more closely aligned 'along the axis of power'

(Yuval-Davis, 2006:199). Although Western theories of 'passing' are often applied to underscore biracial individuals for obtaining the privileges associated with white groups (Ali, 2003:13; Parker and Song, 2001:7), I argue that it does not apply to the Macanese in Macau after the handover. My finding shows that Macanese that 'passed' do so for the acquisition of a *non-white* status, namely, to 'become' Chinese. In fact, the departure of the Portuguese administration, together with the rise of Chinese economic power, has initiated an incentive for the Macanese to shift to Chinese, as this quotation notes:

> *From what I notice, they (the Macanese) have a tendency to cling on to the side that are politically powerful. There are a couple of Macanese who always emphasise that they are Chinese but this is only what I felt. When it comes to other Macanese, they do not stress who they want to be. Those that I mentioned are the political figures, they have to take sides in order to profit and to attain a political status in Macau, such as some Macanese that have given up their Portuguese nationality after 1999, just because they wanted to become legislative members, as they could not possess any nationality other than Chinese, but for the rest, there is no need to take sides, therefore they are like everyone else.*
>
> *(Sandra is in her mid-50s).*

What Sandra observes is that, in relation to those Macanese who have become 'Chinese', they are acting instrumentally for their own benefit and status. In contrast, she expressed her admiration for those Macanese who have not surrendered their identity. She was referring to the 'ordinary' Macanese: who have '*no need to take sides*'. As such, the evidence emerging from the other participants included in the study shows that the majority of them do not desire to become Chinese. This could be the consequence of their close affiliation with their Portuguese heritage as well as their pride in being mixed heritage individuals. This finding supports Kerwin et al. (1993) and Crawford and Alaggia's (2008) studies of biracial individuals which suggest that a choice of multiple identity is preferred, rather than identifying with only one parent's ethnicity (Chinese or Portuguese in the Macanese context). Perhaps the Macanese are also utilising the benefits associated with their mixed backgrounds, by attempting to incorporate both worlds, instead of just identifying with one side of their mixed heritage.

The pride embedded in the Macanese identity, as articulated in Filipe's narrative, is significant and analogous to acknowledging its own 'difference'. By using himself as an example, he specifically stated that '*as long as you remain and are still aware of the difference, you have a chance to perpetuate your identity'.* He further noted that the centrality of the Macanese identity would only foster meaning if the individual is able to identify with someone apart from himself or herself and only under such circumstances would the person's identity be acknowledged. This rehearses the central tenets of symbolic interactionism in the sociological tradition of George Herbert Mead (Mead, 1962).

5.9 The 'status' lives on

As mentioned previously, the transition period in late 1999 created a niche for a few Macanese (mostly legislative members) to tactically position themselves above other Macanese for 'status attainment' (Bottero, 2005:75) in the political arena. As a result, a stratified social order was constituted that is hierarchically structured in an unequal manner. These inequalities emerge from social, cultural and economic attributions resulting from (but not only restricted to) prestige, reputation, education, race, ethnicity and the like (Bottero, 2005:5). In fact, stratification should not be regarded as a new concept in the Macau discourse. My findings in this study shows that it has always been used as a sorting mechanism, both among the Macanese themselves and with other ethnic groups. The purposes are to categorise class divisions and racial differences as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Moreover, the findings that emerge from the participants' narratives show that the majority of the Macanese are convinced that, in general, they are not united. Some are aware that this disunity is significant to separate the small community even further, with the exception of Filipe who refutes this accusation:

> *There is no such thing as disunion, there is no such a thing. Why are we fabricating such a thing? What we have is different views. What we have is different spaces. What should we do? We should co-exist: pure and simple.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s).*

The above excerpt accentuates Filipe's standpoint in noting that the Macanese are united, which is not widely perceived by the racially mixed community itself. Yet, at the same time, he argues that the community should co-exist. This seems to contradict other evidence which suggests the group's disunity. In fact, evidence from the Category B narratives (below) reveal that the majority of them are convinced that the community is split, under the rubric of status and class amongst the Macanese themselves. I will examine this later in the chapter.

Filipe raises the importance of identifying as a Macanese on two levels: the individual as well as the community. Without the community, he suggests, the individual is incomplete, as he or she can only exist as a singular entity; only together with the affiliation of the community can the individual achieve full membership as a Macanese. He also added that both the individual and group are '*two compounds*' necessary to construct the Macanese social identity. They are also important to help achieve the '*proper dynamics*' which give meaning to being Macanese. The findings that emerge from Filipe's narrative show that even though many Macanese have become sinicized by choice, and are educating their children in the Cantonese language, not many have opted to identify themselves as Chinese, as documented in the literature of Hao (2011:193-194). He is convinced that it is the pride or '*attitude*' which many Macanese embody that is ostensibly different from the Chinese. In his understanding, a Chinese person would immediately acknowledge his or her Chinese identity, in light of his or her appearance (phenotype) along with other characteristics. However, in many Macanese cases, a sense of pride as a result of being different - '*proud of their difference*' - is acquired. Furthermore, the findings from Filipe's narrative show that it is rather unusual for a Macanese to explicitly declare that he or she is a Chinese, as the individual acquires certain attitudes that contradict those of 'a real' Chinese. This may imply that the individual advocates a sense of shame for either being mixed race or not being proud of one of her parent's ethnicities. This is evident in Crawford and Alaggia (2008:94) who suggest that biracial individuals, when under pressure to align with two identities at the same time, have the tendency to choose one single racial identity. This also reflects the scenarios in which some Macanese choose to 'pass' as, or opt for

being, Chinese for the benefits they think they can access, as suggested in Ong (1999:61) and noted earlier in this chapter. What is more, many Macanese encountered difficulties in positioning themselves in the social context, particularly given their perceptions of the inadequate support they receive from the Chinese administration. According to Filipe, the choice involved in this attitude was evidently made for survival needs in the midst of an ever changing Chinese society. As he notes: '*I just respect it, I don't condemn anyone'.*

As Macanese, our mixed heritages very often marked how we identify ourselves and how we are identified by others in Macau. Unlike the previous generations in my family whose education was based solely in Portuguese, mine was replaced by English and Cantonese. Similarly, while my facial appearance and limited Portuguese language skills may not fully categorize me as a typical Macanese, the process of how I identify my mixedness still confirms my Macanese 'membership'. Macanese people reflecting on this paradoxical condition tend to be on the rise, which may be partly due to the mid-1970s social changes that perpetuated intermarriages with the Chinese (amongst other ethnic) partners. While the ramifications of mid-1970s crisis also increased the Chinese influence on the Macanese, it did not succeed in eradicating the Macanese identity, as evidence showed that none of the participants desired to identify themselves as Chinese or Portuguese.

As such, I agree with some of the participants that the post-handover period was both a challenge and an opportunity for our generation to re-conceptualize the meaning of being Macanese, and also to disentangle us from the images constructed from our colonial past. The loss of Portuguese protection after 1999 was vital to inspire many Macanese to break norms and seek for other ways of positioning, rather than simply relying on recruitment to civil service posts. In sum, I believe our generation is better equipped (both academically and linguistically) to acquire the awareness to maintain our Creole community.

In the next section, I will be exploring the Category B: those aged from their late 20s to 40s. In contrast to the Category A, all of the Category B participants acquired higher education, with four out of seven of these younger participants being proficient in

speaking, reading and writing in the Chinese language, in addition to English and Portuguese.

5.10 Perspective of the post-handover observed by the Young Macanese

Alfonso was one of the Category B participants who was educated in Portuguese and chose to return to Macau after his university studies in Portugal. As he stated in his narrative, the handover in 1999 was packed with mixed emotions in light of the change of administration, as this quote shows:

> *We are not sure whether the changes will be good or bad. It is difficult to tell. However, there are Macanese who feel that they have lost their patriotism, that is the Portuguese flag, and they knew that there would be massive changes in Macau. Everyone felt that.*
>
> *(Alfonso is in his 30s)*

This quote from Alfonso highlights an array of uncertainties and his distrust of the inevitable changes after the handover. This is reflected in his comment that many Macanese are aware of the aftermath after the Portuguese left. With that said, many Macanese chose to immigrate to other countries, particularly to Portugal where some have stayed. For those who chose to remain after 1999, the evidence emerging from the Category B narratives shows that, in general, they have been more confident to face their new reality. Further, many affirm they will be capable of adapting to 'Chinese Macau' even as a small community. In spite of this, the end of the Portuguese administration has also triggered numerous unknown factors for the Macanese, and one of them is a lack of support compared to what was given to them by the former government. In contrast to the Category A group, where the majority expressed concern in relation to their role being undermined after 1999, one participant from Category B shed light by advocating a different perspective. He notes that the Macanese should not rely on the Portuguese for help, giving, as an example, Malacca (a city colonised by the Portuguese between 1511 and 1641) as stated in this quote:

> *Malacca has been culturally abandoned by the Portuguese for many years. The problem is we should not expect too much form Portugal, although many things will remain after 2049.*
>
> *(Joaquim is in his late 30s)*

Joaquim wants to encourage the younger Macanese generation to take their future into their own hands and to not rely on other resources, mainly referring to the Portuguese. He accentuates that in order to sustain their community, younger people should be more proactive in facing this challenge. Although there are some younger Macanese who appear to be grooming themselves to become future leaders, there were many similarities with members of the older generation who were also educated in Portuguese. He contested that this will delimit the diversity of the community. In Joaquim's opinion, if the younger generation take over the leadership of the community in the future, there may be possibilities to bring forth new ways of being Macanese in the future. However, it will come at a cost. Most of the participants from Category B have been educated in English speaking countries, such as England, Australia or the United States. This tends to reduce their connection with Portugal in comparison to the older Macanese's generation.

Despite this, the findings from this study also show that many Macanese have foreseen that the future of Macau will be Chinese, and thus as a consequence they have begun educating their children in English and/or Chinese. Flora is one of the participants from this group who was educated in Chinese and has acquired proficiency in speaking and writing Cantonese, Mandarin, English and Portuguese. Currently in her late-20s, she is the daughter to a local Chinese father and a Macanese mother. Even though her language skills may bring more job opportunities, she still considers the previous generation better off than her. For example:

> *Flora: I think my mother's generation is the best amongst all of us. Usually it is the first or second Macanese generation, why? Because most of their fathers are Portuguese and many of them are in a good financial situation and do not need to worry about having a job…most of them come from the middle class (my mother is retired now) and they did not fear as jobs were easily accessible.*

Margarida: Why is your generation not as fortunate as the previous one?

Flora: Firstly, we do not have a pension, we only have a provident fund which is not the same, in this respect, and we have to work harder than them.

(Flora is in her late 20s)

The quote from above clearly demonstrates that career prospects are a major concern for Macanese who are seeking to position themselves in the labour market. As discussed earlier, the Macanese from the previous generation were mostly civil servants, as a result of their dual language proficiency. Flora's narrative shows that her mother's generation seemingly surpassed hers, particularly when she compares the benefits that each job delivered. The labour market presented in Flora's interview offers a glimpse that the job market is less competitive in Macau in the past. What is more, my findings show that, unlike most Macanese from the previous generation, namely those who worked in civil posts, none of the Macanese from Category B in this study are either civil servants or will acquire a state pension after retirement. As such, the centrality of adaptation is a prevalent theme throughout the interviews. In realizing that being racially mixed is no longer a benefit after the handover, most Macanese of the younger generation are appropriating new ways to adapt and position themselves in society.

5.10.1 Opportunities in the Chinese labour market

As demonstrated in the participants' interviews, Macanese from the perspective of Category B participants, who are not civil servants, exemplify higher levels of confidence in their career trajectory. The two quotations below verify that:

Rafaela: In relation to work, I think there are more opportunities in respect to my career, because I studied English, and it has become more important after 1999, as a lingua franca in Macau.

(Rafaela is in her 40s)

and

> *Priscila: I began to study Portuguese when I was small, and then went to Portugal for my university degree and then returned to Macau. The only difference is that I have never worked in the government. For these 8 years I have only worked in private companies.*
>
> *(Priscila is in her 30s)*

The quotations above are exemplary of the perceptions elicited from the Category B participants with regard to how they have developed different strategies towards their career prospects after the handover. In Rafaela's account, the post 1999 period is perceived as being mostly positive. Educated in English, she has more career prospects since the role of the English language has increased in popularity subsequent to the booming local economy. Although from the economic perspective, Macau has turned itself into an international city, Rafaela preferred the old one in which she grew up. The evidence emerging from this study has also suggests that participants show mixed sentiments towards Macau's evolution into a busy city as the responses generated are mostly negative. Along with Rafaela, the majority of participants note that the quality of life in Macau has been reduced. It has primarily become a place in which the main purpose is to make money.

In contrast to Rafaela, Priscila was educated in Portuguese and completed her higher degree in Portugal. However, she has never worked as a civil servant. This has become more common in the Macau government as the Portuguese language is no longer a prerequisite language used in the recruitment of civil posts, which I will examine more fully in the next chapter on language. Yet this does not necessarily mean that the Portuguese language goes to waste in Macau, as the local judicial system still follows Portuguese law. Thus, the Portuguese language is still required in law firms. In fact, the first job Priscila landed was the post of a secretary and a translator due to her proficiency in Portuguese and Chinese. According to Priscila, her use of Portuguese was linked to the type of work she was interested in doing, whereas in her generation, she was convinced fewer people were studying Portuguese because of their perceptions of the difficulties accessing civil service jobs with these skills. The findings from this study

also show that another Macanese, proficient in four languages, expressed no interest in joining the civil service, as her quotation indicates:

> *Margarida: You are working in the private sector now. Why are you not interested in working for the government?*
>
> *Flora: Because I see the challenge in the private sector is bigger. In fact, very few of my friends wanted to work for the government. Of course the money, welfare and benefits are very attractive, and there are times when I was tempted to join the civil service, but the challenges the private sector offers me will never be found in the civil service.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

The excerpt above tells us that the employment choices of the majority of participants from Category B contrast to those of the previous generation who would normally have settled for a civil service position, as observed during the Portuguese administration. Yet, this is not the case for Flora. In her interview she clearly outlined her choice as the result of the challenges and prospects which a government job cannot provide for her. This also shows that participants from Category B's orientation to the labour market is characterised by accepting higher risks, relative to their parents. Furthermore, many from this group who are in their late-20s to early 40s have acquired higher education and speak several languages, which will enable them to position and adapt themselves in the Chinese labour market with greater ease than their parents.

5.10.2 Disunity

The centrality of 'disunity' is a prevalent theme throughout the interviews. The available evidence suggests that it has raised major concerns amongst Macanese and in some cases has escalated into internal conflicts and tensions that have resulted in widening the gap between them. Alfonso articulates the importance of a united community. He claims it is highly significant not just for the Macanese, but for the Chinese as well, in order to sustain their identity in 'Chinese Macau':

> *After 1999, I feel that the Macanese are much divided: some have left and some stayed. We have to be united amongst ourselves and with the Chinese community. If we are not united, our identity will eventually disappear. As for the Portuguese (those that are residing in Macau), they*

> *will only care for their own community. They will socialise with the Macanese … but they will not care and will one day leave this place.*
>
> *(Alfonso is in his early 30s).*

The concern of 'unity' draws attention to this quotation taken from Alfonso. He is the only participant to mention the importance of involving the Chinese (from Macau) in sustaining the Macanese identity, but not the Portuguese residing in Macau. This suggests that the Category B's notion of the local Chinese has changed and has become more receptive. This was not the case with the older participants in this study. In addition, he notes that the Chinese referred to here are those who were in Macau before the handover. That is, those Chinese who share similar sentiments with the Macanese and have always been closely related with Macau. However, he also suggested that the Macanese are a complicated community. Likewise, Flora articulates the flaws of the previous generation and is more willing to reconcile in order to build a better relationship with the Chinese group:

> *The problem is Macanese often have this attitude to look down on other people, even for myself, it is our dignity, you can also see how Macanese sometimes say things about others e.g. mainlanders. I see that they (mainlanders) work really hard. I cannot even do what they do. That is I am speaking for myself. We have the advantage but we never cherish it, because we abuse it. They may not speak as well as we do, but in writing they may be better than us, because they use words that we don't even know, instead of pushing ourselves to be better, we look down upon them.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

Flora highlights some interesting points. The quotation above takes a very different approach from that of the Category A group who tend to employ ethnicity 'as a boundary' (Anthias, 2001:849). Flora tends to present a more tolerant and receptive attitude with the intention of pulling the ethnic groups, like the Macanese and the Chinese, closer. In her narrative, Flora acknowledges the Chinese work ethic, which is rarely the case for a Macanese. One could argue that the perceptions of the Category A and Category B are contrasting. There are obvious signs that the latter group's

receptiveness has surpassed that of the previous generation, both in acknowledgment and acceptance of other ethnicities, especially those Chinese from the mainland.

5.10.3 Disunity amongst themselves

Although the majority of Category B seems to have affiliated more easily with Chinese people, this study shows that the Macanese are aware that their community is divided, as the quote below notes:

> *We have to admit that Macau is a very small territory and we have to understand that even with difference between communities, it has also to do with the family itself. For some families cannot ignore the fact that there is a status thing in society which I will not reveal. I belong to the middle layer, and I avoid conflicts with the top or the lower status, but I think everyone should connect with each other.*
>
> *(Alfonso is in his early 30s).*
>
> *and*
>
> *I hope the Macanese can put down this status thing and try not to be too critical and too self-centred. When we observe closely it is not just the Macanese, I think we let go of a lot of things and also embrace them, because if we do not want to be isolated, this is our only chance, if not one day we will lose track of ourselves, in fact we are already quite lost now.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

The first quote above highlights the existence of a hierarchical agency largely precipitated by 'status', mostly employed by traditional, affluent, elite Macanese families for generations in Macau. One can argue that these status distinctions in Macau remain, although they are possibly less prevalent than in the past. Furthermore, the status mentioned here does not equate to or share similarities with wealth or class, but is rather constructed in light of the family's last name. According to Silvio, who is in his mid-30s, this is not a recent phenomenon and has not changed much over time. However, he believes the younger generation will acquire the capacity to change it. In the past, traditional families were regarded as the most affluent and educated part of the Macanese community, yet the situation has changed. Silvio added that today the

new generation has the same opportunity to study abroad and make a good living, and he affirms the central part education is likely to play in bringing the Macanese community closer together. Sustaining a united and harmonious community is also an aspiration in the quote above from Alfonso. In both the above quotations 'status' is presented as a negative residual force in Macanese society, one that is equally resented by both participants. In fact, Flora believes that in order not to be excluded by the majority population, the only hope is to discard the 'status' boundary that is seemingly splitting the Macanese apart.

So far, I have examined the Category A and Category B groups with regard to their perceptions of being part of a racially-mixed community, and I have presented the ways they have positioned themselves socially and economically in post-handover Macau. The disparity in light of the different categories' affiliation with their Portuguese ancestry is central to determining how they positioned themselves and are negotiating their place in the sinicized Macau. In the next section, I will look at how the Category C group (who are characterised by considerable ambivalence) have identified themselves during the post-handover era. Excerpts quoted here were collected from both the members of the Category A and Category B age-groups who expressed sentiments of 'in-betweenness' (Bhabha, 1994:71) being positioned in the middle in light of their dual ethnic backgrounds. Although this study shows that participants from Category C are encountering difficulties with regard to being racially mixed, in this context this does not imply that all Macanese are incapable of surviving in contemporary Macau.

5.11 Being Macanese: a new perspective

As described in the literature review, the post-handover period was significant in forcing the Macanese to search for new ways to adapt to and position themselves in this unfolding socio-political context. As such, the evidence from this study shows that one participant identified himself differently from the way Macanese had done in the past, as this quote illustrates:

Margarida: How do you describe your identity?

> *Chico: I am* 中山人 *(people of Zhongshan – city in the Guangdong province) Yes, I am* 中山人**,** *but my father is Portuguese from the south and we are descendants of Spain. My mother is mixed, she is Macanese, and I am Macanese too.*
>
> *(Chico is in his late-50s).*

The identity choice illustrated by Chico illustrates the prioritisation of one identity over another. Here the participant places his Zhongshan identity before his Portuguese. This is rather uncommon among Macanese (Hao, 2011:108) and an isolated example in this study. Thus far, there is no scientific data to verify the exact number of Macanese who have surrendered their Portuguese nationality in order to become Chinese citizens. This does, however, highlight the fact that some Macanese are attempting to acquire a 'personalised stance towards ethnic group membership' (Song, 2003:58). Some individuals are trying to opt out of his or her own group. These Macanese are adopting a pragmatic strategy in order to survive in the Chinese society. Moreover, this process of adaption does not only involve instrumental simplification in terms of just selecting one 'ethnicity' or 'heritage' – but can involve another diversification, as this quotation notes:

> *Margarida: do you think the Macanese identity changed after 1999?*
>
> *Filipe: I think in the twenty or thirty years that have passed, we have been seen a lot of different ways of being Macanese. Each way has, itself, grown within Macau, and with time, each way earns its own legitimacy. Each way depends on how we feel about Macau and how we feel about ourselves being in a sense of community. Well, the choices that we make, where we live, the places we go are also key factors. The world is becoming smaller, the internet, a lot of things, a lot of interaction, which we never thought about, but it happens…Well, in these thirty years, it changed a lot, the people and diversification, each has its own way of seeing the Macanese.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s).*

An important feature, highlighted in the quotation above, is that the meanings associate with the term 'Macanese' have become more diverse, as a consequence of

the various opportunities afforded by it. These meanings are equally valid and do not interfere or minimize each other. Filipe suggested that it is vital to look beyond the orthodox structure which is often used to reify the Macanese; instead he would emphasise '*different ways of being Macanese; each way earns its legitimacy*.' He also added that different generations have their own unique ways of interpreting Macanese-ness, in accordance with the culture, knowledge and views structure by their preferences, choices and experiences.

However, not every Macanese shares this optimism. Further evidence collected during my research shows that some participants, particularly those in their late 40s or above, had experienced exclusion on account of their racially mixed background, as this quotation confirms:

> *Margarida: what do you think of being mixed, is it good or bad?*
>
> *Edith: it is bad, because I don't fit in either side. Although I felt excluded in Portugal, I feel it more here, because I was born here yet I feel like a stranger, whereas in Portugal I do not feel it so much because it is not the place where I was born. I really feel very sad here, because this is my real home.*
>
> *(Edith is in her late 40s).*

Two major factors are highlighted by Edith. One is the element of rejection which comes from being racially mixed, and the deprivation of a sense of belonging of home. Edith's narrative of being racially mixed is largely a negative one, as she has found that she has been rejected by both ethnic groups and as a consequence been confined to a 'liminal state' (Cheng, 1999:179) where she does not belong to either. Her other sense of being rejected is associated with being treated as a stranger in her place of birth, which according to Sarup suggests the experience of being perceived as an 'undesirable, inferior, bad and dangerous…permanent other' (1994:102). The feeling of exclusion, together with discontentment from work, which was mentioned earlier in this chapter, may very well become her reasons for wanting to leave Macau after retirement.

In contrast to Edith, the participants from Category B group tend to exhibit a sense of pride. The quotation below from Silvio not only illustrates his positive perspective, but also rejects the representation of the 'marginal man' (Stonequist, 1935:1) frequently used to label racially mixed people:

> *Margarida: can you describe your identity?*
>
> *Silvio: I am a Maquista*[5]
>
> *Margarida: you won't say you are Portuguese?*
>
> *Silvio: No, I will say I am a Maquista, and I am proud of that.*
>
> *(Silvio is in his mid-30s)*

There is clearly a difference in how Edith and Silvio represent themselves in terms of being Macanese. Silvio's quote shows his confidence with regard to his mixed race background which he associates with pride and without a hint of negativity or marginalisation (Kerwin et al, 1993:228). The research of Kerwin et al demonstrates that not all racially mixed individuals experience conflict on account of their mixedness. This also supports Ali's study to suggest that being racially mixed provides individuals with the ability to negotiate multiple differences as a consequence of the multiple positions they possess (2003:13). The findings from this study also show that in this incidence, some of the participants acknowledge being positioned in the middle, as this quote notes:

> *We are caught in the middle. I will continue to stay in the middle; it might have to do with my background which does not render me to take sides. Perhaps those who came back from Portugal or those who studied in Portuguese might shift towards the Portuguese side. Yet there are different types of Macanese, some are closer to the Portuguese root and some are from Macanese families and there are those like me, whose father is of Chinese descent and educated in Cantonese. Now I am working for a Portuguese employer, therefore I feel I am really caught in the middle, everything for me is in the middle position, and thus it*

[5] Macanese or Eurasians of Macau.

> *makes me to think about the issue rather than the person, if the case involves the two ethnicities, I would not take either side in this context.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

The excerpt above illustrates Flora's affirmation of being in the middle, despite the contradiction of being racially mixed. Throughout her interview, her father's ethnicity was evoked several times, especially when identity and language were mentioned. As such, her Chinese identity is at times articulated to underline her disparities from other Macanese whose paternal origins are Portuguese. Flora illustrates the two different approaches to how Macanese tend to affiliate: either being closer to Portuguese or the Chinese roots - '*those like me, whose father is Chinese*'. In the quotation above, Flora's stance is clear. She has no desire to take sides. This is a reflection of her mixedness, of being a Macanese. Similar to Flora, Rafaela perceived the potentiality of being racially mixed, however she affiliates her mixed background in a very different way to Flora:

> *I am a very reflective person. I think I have gone through a lot of time reconciling my identity. It has been very difficult. My ideal identity would be to play an intermediary role for Chinese and Portuguese, I am not talking about the community but in my daily life I see potential for this role. I cannot relate myself to being Chinese, even though I grew up with Chinese, being with them just enhances our differences, so I guessed it is something hereditary that there is Portuguese in every Macanese and when the Macanese are with Chinese, they see that there is some Chinese about them.*
>
> *(Rafaela is in her late 30s).*

Unlike the previous quotations from Flora and Silvio, this excerpt from Rafaela seems to outline her difficulties of being a mixed race person. She has '*gone through a lot of time reconciling my identity.*' This was not mentioned by the other two participants. Yet, she seems to contradict herself. On the one hand, Rafaela immediately signs up for the role of an intermediary: someone who can liaise between the Portuguese and Cantonese. On the other hand, she explicitly de-identifies herself from the Chinese: 'I cannot relate myself to being Chinese' and aligns only with her Portuguese heritage. This finding is consistent with the research of Kerwin et al, who observe after studying

racially mixed individuals that some tend to 'choose to identify with one race more than the other'(1993:228). Moreover, Rafaela disclosed in her narrative what it was like growing up in a Chinese community and having mostly Chinese friends. In spite of all of this, Rafaela found difficulties identifying herself as Chinese, as the proximity to 100 per cent Chinese people tended to accentuate her difference.

5.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how the impact of the post-handover affected the Macanese's disposition with regard to negotiating and positioning themselves in the Chinese administration on account of their racially mixed status. The typologies applied in the chapter (Category A and Category B) help to underscore each group's difficulties and discrepancies. The latter category seems to demonstrate higher resilience and adaptability in light of the changes under the Chinese administration. Yet, these political changes have tended to decrease the Category A's group confidence in recognising that their intermediary role has not been an asset since the Portuguese left. This is particularly the case for those Macanese employed as civil servants. They often felt marginalised at work and expressed the desire to retire and leave Macau. The idea of leaving is not, however, discussed as an important issue and is not articulated in every Category A participant's narrative. As such, the necessity of forging alliances with others, especially the majority Chinese population, was frequently reiterated in order to facilitate the Macanese's chances to adapt and survive in Chinese society.

In contrast to Category A, the Category B group have tended to be more optimistic since the Portuguese left. Many have been able to successfully position themselves in the labour market, not as civil servants, but in the private sector. This has been due to their proficiency in several languages and, more generally, their acquisition of a higher education level than the participants from Category A. Despite the fact that Macau does not share the normative standardisation of colonialism and post-colonialism as other ex-colonies (as discussed in the literature review) the Category A group seem to be content to accept the benefits that Portuguese colonialism brought. In fact, they had comfortable lives being functionaries of the Portuguese colonial administrative

legacy. Participants who belong to Category B seem much more distant (and 'post-colonial') in their attitude towards the Portuguese and their legacy, and are much more future and global in their orientation.

In the section on Category C (or the 'hybrid' group), this chapter also shows that the younger people (of Category B) describe their mixed identities with pride, compared to the alienated sentiments expressed by the older Macanese (in Category A) in this study. Although both sides articulate the pros and cons of being in the middle, the Category B group seemed to perceive their mixed heritage positively as a way to acculturate both ethnic worlds.

I have also argued that the concept of 'passing' usually used to illustrate biracial individuals' acquisition of a privileged white identity in Western studies does not fit with the Macanese's example in Chinese Macau, as it shows that the affiliation to a non-white (Chinese) is often the case. In particular, one of the instruments many operationalise to facilitate their instrumental identity shift is the usage of Cantonese, which I will now examine in the next chapter on language.

Chapter 6: Language

6.1 Introduction

The centrality of language is noted as a key identity marker, which reinforces communal belonging. The use of accents and dialects assigns membership to particular social ethnic groups as demonstrated in the Macanese community in Macau (Giles and Johnson, 1985:206; Edwards, 2009:21). The impact of social changes in the light of sinicization has brought significant changes to Macau since the handover. One has been a challenge to the Macanese in terms of their use of language and sense of belonging, which was previously rooted in Portuguese. In this chapter, I will draw on how language choices are structured and influenced under these specific social conditions as a consequence of the post-handover period. This will involve examining how the Category A and Category B groups position themselves through language in order to allocate status (Fanon, 2008:9), group cohesion (Giles and Johnson, 1985:201), and to constitute an inclusion and an exclusion boundary between ethnic groups (Alexander et al, 2007:790-791; Edwards, 2009:25-27) and amongst themselves in the social discourse. I will begin by discussing the role of language as perceived by Category A and will move on to the participants, aged 20s to 40s in Category B.

6.2 Forbidden language at home

When Macau returned to China in 1999, only two per cent of the population spoke Portuguese, whereas the majority of the population - over 95 per cent – only spoke Cantonese. The remaining few spoke other ethnic languages (Lam, 2010:661). Before we proceed, it is worth noting the differences between Cantonese and Mandarin (Putonghua), which is of particular relevance for this thesis. Understanding their complexities will help to spell out why speaking Cantonese does not implicitly suggest one's ability to write Chinese, which is often the case in the Macanese context.

Cantonese is a dominant language used in many local Chinese schools, social media (both audio and video), business, government, and in daily communications (Snow, 2004:1). It is spoken by more than 52 million people, mostly in the south of China, and

by many overseas Chinese communities (Lee, 2011:1462). Despite its popularity, Cantonese is often considered a relatively less serious vernacular dialect and largely regarded as colloquial style of written communication. In contrast to Cantonese, Mandarin (or Putonghua) is the official language in traditional China, and spoken as a dialect in northern China. In the 1920s, it became the national language and it is what Standard Chinese is based upon (Snow, 2004:12). The Standard Chinese referred here points to the standard written form of Chinese mostly used throughout China dating back to the 1900s, as well as being the written language in Taiwan, Hong Kong [and Macau] (Snow, 2004:6). Additionally, the written Chinese taught in local schools and used in society is Standard Chinese, which is noticeably different from spoken Cantonese, in phonology, grammar and vocabulary. Thus, writing and reading is rarely done in Cantonese but in Standard Chinese. Moreover, text which is written in Standard Chinese renders no difficulty and is readable for Chinese people from other parts of China. In addition, the majority of Chinese-language books are written in Standard Chinese, whereas Cantonese is only sporadically found in publications, for example in some magazines and comic books. Despite both being Chinese languages, the employment of Cantonese and Mandarin diverges significantly, as a result of, but not limited to, its formal and informal status. However, this study does not suggest that Cantonese has not been employed as a written language at all. On the contrary, the growth of Cantonese literature in Cantonese speaking regions of China has recently developed a 'trend in Chinese culture pertaining to the vernacularization of written Chinese' (Snow, 2004:6), but due to space constrains, it will not be discussed further here.

Aside from Cantonese, Mandarin is gaining popularity and is becoming more commonly used in Macau, while English still dominates as the language of business. However, evidence from this study tends to suggest that this was not the case during the Portuguese administration, as narratives from participants show that the Portuguese language was singularly prioritised by the Macanese. In order to fully achieve proficiency in Portuguese, many Macanese children were forbidden to speak Cantonese at home. This restriction was strictly imposed by a patriarchal system as my participants confirm:

> *When we were little we were not allowed to speak Chinese (Cantonese) at home, because they (the sisters of her father) believed speaking Cantonese would degrade the Macanese status and therefore it was strictly forbidden.*
>
> *(Ana is in her mid-50s).*
>
> *and*
>
> *My father was afraid that it would affect our Portuguese language skills if we spoke Cantonese at home … Hence he forbade me and my siblings to speak Cantonese. It has nothing to do with racism. He only wanted us to focus on one language. However, most people around us are Chinese. How was it possible that we didn't speak Cantonese?*
>
> *(Ivone is in her late 50s).*

The quotations above highlight one common theme which is the presence of power which is engrained in the Portuguese language, and enforced by a patriarchal structure (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992:106; Blunt, 2005:55) within the domestic context during Portuguese rule. From Ana's narrative, the language context has evidently surpassed mere functionality. It also allocates class and status to the speaker (Edwards, 2009:21; Fanon, 1952:9, 21) through a 'hierarchy and social order framed [by a] colonial imagination' (Leonard, 2010:1260). This is evidenced through the belief, as shown in Ana's account, that speaking Cantonese was perceived as a potential means of degrading their status as Macanese. There is also the question of interracial marriage (between Chinese and Portuguese) which was forbidden during her grandfather's time. In Ana's description of her parents' marriage, she noted that her father's family objected when members of the family learned that he was to marry a Chinese woman rather than a Macanese, or someone of another nationality such as Malaysian. The class and ethnic asymmetries constituted a set of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion dominated by socio-economic class, where Chinese was considered to be lower-class. From Ana's description, her father's side of the family assigned the Portuguese language to a higher status (Fanon, 1952:9) from which her mother was refused membership on the grounds of her being Chinese. The quotation from Ivone similarly echoed the father's dominance over the language spoken at home. This constraint left her estranged from the world around her in which mostly

Cantonese was spoken, as her last sentence shows. Yet the language restriction was only in effect when her father was at home. Most of the time Ivone and her siblings would speak Cantonese among themselves. The two excerpts above equally highlight the importance vested in the Portuguese language as seen in the past. This could arguably be one of the reasons why the majority of participants in their 50s or above are more proficient in the Portuguese language and only demonstrate rudimentary skills in reading and writing Chinese (Zepp, 1991:161). However, the findings of this study show that when the news of the handover broke out, Portuguese language gradually began to lose value. I will discuss this in the next section.

6.3 Language choice after the handover

The transition period embedded in the mind-set of many Macanese did not begin just before the handover in 1999, but began rather during the Joint Declaration announcement in 1984, or it might even date back to as early as the mid-1960s after the 123 riot (see chapter 2), as Mateus notes. One of the major challenges for those who chose to remain in Macau after the handover was the choice of language, as the quote below illustrates:

> *We have only one Portuguese (secondary) school and there is no hope of them finding a job after graduation. It is a must to study English and Chinese. Then you can pursue a higher degree at university. But if you graduate in Portuguese, you are only limited to one choice: that is to study law. But you will not be able to compete with the others, as everywhere the Cantonese language is being used.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s).*

The major concern revealed in the quotation above is that the Portuguese language is unlikely to be the choice for the Macanese in the future (and possibly in the present). The available evidence suggests that English and Cantonese are more useful languages for career prospects and for pursuing a higher education. My findings also reveal that the choice of language is split into two distinct groups. The majority of participants

would opt for Cantonese and English for their children's future. Only a few would choose Portuguese.

6.4 Career prospects

Many participants' narratives show that education is relied upon as a major vehicle for upward mobility. They also show that Cantonese is one of the sought after languages, surpassing Portuguese, as Cantonese increases one's opportunities to position oneself in the local and regional job markets. Evidence from this study does not support the assumption that Macanese in the 20s to 40s age range are interested in improving their skills in using Cantonese, nor are they overly concerned about adapting to the current social situation. Many from this age range (who were educated in Portuguese until 1999) would rather seek jobs that do not require Cantonese language skills. However, this only reflects a fraction of the Macanese community, as most of them are well informed and are aware of how important the Cantonese language has become. They are also aware that the growing economy of China makes it increasingly difficult to resist the adoption of the Cantonese language if one wishes to achieve upward mobility in the Macau and neighbouring regions. In fact, before the handover, the evidence from participants' narratives shows that many Macanese had already decided to educate their children in English and/or Chinese (Cantonese) languages. One could argue that the socio-political changes have resulted in a new way of positioning the next Macanese generation through the choice of language for the purpose of improving their career prospects. This also delineates an acute contrast with the Macanese who were mostly educated in Portuguese, which was the language previously (before the handover) considered as a valuable skill in terms of securing a job in the Macau civil service. Indeed, Mateus noted that his grandchildren are both educated in English and Cantonese schools and have not acquired any Portuguese language skills. Although the Cantonese language in this context appears to be surpassing the Portuguese language, in terms of the language choices for school age Macanese, my data suggests that not all the participants share this perception. In this study, 6 out 17 participants chose Portuguese for their children's education and five of these participants' children will continue to be educated in Portuguese until they finish

high school. This contradicts the argument raised in the literature review that Portuguese is not a preferred choice of language for the education of the younger Macanese (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:420). Edith, who is in her late 40s, was among the six participants that decided to send her daughter to a Portuguese school, from which she graduated three years ago. As described by Edith, maintaining the Macanese identity and upholding group solidarity are underpinned by the Portuguese language, a language Edith wanted to pass on to her child. However in her interview, Edith also admitted that if she had married a Chinese man, her daughter may very likely have also studied Cantonese as well as in Portuguese. This illustrates the fact that spousal impact is highly influential in both the choice of language and the sustainability of a Macanese identity rooted in Portuguese for the next generation. Similarly, Ana, who is in her mid-50s and married to a Frenchman, also chose to educate her son in Portuguese as there was no French school in Macau. Even as a toddler, she spoke Portuguese and English to him and he spoke French with his father. However, during our interview, I noticed Ana did not seem to be troubled about her son's lack of Cantonese language skills, as she believed the multi-lingual environment in Macau can easily compensate for his language deficiency. As such, my findings confirm that although the majority of my participants were not in favour of using Portuguese for the next generation's education, a significant minority of participants were.

6.5 The role of the Portuguese official language after 1999

The change in the demographics of Macau after the handover has also affected the Macanese's preference in choosing the Cantonese language as their and their children's primary language. One reason for this is that since the handover there are fewer Portuguese people from places like Mozambique or Goa and other countries residing in Macau and using the language, as confirmed by Fausto who is in his mid-40s. In addition, the Chinese government is no longer hiring Portuguese for civil positions in the government, as occurred previously during the Portuguese administration. The population, as Fausto describes it, has changed from Chinese and Portuguese to almost only 488,222 Chinese (of Chinese nationality), with only 4,811 of

Portuguese people (of Portuguese nationality) residing in Macau. This is accurate as confirmed by the Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR 2011.

Although Cantonese and Portuguese are both listed as official languages of the Macau SAR, the findings from this study show that many participants articulated frustration as a consequence of the unbalanced treatment conferred to the latter language:

> *The Basic Law said that both languages are official languages, but this is not true. And it is not true within the administration, because the Macau administration does not use Portuguese. It is completely unbalanced. There are many complaints coming from some cultural associations. As I say, sometimes it is very contradictory that the central government is asking Macau to play a role to connect with the Portuguese speaking countries, and then Portuguese seems to be of no value at all to the local government.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

Many of the participants that I interviewed shared Manuel's discontentment with regards to how the Portuguese language has been demoted by the Chinese government in the Macau SAR. In the excerpt above, Manuel identifies an interesting fact relating to the Portuguese language. He highlights the unjust treatment given to both official languages that varied significantly between the Macau SAR and the Central Government of China. As affirmed by one participant, it was never China's intention for only Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) to be spoken in Macau. For one thing, the Chinese government has provided lots of financial support for Macau, to enhance China's trade with Lusophone (Portuguese) countries. China has also acknowledged the importance of preserving Macau's unique heritage. The government wanted to emphasise Macau's differences from other Chinese cities to boost tourism by developing it into a multicultural heritage city in which people spoke both Portuguese and Chinese. Yet things have not turned out the way the Chinese had intended. The Portuguese language has become underrated for several reasons. First and foremost, many Macanese parents realised that the importance of the Portuguese language in Macau was waning and, as a consequence, they avoided making their children learn it after 1999. Secondly, the majority of Macanese youngsters (of school age) are not convinced that learning the Portuguese language would benefit their

career prospects (Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:421). This has reduced their interest in pursuing Portuguese. Finally, Macau's economy depends heavily on one industry, casino gaming, and none of the high-end international hotel chains operate in Portuguese. Instead, they operate using English and Chinese: both Cantonese and Mandarin.

6.5.1 Revival of the Portuguese language

All that being said and according to the findings from this study, a number of mainland Chinese expressed an interest in learning Portuguese. Many have come all the way from China and have registered to study Portuguese at the University of Macau. Mateus, who is in his late 50s, notes that translators from Mandarin to English are easier to locate in China than translators who could interpret from Portuguese to Mandarin. In recent years, the demand for such translators in mainland China has been on the rise, due to increased trade between China and the Portuguese speaking countries.

Despite the Portuguese language being under-represented, it is still in use in the local legal system, as mentioned in earlier chapters. Also, in the last decade, more local Chinese people (in Macau) have also started studying Portuguese. However, this has largely been for pragmatic economic reasons, and it would be a misconception to suggest that the rise in demand for studying the Portuguese language has led to a revival of the Portuguese culture or language. This has not been the case in Macau. Evidence from my study suggests that the majority of participants were dissatisfied with the undermining of the Portuguese language. Some have even suggested that Macau should have a third official language, probably English, for example:

> *As there are fewer people using Portuguese, there is a huge debate if the court cases should be conducted in Cantonese or not. As everything needs time to be translated, maybe Macau should have a third language like English. That could make communication easier, as it is the lingua franca in business, and almost everybody speaks English.*
>
> *(Fausto is in his mid-40s).*

The excerpt above clearly points out that Portuguese is not perceived as a frequently used language in Macau. In consequence, only one official language - namely Cantonese – has been prioritised. Despite it also enjoying official language status, none of the new Chinese political leaders communicate in Portuguese. This may be the one of the reasons why the Portuguese language is no longer spoken or used by the government. The majority of my interviewees feel that the government has disrespected the Portuguese language and this had, to a certain extent, caused discontentment towards the Chinese government. My findings show that even though Portuguese is one of the official languages of Macau, Portuguese is not used in any of the local official ceremonies or governmental meetings. Instead, headphones are issued, through which a simultaneous Portuguese translation can be accessed. Alternatively, interpreters are present during the meeting.

6.5.2 Is there still room for the Portuguese language?

Apart from the discontentment illustrated above, Sandra, who is in her mid-50s, shed light on an equally important point. She justified the use of the Cantonese language in the Macau SAR. For Sandra, the main objective after the handover was to unify everyone as Chinese in the Macau context under one China. This required the use of Cantonese. Sandra also stated that in her civil service department, only a few Portuguese remained after 1999: around 98 per cent of the remaining members of staff were Chinese. What is more, in her interview, Sandra noted that all internal communications would be in Chinese, to minimise the time and labour spent in translation. The use of Chinese was justified by the Sandra's civil service department as a clearer, better organized, and more systemic way of running the department. As such, Sandra also stated that most of her Macanese colleagues were already studying Mandarin and Cantonese for upward mobility in the civil service:

> *I think the Macanese community knows very well how to survive. Some of my Macanese students have already been to Beijing to study Mandarin, and that really surprised me. One of my students is a freshman, so she may be around 19 – 20 years old. She told that me she wanted to be a lawyer… and her sister wanted to be in business.*

> *The minute her sister finished high school, she flew to Beijing to study Mandarin.*
>
> *(Sandra is in her mid-50s).*

Language is seen as a survival mechanism for the Macanese in their 20s. It can enhance their career prospects as shown in the quotation above. From Sandra's description, learning Cantonese is seen as paramount for social inclusion, as a way to blend in with the Chinese population (Fanon, 1952:2; Edwards, 2009:21) in order to survive and thrive in the unfolding context. As my findings show, it has become more common for the younger Macanese to study Chinese (Mandarin) in Beijing than Portuguese in Lisbon. Even the Portuguese schools in Macau are not spared the effects of sinicization. In Macau, the Portuguese secondary school and the Macanese kindergarten (the former is operated as a partnership between the Portuguese government and the Macanese association, while the latter is run by the Macanese Association) have equally integrated the Chinese language (Cantonese for the kindergarten and Mandarin for secondary school) into their academic curriculum. The post 1999 period has thus witnessed the younger Macanese becoming more adept at reading and writing Chinese. Many also pursued their university studies in Anglophone countries rather than following the Macanese tradition of going to Portugal. However, the findings also show that even though the Macanese younger generation's university education is all based in English, Portuguese is still the language spoken among family members in the domestic context. This illustrates the importance of the family environment in enabling the Portuguese language to live on. However, many participants are not convinced that the younger generation will have the stamina to safeguard the Portuguese language. They fear it may disappear as this quotation notes:

> *In my generation we are still communicating in Portuguese, but my daughter's generation will surely speak Portuguese less and probably the next one will speak even less. If we do not continue to preserve the language, it will sooner or later disappear…and according to certain statistics, many Chinese are learning the Portuguese language but not the Macanese.*
>
> *(Edith is in her late 40s).*

Edith's quotation above underlines an acute contrast in terms of how Portuguese language skills are represented by three generations, with hers having the highest proficiency among them. The youngsters' capability to sustain the language is also questioned as she is not convinced they have the same commitment to this tradition. Although her last sentence shows an increasing number of Chinese are learning Portuguese, it may be a misconception. The Chinese motivation is based on practical reasons in light of the lucrative return from the translation work per se rather than for the purpose of preserving the Portuguese language. Like Manuel, Edith tends to provide a Portuguese speaking environment, both at home and in school for her daughter in order to try to ensure that subsequent generations engage with their Portuguese heritage. Yet beyond these spatial contexts, she noticed only Cantonese is spoken between her daughter and her social networks. This could be one of the reasons why Portuguese language skills are overall poorer for the Macanese in their 20s in comparison with the previous generation. Moreover, it illustrates how the current generation represent themselves in the context of Macau, where the majority of their social circle is comprised of Chinese.

6.6 The feeling of shame

Apart from the Macanese group in their 20s, my findings also suggest that a lot of Macanese have actively decided to refrain from speaking in Portuguese. As such, some Macanese seem to express embarrassment and shame when speaking in Portuguese:

> *Macanese experience some sort of shame speaking Portuguese. They feel inferior when they have to speak in Portuguese. In my generation, we used to speak many languages at the same time…but when we have to speak in Portuguese, Macanese become very shy, because they realise their Portuguese is not good enough. So many of them will refuse to speak in Portuguese and that becomes very complicated, however they do not consider it a problem if they have to speak in English. This may have caused them to abandon the Portuguese language. I don't know. It is just a thought. I hope I am totally wrong about it.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s).*

During the Portuguese administration, the Macanese (and others) used the Portuguese language to secure status and position for themselves particularly in the civil service (賈淵、陸凌梭：《颱風之鄉-澳門土生族羣動態》(澳門：澳門文化司署，1995)，頁 56). Yet after 1999, the Macanese reacted to the Portuguese language in a different way. A lot of them are seen to be refraining from speaking in Portuguese, as the above quotation shows. Filipe believes that a lot of Macanese are ashamed and embarrassed about using Portuguese to communicate. In fact, many would prefer to switch to Cantonese or English instead. This was, however, unusual before the handover, as the Portuguese language was the major means for the acquisition of status as well as for group solidarity. I find this data consistent with Scott's concept on status, which suggests that social ranking and social standing (1996:4) in society are underpinned by power and privilege, and in this context has been largely structured on Portuguese supremacy (Leonard, 2010:1251). However, the 'shame' depicted in the quotation above, also shows that, some Macanese now perceive the Portuguese language as a 'negative' skill. The choice to dis-identify themselves as members of the mixed community to a certain degree derives from being stereotyped as inferior when speaking Portuguese. Throughout the interviews, many participants articulated the belief that the rise of the Chinese economy along with the shrinking Macanese community will undoubtedly impede their sense of belonging, as rooted in the Portuguese language. The choice of 'opting out' from speaking Portuguese indicates that some Macanese are in search of an interstitial middle ground in which to position themselves with the majority of Chinese speakers even at the expense of losing their Portuguese heritage. Doing so allows them to foster a new membership with the larger Chinese population. This is not primarily for the purpose of demonstrating their loyalty to the Chinese nation-state, but rather to profit from the Chinese labour market as 'flexible' and instrumental citizens (Ong, 1999:61), as the evidence from this study depicts (see chapter 5, section 5.4.1).

6.7 Lack of support from the Chinese government

Rapid economic development, the booming casino gaming industry and the rise of Chinese power in Macau have, by and large, induced more people in Macau to learn

the national languages (both Cantonese and Mandarin). They do so to achieve upward mobility. Besides the Portuguese language being overlooked, many participants argued that the role conferred to the Macanese was only of 'symbolic importance.' It is restricted to article 42, of the Macau Basic Law, which acknowledges Portuguese descent and its cultural traditions. Although the Central Government has assigned the Macanese the role of liaising between China and Portuguese speaking countries, many claim this is merely of symbolic value as the quote below affirms:

> *There hadn't been any particular measure taken to substantiate this kind of established principle brought by the Basic Law and the policies of the Macau government. So in a way, the Macanese still feel the same difficulties, for example in the case of the civil servants, as they do not communicate in proper Cantonese. Moreover, there is no clear policy from the Macau government to make use of the Portuguese language in a substantial way, and to underline the platform position. So for the time being, there has been this general sort of positive mood in supporting some initiatives of the Macanese community, but no more than that.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

The lack of support for the Portuguese language and the Macanese community from the Chinese government is clearly demonstrated in the quotation above. For example, two outstanding issues are raised in Manuel's account: Firstly, he points to the policies of the Macau government and secondly, the policies stipulated in the Macau Basic Law which state that Portuguese is an official language. Yet in reality, there is little evidence that Portuguese is being used as an official language relative to Cantonese. This has left the Macanese community perplexed, it has resulted in those serving in the civil service feeling vulnerable, due to their lack of proficiency in written Chinese and has also lead to restrictions on the access of Macanese to civil service employment. My findings also show that the Civil Servant Association similarly stated discontentment in relation to the asymmetrical treatment assigned to both official languages (namely Portuguese and Cantonese). The former, as the interviews demonstrate, is devoid of importance and being side-lined in the administration, except for the judicial area (as covered in earlier chapters). For these reasons, Manuel was disappointed by what he sees as the maltreatment of the Portuguese language and his mistrust in the Macau

government because they have not provided adequate support to the Macanese. Furthermore, the evidence from this study also shows that many participants do not believe that the Chinese administration is enthusiastic in its support of the Portuguese language. This could further impact on the Portuguese language's sustainability in the economic and political sectors. However, although the Portuguese language lacks the current practicality the Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) language has, some participants are not convinced the Portuguese language will be extinguished in Macau. For the one thing, the government is very keen to develop Macau into a tourist hub for leisure. One of the aspects used to attract tourists is Macau's multi-ethnic heritage, which largely comprises Portuguese elements. In brief, if the government expresses an interest in preserving these Portuguese cultures, the Macanese would be very likely to remain in Macau and so would the language. Yet that would require creating more opportunities in the social context for Portuguese people to stay in Macau and speak their language, which would perhaps be rather ambitious and challenging for the government to sustain.

6.8 Language: not necessarily an identity marker

Although the centrality of language has been repeatedly stated as one of the essential factors that underpins social identity (Edwards, 2009:26), my evidence actually suggests that language is not considered an important identity marker for the Macanese. This is particularly the case for the younger people, most of whom were educated and brought up differently from the previous generation, for whom life was mostly structured around using Portuguese:

> *Language is one of the many ways to sustain community and to pass on a culture from one generation to the next. Yet in terms of the Macanese, it is very different. Before the handover, many Macanese had begun sending their children to learn English. And so were their children's children, who speak mostly English. Did it effect or erode their way of thinking of being Macanese? No. They are still Macanese, and that proves that language is not the big issue. The big issue is only when the individual alters his attitude to go with the flow. Then problems arise.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s).*

The quotation above highlights one interesting factor, that is, the importance of how Macanese perceived themselves today. The effect of the post-handover period has been crucial in that it has brought about massive social changes to Macau. Most importantly it has shifted the racially mixed community's composition. Many Macanese have opted to leave the traditional norms rooted in Portuguese behind. Language is one of them. Although language, amongst other identity markers, is employed to reinforce groupness and social identity (Auer, 2003:404), Filipe argues that not speaking Portuguese does not decrease one's membership as a Macanese. This contradicts the literature that perceives language as a 'strong clue to an individual's ethnic belongingness' (Giles and Johnson, 1985:206). This does not reflect in the case of the Macanese, who do not speak Portuguese but still identify themselves as one. For example, the data from this study shows that participants who are educated in English and Cantonese also identify themselves as Macanese, not as Chinese or Portuguese. The diaspora Macanese mentioned in Filipe's narrative is yet another one of these exemplars. Many who are currently residing in English-speaking countries such as Canada, Australia and the USA do not speak Portuguese, yet they are little to no difference from those who speak only Portuguese vis-à-vis their Macanese identity. As such, the memories of homeland (Blunt, 2005:53) are significantly more important than the Portuguese language itself. Those memories serve as a bond for the diaspora Macanese to uphold the Macanese identity in their host country. However, this only applies to the first generation Macanese diaspora who were born and raised in Macau, where their attachment with their Portuguese roots is still strong. The diaspora group is a significant extension of the Macanese from Macau, and surpasses the population of the local Macanese. However, due to limitations in space they will not be explored in this thesis.

6.9 Language for career prospects

The Portuguese language was hardly a concern for the majority of Macanese during the Portuguese administration period, as most of them were educated in Portuguese and, as already noted, it was instrumental for upward mobility in the civil service. The sinicization after 1999, as illustrated in some participants' narratives, has caused many

Macanese to re-position themselves in the social context for better prospects in the labour market, while many have had to surrender the Portuguese language, and in a few specific cases, their nationality. What is noteworthy to point out here is participants from the Category A group, (in their late 50s and above) apparently experienced more difficulties in positioning themselves in the Chinese dominated economy than those from the Category B group (in their late 20s to 40s). One of the major differences between them is their level of education which has largely provided credentials for the latter group to better prepare themselves in society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:32). In fact, the majority of participants from the upper 50s age group only completed education to secondary school level, and are now waiting for retirement. In contrast, participants from the 20s to early 40s group have all acquired a university degree, are proficient in least three languages, including Portuguese, English and Cantonese and are all employed in private or public companies. The data from this study also shows that many participants from the upper 50s group generally perceived the Chinese administration negatively, as a consequence of the downgrading of the Portuguese language in the administration. In contrast, only one participant from the Category B group worked in the civil service. Members of the Category B group have tended to exhibit a more open and receptive attitude towards the Chinese (that is, local Chinese and mainland Chinese) and express more positive opinions of the Chinese administration. Additionally, in terms of employment, my findings suggest that many of these younger people who finished their university education are keener to work in different areas other than the civil service. For example:

> *I think the changes for the Macanese are positive in the sense that they are learning to be more, in a way, able to face the new reality in search of opportunities, not as civil servants, but as businessmen, as professionals or something like that … I think the new Macanese generation in general is more prepared to be global than my generation, and acquire the mechanisms to survive as they are better educated and so forth.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

The disparity in positioning on account of the two generation's career opportunities is highlighted in the quotation above from Manuel. He strongly believes that the younger

people of the new generation are better qualified to survive in the new Macau. From Manuel's depiction, many of them acquire higher education and possess the mechanisms to surpass his generation in adapting to the Chinese Macau. As such, most of them are aware that they are removed from the normal Macanese benefits of being employed as civil servants. Hence, they tend to be more conscious in their career choices. They gather their own resources as credentials to position themselves in the labour market. Although Manuel's perception of the younger generation's career prospects are largely positive, he still believes that language and the competition in the job market will continue to remain challenging for some, particularly those who lack Chinese writing skills. This illustrates the demand, as demonstrated in participants' narratives, for reviving the Portuguese language, aligned with Cantonese as an official language, which will greatly benefit the new Macanese generation's career prospects in the labour market, particularly those who are proficient in the Portuguese language.

In the next section, I will turn to Category B participants to explore their experience in language and how they employ it for career prospects in Chinese Macau. In addition, the changes in the social milieu precipitated by sinicization have prompted many Macanese to divert from the previous generation choices, especially in the use of language to achieve upward mobility. Given that Macau is no longer under Portuguese rule, the findings from this study show that its language also suffers as a consequence, and there are signs that the Macanese are seeking different ways to position themselves in the labour market. In addition, participants from the Category B group on the whole exhibited higher proficiency in the Cantonese language. Among the seven participants, three admitted they lacked Chinese language skills in reading and writing, whereas one expressed great interest in learning and two are currently taking Cantonese lessons, as this quote shows:

> *I admit I am still very Portuguese but I am also very interested in learning Cantonese. In fact, I am taking Cantonese lessons now, because if we lack the knowledge of Cantonese, our career opportunities will be very limited in the future.*
>
> *(Alfonso is in his early 30s).*

Career prospects are one of the strategic approaches that have driven some of my participants to learn the Cantonese language in order to better position themselves for upward mobility as shown in the quote above. From Aflonso's narrative, possessing multiple language (Portuguese, Cantonese and English) skills in Macau is far more important than acquiring a higher academic degree. He observed that there has been disproportionate language usage after the handover in Macau, whereby the Cantonese language has to be singularly prioritised, with English coming second but mostly restricted to touristic areas. Amidst the chaos, he held the former Portuguese government responsible for their lack of support to the Portuguese language and for not doing enough to enforce both it and Cantonese as mandatory as a way of reaching out to both ethnic groups. As covered in the literature review, in the last five centuries the Portuguese government was unable to popularise Portuguese for the majority of the Chinese populace. At the same time, as Alfonso argued, they failed to encourage the uptake of Cantonese among the Macanese and the Portuguese communities. As a result, the Macanese and Portuguese have found it more difficult to adapt to the Chinese labour market.

6.10 Re-identifying with the Portuguese language after 1999

My findings show that twenty to thirty years before the handover was announced, some Macanese had already started alternatives to educating their children in Portuguese. This is echoed by the Macanese from their 20s to 30s, as they express no desire to leave Macau and have come to realise that the future of Macau will be in Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) only:

> *For the Macanese who remained in Macau, many realised they cannot only rely on the Portuguese language, as it may be too risky, so they are sending their children to Chinese schools or international schools, and this has affected their attachment to the Portuguese language and culture.*
>
> *(Joaquim is in his late 30s).*

The quotation above illustrates why the Macanese have not tended to choose Portuguese for their children, fearing this might undermine their children's competitiveness in the Chinese dominated labour market. However, these choices might also weaken their children's affiliation with their Portuguese heritage as embodied in language and culture, as Joaquim notes. With that being said, it is noteworthy to point out that before the handover, and more apparently in recent years, the number of Portuguese living in Macau has been increasing. Some of them left Macau before the handover but came back due to better career prospects. Most of them never left and are currently employed in private companies. A few even began their own businesses. Some have married local Cantonese, Thai or people from other ethnic groups. The children from these marriages, based on my evidence, speak and are educated in Portuguese schools where Mandarin is included. This is interesting, as it tends to mirror the nineteenth century Macanese discourse, as covered in earlier chapters, where the importance of Portuguese is again put to the fore and revived in the contemporary Macau. Consequently, Macanese children from these marriages will definitely acquire a stronger bond with the Portuguese heritage reinforced by the influence of the father. However, the example given in Joaquim's narrative is among a few isolated cases and does not render the same impact as it did in the nineteenth century. What is more, my findings show that the marriages of the Macanese males are on the whole more common with either a Chinese or Macanese woman, rather than with a Portuguese. Moreover, although these examples exist, they are relatively few and are therefore insignificant in terms of reversing the importance of the Portuguese language, which is generally less preferred.

The findings also reveal that the significance of the Portuguese language in Macau will be short-lived. It is very likely that Portuguese will be replaced completely by the Cantonese language before 2049 (which is the end of the 50 years of autonomy period granted to Macau by the Chinese as a Special Administrative Region). It is evident that many Macanese lack confidence in the Portuguese language as this passage from my interview with Flora reveals:

> *Flora: The problem is very few Macanese are sending their children to be educated in the Portuguese language and as for myself, I will do*

> *the same. And even if I marry a Portuguese I may send my child to an English school. What is the point of learning Portuguese in Macau today?*
>
> *Margarida: But you mentioned there are many people studying Portuguese in Macau now.*
>
> *Flora: Yes, and I am referring to this moment, the now, but if I have a child I will have to think of his/her future, like 20 – 30 years from now. It will almost be the end of the autonomy period. Should my child study Portuguese then? I doubt that very much.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

In the quotation above, a Macanese in her late 20s expresses a negative expectation for the future of the Portuguese language for the generation following hers. Although her Portuguese heritage is important to her, on account of her mother's influence, it is inadequate to convince her that the Portuguese language will endure in the long run. Flora's concern for the next generation's future is also highlighted in the quotation where she argues that in twenty years' time, the Portuguese language will be replaced by Mandarin and English. Although the spousal influence is also outlined here, it appears to lack the impact it has with regard to raising children in particular religions (see chapter 8), as the quotation clearly illustrates that Flora will not choose the Portuguese language for her child '*even if I marry a Portuguese I may send my child to an English school.*' This tends to reflect the fact that the spousal impact is rendered less significant in the decision of language in Flora's discourse, and departs from the patriarchal institution as narrated in the Category A's cases. Although the Portuguese language is becoming under-represented in Macau, it is still in use in the local legal system. In the last decade, more people, namely Chinese, expressed an interest in learning the Portuguese language, but they did so for instrumental reasons, as noted below:

> *My father thought that because of the handover, there will be less need for the Portuguese language because of the Chinese government. Yet no one would think that the legal system is in Portuguese too, therefore a lot of things are still connected with the*

> *language, and all of a sudden there were lots of Chinese people rushing to study Portuguese, I have lots of Chinese friends who went to study Portuguese too.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

Flora notes that during the Portuguese administration period the Macanese dominated most of the translation work due to their proficiency in both Chinese and Portuguese. As the local judicial system continues to follow Portuguese law, the need for translators continues and is apparently on the rise. The career prospects, together with the lucrative salaries, create growing demand for Chinese people (local and from the mainland) to study Portuguese to fill these translator positions. However, it is worth pointing out that their intention, as noted above, is *not* to revive the Portuguese language, but rather to enhance their economic position.

6.11 Dis-identifying from the Portuguese language

Although the Cantonese language is considered a valuable asset to improve and increase participants' career prospects, the findings from this study reveal that many participants are dissatisfied and are concerned about the standing of the Portuguese language in Macau. Some participants blame this alleged neglect on the Chinese government as this quote demonstrates:

> *We are now a Chinese society and I query how they teach local history in Chinese schools…Is it only about the 123 incident? ... Macau is only a small city next to Hong Kong. We are only half a million compared with 6 -7 million in Hong Kong. Macau is only a small province, and I don't know what they are afraid of. I don't know if there is a fear in teaching Portuguese or if it is a question of value of Macau, and where exactly is it located?*
>
> *(Silvio is in his mid-30s)*

The quotation above shows Silvio's discontentment. He questions the value and perception of the Portuguese language to the public in the Macau context. His

account explicitly describes an array of negative representations and fears imagined by the public (especially the Chinese) in reviving the Portuguese language. However, he is convinced that if the government would give more support to promoting the Portuguese language, not just from a political viewpoint, then this would enhance Macau's uniqueness as a mixed cultural city and also develop Macau's tourism potential in the Pearl Delta Region. Most importantly, without its mixedness, the new generation will be in danger as they are likely to become detached from their own local history.

Although Portuguese is less spoken, the data from this study shows that it is often still the lingua franca at home and in communal gatherings. Most Macanese who are educated in Portuguese still speak the language amongst themselves to mark their social identity. However, the Macanese population is both shrinking and ageing. Many highlight the fact that the home, the school and the government all have distinctive roles to play in sustaining the Portuguese language. As such, the preservation of the Portuguese language is highly significant and equally important in protecting the Macanese culture along with its traditions and family. However, many Macanese believe that one of the ways to achieve success in this endeavour is with the help of the government.

6.11.1 Career prospects: without Cantonese language skills

One could argue that many Macanese who choose to acquire Chinese (both Cantonese and Mandarin) language skills for upward mobility do so, to a large extent, for pragmatic reasons. However, many of the newly constructed international hotel resorts that were built as a result of the liberalisation of the gaming license in 2002 (McCartney, 2005:42), did not hire Chinese. In fact, people without proficiency in Chinese are employed in these hotels as explained by Jorge:

> *Even in an international company like this one, they also hire Portuguese people. We talk in Portuguese amongst ourselves, but we use English to communicate and correspond with other staff.*
>
> *(Jorge is in his 30s).*

One key aspect is articulated here. Without the proficiency in the Cantonese language some individuals like Jorge can still enter the labour market to achieve upward mobility as opposed to the previous generation who were mostly Portuguese oriented. From Jorge's description, his Portuguese co-workers were employed at the time of the interview in an international hotel chain. All of them were formally educated in the Portuguese language and had obtained either rudimentary or no Cantonese language skills. These international hotels have not only benefitted Jorge and his colleagues, but also drawn the attention of many overseas Macanese who left Macau due to the handover. A number have returned to exploit career opportunities in the hospitality and other internationalised labour markets in Macau. The economic stability in Macau - relative to the unstable economic situation in Portugal - has facilitated significant return migration from Portugal to Macau in recent years (Moura, 2015).

The motivation to return to Macau is mostly practical and associated with the benefits generated from the labour market; the lack of Cantonese language skills is certainly not a barrier to this wave of returning migrants.

In addition to the aforementioned case, the growing economy has attracted some Macanese, mostly from better educated and more affluent backgrounds, to employ their 'individual credentials [for] enhancing their career opportunities in the labour market' (Beck and Beck-Gernshein, 2002:32). The rise of these new Macanese entrepreneurs does not herald the disintegration of categories such as class and social status, associated the processes of individualization (ibid.). In a small city such as Macau, one's family background and one's family name are equally significant and valued assets to confer status, and to enhance business connections and quanxi for the individual, regardless of their ethnicity.

6.11.2 Employing language to divide

In a similar vein, the family name, as represented in the case of the traditional family, has been used as a boundary for both inclusion and exclusion among the Macanese as the following quote demonstrates:

> *The Macanese are not united. Even though we have many Macanese associations, what have they done? ... Moreover, the same people are always in charge of these associations, and when one wants to join, they will question you … They have this attitude that not everyone is welcome. And let's say you are accepted to the association, everyone should be talking in Portuguese and not in Cantonese.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

The excerpt above depicts the existence of a status structure that further divides the fragmented Macanese community. As Flora's narrative shows, power continues to be vested in language, this is particularly the case amongst the older generation, with the aim of excluding others (Auer, 2005:406). Flora's discontentment is expressed with regard to the association's double standards in recruiting members by disallowing the usage of another language such as Cantonese or even the use of dual languages at all. Flora said she found the Macanese 'quite lost' as many have reached a crossroads with regards to the choice of language. In reality, many Macanese, mainly those who are at the top of the hierarchical ladder, are still convinced that knowledge of Portuguese will be adequate. Her response strongly highlighted the fact that the image she had of the older Macanese from the association was mostly negative. She repeatedly emphasised a need to exclude herself from those associations and the activities related to them.

Up to now I have explored the Category A and Category B's experience and how they have experienced, managed and negotiated the shifting importance of language in the pre and post-handover period. Although in the past the choice was between Portuguese and Cantonese, the data from participants which I will examine below tend to look at language from an entirely different perspective. I will now present the Category C group and how they identified their mixedness in the language context.

In Rafaela's narrative, she suggests that her mixed raced and mixed heritage background means that she is incapable of choosing one particular language as her 'primary' language. As such, Rafaela is an example of the Category C (or hybrid) position that results in her living in a space of 'in-betweenness' as conceptualised in

the theory of Bhabha (1994) to suggest the emergence of a split to reflect a space of the other.

As mentioned in the Category A's section, after the handover period a lot of Macanese are ashamed to, and tend to avoid, speaking Portuguese. As such, I find Rafaela's narrative useful to spell out the meanings of 'shame' which offers a different perception to that offered by Filipe. The Macanese, in Rafaela's description are prone to shying away from saying things, even though they are aware of its existence '*we are more prone to knowing something but not saying it*'. For Rafaela, it is something intrinsic to the Macanese that they choose to be silent about something amongst themselves. Rafaela felt this sort of behaviour was the result of the bicultural environment and how the Macanese are brought up on account of their mixed heritage (Root, 1996:7; Thornton, 1996:114). That is, 'the Macanese upbringing' instils a degree of contradiction as a result of their ambiguous roles '*we are patient, yet at the same time we are also impatient because of our pride, I think*'. Moreover, Rafaela finds that this contradiction is often repressed, not because they are unaware of it, but because of their lack of ownership of either language, namely (Cantonese and Portuguese), and being excluded by both worlds. They lack the ability to express themselves, even though they can speak both languages, as this quotation confirms:

> *As our thoughts express us in words, if you do not own a language, you don't have the capacity to concretise a thought, but you do a lot of things. You are more sensitive to feel something, you understand things, but often times, the Macanese might just ignore it.*
>
> *(Rafaela is in her 40s)*

The Macanese's insecurity illustrated in the quotation above highlights their sense of ambivalence in light of their 'in-betweenness' (Bhabha, 1994:71; Song 2003:58) as members of a culturally mixed group who feel unable to lay claim to, and to own, a language. This finding is consistent with the literature on the positionality of 'in-betweenness' (Bhabha, 1994:71) which suggests individuals are caught in the tension of a 'third dimension' that denies membership of either the Portuguese or the Cantonese language but places them in a space of otherness. Rafaela is convinced

that the Macanese sense of shame is not the result of shyness, but rather due to the way language was introduced to them as a child in the domestic sphere, mostly with the father speaking Portuguese and the mother speaking Cantonese. The findings of my study reveal that the child's relationship with his or her parents plays a key role in influencing the child's choice of language in the long run. For example, Rafaela noted that many of her friends' relationship with the Portuguese language and heritage have been adversely affected by their dysfunctional relationships with their fathers. Growing up with Chinese, Rafaela incorporates Chinese elements into her mentality. However, at the same time, her Macanese background is equally important. She also identifies closely with it. Rafaela's contradictory sentiments kept coming through in our interview. She often sought a level ground to try to find balance amongst the contradictions she has experienced and currently lives through, as a Macanese woman.

In contrast to Rafaela, Flora's delineation of 'in-betweenness' (Bhabha, 1994:64) opens up an interstice for an array of choices embodied in language as a consequence of her Macanese's hybrid nature (Roots, 1996:5; Thornton, 1996:107) as she notes:

> *Because no one will figure out that I am Macanese, I will deliberately not speak Portuguese to a Portuguese person. But many Macanese are different, because they will use the Portuguese language to speak with a Portuguese, because they feel they belong to them. But in my case, I truly believe I am a Macau person and a Macanese, and I will ask, why can't we speak in Cantonese? Even if my friends speak with me in Portuguese I will reply in Cantonese.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

In Flora's quotation, the choice of languages articulated shows that the younger generation can easily and voluntarily disaffiliate themselves from the 'capital of Portugueseness' (Pina Cabral, 2002:146; Noronha and Chaplin, 2011:421) in the language context. In this context, her choice to disaffiliate herself is deemed a powerful decision that goes against the Macanese norm (as in the past) by choosing to speak in Cantonese. This supports Anzalduá's findings, where she argued that racially mixed individuals are not stagnant, but rather are mutable on account of their mixed

race heritages (1987:99). In addition, Flora's exclusion from the Portuguese language was clearly not related to 'shame' as demonstrated earlier in Filipe's quotation in this chapter. Her intension was to employ language to reject her membership from the elite Macanese group (who mostly speak Portuguese and from opulent Macanese families) with which she expressed no desire to belong. Flora's quotation also reflected the perceptions of being a younger Macanese, that the Portuguese language is no longer regarded as a significant element to assign status and class. On the contrary, accepting the reality and surviving in the Chinese administration is of greater importance.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter helps to draw out the use in language by exploring two distinctive groups, Category A and Category B, in the pre and post-handover periods of Macau. The former group which was educated in and affiliated closest with their Portuguese language and heritage expressed discontentment and difficulties in adapting to the social changes after the handover. Many felt they were being excluded as racially mixed individuals on account of the disproportionate favouritism given to the Macanese during the Portuguese administration that has, to a certain degree, generated animosity on the part of the Chinese. This division has tended to intensify after the Chinese administration took over, hence widening the gap between the Chinese and the Macanese civil servants. Many Macanese who lacked Chinese (reading and writing) language skills suffered, and some were forced to resign while countless others are waiting for retirement.

In contrast, the latter group showed a greater potential to position itself after the handover. In consequence, the Macanese from this group have all acquired higher education, which is essential to enhance their confidence to adapt to the labour market. The change in the working environment has resulted in all of them working in private companies and may have eased the conflicts between both ethnic groups, thus fostering a more receptive attitude towards both the Chinese people and Chinese Macau. In terms of career prospects, most of this group of Macanese are keen to upgrade their Cantonese language skills to achieve upward mobility in the

labour market. Such a decision has largely weakened the Portuguese language, causing it to dissipate even further. Yet, at the same time the Chinese perceive an opportunity, as many (both locals and mainlanders) have attempted to profit by learning the Portuguese language for a lucrative pay-off from translation work, but with no intention to sustain the language per se.

Unlike the chapter on identity, sentiments of 'in-betweenness' as regards language in the Category C group, is less visible. This result is due to the sinicized impact with regard to the social changes, where Cantonese dominates. As such, the majority of participants were, on the whole, relying on the Cantonese language for the purpose of adapting and surviving in the labour market, for upward mobility and to be accepted by the majority population.

Although language, as articulated by Giles and Johnson (1985:202-204), is central for ethnic belongingness, I argue that this does not apply in the Macanese context. As stated in a number of interviews, many Macanese from the younger generation, as well as from the diaspora group, have not been educated in Portuguese; yet they still identify as Macanese. Therefore, the lack of Portuguese language skills does not appear to render the individual less Macanese than those who have acquired such skills. Instead, social and family environments are equally central to underpinning the continuity of biracial identity and for Macanese elements to prevail. More than this, help from the Chinese government will be required to prevent it from disappearing. So far there are signs that the Portuguese language is being implemented again as part of the tertiary academic program. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In the next chapter, I will be exploring two other identity markers selected from Macanese culture, namely religion and food. While both became integral as a consequence of centuries of Portuguese influence, their relative visibility now contrasts sharply in the post-handover Macau discourse.

Chapter 7: Religion and food

7.1 Introduction

The practices associated with religion and food are instilled with the values and memories cultivated in Macau over a long history, which combine influences from both Chinese and Portuguese cultures. As discussed in my literature review, Macanese cultural practices are often associated with the maintenance of a racially mixed community and also a kinship network which is distinct from the larger population (Edwards, 2009:26-27) in Macau. However, in the post-handover period the significance of religions and culinary cultural practices are decreasing. This is particularly due to the younger people's unwillingness to sustain these cultures. As stated in previous chapters, unlike the Category A generation, who are mostly employed in civil positions, the younger Macanese of Category B mostly work in the private sector. In order to position themselves in the labour market, many will opt to upgrade themselves academically for social and economic mobility, rather than spending their time trying to sustaining these cultures.

In order to examine the significance of religious and culinary cultures for my participants, this chapter will follow a similar structure to that applied in chapters 5 and 6. It starts with an examination of the Category A – the group that has shown the strongest affiliation with the Portuguese heritage; this will be followed by Category B – where new dispositions are documented; and ends with a look at the hybrid group, Category C – where remnants of Bhabha's concept of 'in-betweenness' are highlighted with regard to how this group have positioned themselves in terms of Macanese culinary culture. The chapter is divided into two main sections. First, I will present a discussion on religion, and how it is perceived by the Macanese living in Macau today. Food will be explored in the second half of the chapter. In this chapter I will compare participant's narratives on their involvement, participation and reproduction of Macanese religions and culinary cultural practices both before and after the handover in 1999. By so doing I will be able to gauge the impact of the handover and the post-handover context on these cultural practices.

7.2 Religion as an identity marker

Catholicism has always been considered one of the major religions in Macau. In the case of the older Macanese generation, religion is the central power that helps uphold their social identity as a mixed race community, as suggested in many of my participants' narratives (Amaro, 1994: 222-223).

Through the rituals of baptism and marriage ceremonies, the Catholic churches in Macau have managed to amass a significant congregation, (Yee, 2001:136), as Mateus notes:

> *Every Macanese family, whether by bloodline or assimilation will be baptized as Catholic and so are the children, as this is part of the culture and family ritual. Very rarely will you meet a Macanese who is not Catholic.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s).*

Mateus' comment reflects the norm of religious practice as entailing the transmission of religious belief as well as the acquisition of an identity marker for individuals who are both Catholic and Macanese. Consequently, religious celebrations embraced by the Macanese, such as Christmas and Easter, were both derived from (Catholic) religion. One characteristic of these attributions is that they serve as a vehicle to bond participants' closeness with their Portuguese, rather than Chinese, roots. However, as emerged in this study, festivities such as Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival have just as enthusiastically been incorporated into the Macanese celebrations calendar. This is corroborated by Mateus' narrative, in which he articulates that the Macanese in general adopted a bilateral way of celebrating, largely due to their mixed upbringing, where Western (religious) and Chinese feasts were equally acknowledged and celebrated. This is confirmed by other participants in my study. That being said, I found that Christmas was the most celebrated and important event amongst participants who had a stronger sense of Portuguese heritage. This finding also resonates with the findings that these participants have a stronger adherence to the Macanese identity and language, as discussed in previous chapters.

7.2.1 Communal practice

In this study I found that communal activities were a significant aspect of Macanese cultural practices. The Macanese, on the whole, were found to decorate their homes with religious relics and holy objects to mark membership of their religious community. As in the past, Sunday Mass remains the weekly highlight for many Macanese families. That being said, church attendance was most common amongst the Category A as well as older generations whose religious affiliation remains strong. Religious beliefs however seemed to dissipate greatly with time and are less practiced by the younger generations (those aged thirty and below). The following passage from my interview with Edith alludes to this:

> *Margarida: Do you think the Catholic religion will continue to sustain in the Macanese community?*
>
> *Edith: Yes, my daughter also goes to Mass. If parents go very often, the children will follow. However, some of my friends' children have stopped following their parents because these young people do not want to continue to be Catholics. Some of them have even opted to change to another religion.*
>
> *(Edith is in her late 40s).*

As argued by Wilson and Sandomirsky (1991:291), Edith's statement highlights the role that parents play in the transmission of religious beliefs and practices, as well as the upholding of religious identities as viewed and practiced by previous generations. However, younger Macanese are slowly departing from a strong belief in religion and are practicing it less and less, while there are others who are searching for other forms of spiritual affiliation. Overall, the Macanese are still perceived to be deeply religious, an assertion confirmed by my participants; however the Macanese are also very adaptable and combine very different belief systems and practices with their Catholicism, for example:

> *The Macanese are overall very Catholic, but again very adaptable and also live together with Fung Sui, a superstitious practice. They believe in Fung Sui, especially those who are in business amongst others. Some*

> *call this being opportunistic or being looked at a different way of adaptation. I respect Fung Sui, but never practiced it, and I also respect Buddhism and other religions.*
>
> *(Chico is in his late 50s).*

Having been baptized as a Catholic, Chico explicitly admits to holding some religious beliefs; however, these are not 'liturgical', that is, he rarely participates in religious rituals. For example, he does not attend Sunday Mass regularly. He believes that people's virtue should not be based on their religious and ritual practices, but rather on the help they give to others as well as their tolerance of others' religious beliefs. Chico seems to 'practice what he preaches', as he has decided not to baptise his daughters, preferring to allow them the freedom to choose their own religious beliefs when they reach a certain age. However, this intention was thwarted by his wife – a practicing Catholic - who insisted that the family's traditional religious practices should be followed. Chico was attempting to exercise less rigid religious observance, through attempting to shift away from the normal practices the Macanese adhered to in the past, such as, the ritual of baptism. This also demonstrates an emerging option where some Macanese are choosing to separate themselves from the religious beliefs and practices of the older generation of Macanese Catholics.

Other interesting observations also emerged in this study, including the adherence to more than one belief. The emergence of a group of Macanese practicing both Catholicism and other forms of beliefs system, such as Fung Sui - a common practice among business people, believed to enhance their luck and fortunes - was reported. In fact, incense burning has become a common practice in many opening events, including government functions in Macau, despite the personal religious beliefs and preferences of administrators.

Some participants in this study advocated that all forms of religious beliefs and practices, including Fung Sui and Buddhism should be recognised by others, as a recognition of Macau's increasingly multicultural population. Moreover, some of the religious perceptions emerging in this study reflect yet another religious dimension

rarely depicted by the Macanese. This relates to their break with Catholic institutions to affirm an entirely different kind of spiritual enhancement for one's self and one's business. Some findings of this study illustrate the particular abandonment of Catholic religious practices, especially among the younger Macanese. This idea is revisited further in the Category B section, below.

7.3 Is Religion being eroded?

Throughout my interviews, many participants noted that communal religious practices and beliefs are less visible these days compared with previous Catholic generations. Moreover, the centrality of religion and the numbers of devotees has significantly dropped over the decades as mentioned previously. In terms of these changes, Manuel has this to share:

> *The religious factor has been eroding throughout the years. One reason was religion is not so important to people's lives in the way it was one hundred years ago. I mean, the way we see and understand the religious factor is not so traditional anymore. So this sort of religious bonding is not as strong as it used to be, particularly with the Catholic religion.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s)*

Manuel's excerpt clearly illustrates that the weight attributed to religion and its practice in the Macanese community has eroded over time. He considers religion to be an outdated practice which evidently lacks the ability to provide the social solidarity previously experienced amongst the Macanese, especially in the context of racially mixed religious identities (Ysseldyk et al., 2010:67; Aspinall and Song, 2013:143). A majority of those participating in this study had similar things to say as Manuel, in particular that religion will no longer have a central place in the lives of future generations. This is particularly the case for younger people who expressed little interest in upholding religious practices (such findings are revisited later in this chapter).

Manuel also noted that none of his family members go to Mass. However, this did not result in Manuel denying the importance of religious values in society. I noticed that his

religious values were intact, albeit less practised. Manuel further commented that he was not convinced his children, once grown up, would continue practicing religion as previous generations had done. However, one participant tended to perceive religion differently to the others. Being brought up with a strong religious belief, Fausto claimed such deviation was the consequence of, or at least in part due to, rapid social changes in Macau:

> *Maybe because of the casino environment for many people it is more important to get money and be rich. So there is this change of values, and before we were more influenced by the Catholic religion that is to tell the truth, have faith in God, to be united with each other. We see many of them are losing faith, mostly thinking about money and materialistic needs. This is what is destroying the unity of the Macanese and its identity.*
>
> *(Fausto is in his mid-40s).*

Fausto was the only participant to highlight the negative influence brought by the overwhelming culture of the gaming industry in terms of its impact on Macanese values, identity and religious practices. For Fausto, these societal changes are perceived negatively, he views them as fostering materialism and greed and also causing a decline in solidarity amongst the Macanese. Although Fausto's criticism of the harmful effects of gambling should not be ignored, not all participants shared this view. In fact, my findings suggest participants seem to be more concerned with younger people's employment prospects than their affiliation with religious practices. While the gaming industry has, on the one hand, created a multitude of social problems and led to local streets becoming crammed with people and tourists, for some (including some of my participants), it has also generated more job opportunities in the labour market in Macau than ever before.

Although there has been an ostensible decrease in the number of young believers expressing an interest in being affiliated to a religion, Ivone's views on why younger people in Macau are withdrawing from religious belief are the following:

They (the younger Macanese) had no choice when they were baptised, and when they grow up they don't go to church and a major part of it has to do with their parents. If their parents are Catholics they will take them to church. I think they cannot be forced. These youngsters have to be willing to do it and it should start when they were young.

(Ivone is in her late 50s).

and

Margarida: Do you think the Catholic religion will sustain in the Macanese community?

Edith: Yes, my daughter goes to church with us, parents are a good example for them. However, some of my friends' children did not follow their parents, because their children do not want to become Catholics, and thus switched to another religion.

(Edith is in her late 40s).

Ivone's excerpt depicts a certain degree of contradiction. On the one hand, she tends to excuse the youngsters' disinterest with regard to practising religion while, on the other hand, she assigns responsibility to the parents for not imposing religious practice on their children. The potential influence of parents could also be heard in Edith's comment above. Although, in contrast to Ivone, Edith suggested that parental influence was not the main factor underpinning continuous religious practice when young people grew up. What is noteworthy from Ivone's interview (below) was that an important underlying religious affiliating factor was largely seen to be the 'spousal impact'. In Ivone's case, it is one of the key elements sustaining religiosity (in particular Catholicism) in her family. For example:

It is very important with whom they (her brothers) married, if they are married with Chinese or Thai, they will become further mixed.

(Ivone is in her late 50s).

7.4 Spousal impact

According to Ivone, her siblings have not exerted pressure on their spouses to convert to Catholicism. If they had done so, the outcome may have turned out quite differently. Spousal impact was also mentioned in two other participants' narratives, who also regarded it as having a significant impact on sustaining a particular religious identity. This finding is consistent with Wilson and Sandomirsky's (1991:300) study which sought to illustrate that one's religious affiliation was often largely influenced by one's spouse. Regarding Ivone's family, her siblings represent the best example of mixed ethnic marriages, where two of her brothers are married to Chinese, one to a Thai and two to Macanese women. The latter two couples tended to have closer links to the Catholic Church. In addition, they also cook Macanese food as well as frequently using both Portuguese and Cantonese languages among themselves and with their family members. This shows that the spousal impact can be effective in sustaining religious practice but also in terms of reproducing and reinforcing Macanese identity amongst the few thousand Macanese still resident in Macau.

So far, this study has sought to examine the Category A's group perception with regards to religious beliefs and its practices. I have also examined the 'spousal impact' effects on religious affiliation and Macanese identity as represented by the participants' narratives. In the next session, I will explore the Category B group as well as investigating similar themes explored in relation to the Category A group for the purpose of comparing their experiences and perceptions on the place of religion in the Macanese society.

7.5 Identifying with religion – the Category B group

In contrast to the Category A group, the findings for those in Category B show that none of the participants from this group developed the habitual practice of attending Mass in adulthood, although most acknowledged that they had participated in this practice when they were younger. The religious belief and its practices were centrally embraced by those in Category A and generations before them to reinforce group membership and also to confer positive values for its members (Ysseldyk et al,

2010:67). More than that, religion assigned status, to this group; they perceived their Catholicism as placing them above the majority Chinese. More importantly for Category B, religion was associated with a shared Macanese identity that mirrored family traditions and underscored what they described as the Macanese way of life. However, the practice of religion, for example of attending Mass, is clearly less common amongst the Category B group, as Priscila states in the quotation below:

> *I don't notice them going to Mass. I have Macanese friends who are married, and have their children baptised but don't go to Mass. Those that are still going are very often the elderly Macanese.*
>
> *(Priscila is in her 30s).*

The religious practice reflected in Priscila's quotation illustrates the rapidly shrinking practicing Catholic population in Macau. In fact, results from other participants in this study also depict this tendency of the weakening religious affiliation. Priscila noted that Easter, Christmas and two major Catholic processions were the only major religious events that were able to attract a large numbers of Macanese believers to congregate. This also shows that participants from Category B are not following the footsteps of the older Macanese people. Having been baptised as a Catholic, Silvio, like Manuel above, does not deny the importance of religion – however, he takes issue with the Catholic Church as an institution. For example:

> *Margarida: Have you been baptised?*
>
> *Silvio: I think so.*
>
> *Margarida: Do you go to Mass?*
>
> *Silvio: No, I don't.*
>
> *Margarida: You said your mother goes to Mass, why not you?*
>
> *Silvio: Because it is a personal thing, it is the way I see this religion, but it does not mean that I am not a Catholic. It only represents how I feel about their establishment and necessity going to do certain rituals. I feel faith does not require one to do certain things that institutionally, the entity responsible for defusing its states. I am 34 now, when we*

> *were kids we would follow what our family did, but when we reach a certain age, well…maybe if there is something misfortune happen to me, I may change and go back again.*
>
> *(Silvio is in his mid-30s).*

In the excerpt above, Silvio's stance on religion clearly drifts away from the traditional norms which older Macanese and their predecessors held as Catholics. His insights as a member of the new Macanese generation tend to depart from the context in which religion is represented as an institution. This is particularly the case in restraining one's freedom, such as the practice of attending Mass. Silvio's statement suggests that even though he did not agree with some of the institutional aspects of Catholicism, he never implicitly or explicitly declared his intention to abandon his Catholic faith. In fact, there are signs in his narrative to suggest that he may 'change and go back again' to Catholicism in the future. This could imply that those in Category B are seeking new ways to re-define and re-shape their relationship to religion. Furthermore, this also shows that, although religion is less practiced among the younger generation, the value embedded in religion still remains. In fact, the values vested in religion are rendered of high significance and will be passed on to the next generation, as the following quotation depicts:

> *The way I communicate is that my cultures will without doubt contain the values of this religion. These values will be passed on to our new generation, as these are the basic knowledge of our religion how we are taught that way. That is why I feel this thing will continue, whether the person follows a certain ritual or not, I will leave that it him or her.*
>
> *(Silvio is in his mid-30s).*

The desire to pass on values from religion is important for some, as the excerpt above demonstrates. This finding is also consistent with the literature in (Ysseldyk et al, 2010:60) study which points out the positive values and images the church represents. Further to that, the findings clearly reflect the confidence which younger people place

in religious belief. Likewise Flora, who also discontinued her religious practice, reiterated the likeliness of her developing an increasing commitment in the future:

> *Margarida: Do you go to Mass?*
>
> *Flora: No, I did when I was still in school, I couldn't get up (laughing) because 11am in the morning is considered early for me, but I did when I was in school.*
>
> *Margarida: If you have children one day, will you baptise them?*
>
> *Flora: Yes, I might go back if I have my own children.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

Flora and Silvio's quotations equally illustrate their lack of perseverance in their religious practice. Yet they both discussed the possibility of redeeming their Catholic beliefs at a future point in their lives. Although Flora revealed that, in her present situation, she lacked the commitment to fulfil her role as a Catholic, she was fairly convinced that she would redeem her religious beliefs when she has children of her own. For example, she plans to baptise them. This again shows that religious affiliation is likely to continue in the next generation, as findings from Flora and Silvio's narratives suggest they might return to religious practice when they get older. However, in Flora's case, these religious practices would only be plausible with the consent of her future spouse.

7.6 Spousal impact from the perspective of the Young Macanese

In Flora's narrative, spousal impact is shown to be a significant factor influencing the potential continuity of her religious practices:

> *If my future husband does not mind if our children follow my religion, and this is out of my respect for him, and if he agrees with it, I will*

> *continue to follow the religion, and I may go back to it if I have my own children.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

Although this excerpt presents a hypothetical assumption, it clearly underscores the centrality of her future husband's opinion in relation to Flora and her future offspring's religious practice. This was also mirrored in the earlier discussion of Ivone's siblings (and their spouses) in the Category A's group. Furthermore, the findings from this study also highlight the fact that spousal impact will not just influence Macanese religious identity, but could also weaken the younger generation's capability to preserve the Macanese culture, which is reflected in the case of Flora friends.

Additionally, one key factor has seemingly emerged from both Flora's and Silvio's narratives: religion has failed to influence the younger generation. In spite of the Category A and Category B groups, my findings did not find that participants of this study evoked a sense of 'in-betweenness' in how they affiliate in relation to religious belief or its practices. Except for one participant who has converted to Protestant Christianity, none of participants explicitly pronounced that they had affiliated with other religious beliefs in this study.

Following the framework of the section on religion, I will now examine the meaning of food and how it is perceived by participants. I will first look at Category A, and will then move on to Category B, and the hybrid group in turn. As covered in earlier chapters, food and religion are two of the major characteristics of a distinctive Macanese's culture. They constitute the means through which members of this homogeneous mixed ethnic community have established a common identity (Song, 2012:570). As manifested in some participants' narratives, cooking bestowed a sense of pride for this racially mixed population as stated in the literature of Jorge (2004:13) on Macanese food. Yet, if we examine the significance of Macanese cuisine in the context of Macau today, we can try and evaluate whether food is still perceived as an essential characteristic for the Macanese. Furthermore, I will also explore whether Macanese cuisine might be preserved in the future.

7.7 Food: perspectives of the Category A

As well as being an essential element for the constitution of memories associated with family, food also serves as a major conduit for the religious festivities celebrated among Macanese families and friends. Its unique features are the rich ingredients and combinations of this multi-layered culinary culture, containing as it does elements of Portuguese, Chinese and Indian food (amongst others), as Chico here notes:

> *Macau was the first to have its first fusion or nouveau cuisine…where some people considered Macanese food a corruption of Portuguese food. I defended it 30 years ago that it was not a corruption of Portuguese food but an enriched version. It has Chinese taste, Indonesian, Sri Lanka and African.*
>
> *(Chico is in his late 50s).*

Chico's representation of Macanese food highlights its uniqueness as a melting pot of East and West cuisines. Although his appreciation for the mixing of Portuguese, Macanese and Chinese (Cantonese) food were mentioned in his narrative, Cantonese food is still his ultimate preference, particularly when he is away from home for long periods of time. In addition, Cantonese food had a very special place for him. As he recalled, it was his late Portuguese father who introduced it to him. Chico mentions the nostalgic memories he has of eating Cantonese food with his late father. This supports Blunt's (2005:53-54) observation that suggests that memories and emotions are intertwined with home and food, which was also documented by Sutton (2001: 60-61). In a similar vein, such sentiments were reiterated by two other participants where food, memories and family members were bound together:

> *One thing that keeps us closer is our culinary culture. We have our unique way of cooking. In fact, my mother and aunts have their own recipes.*
>
> *(Edith is in her late 40s).*
>
> and
>
> *Margarida: Do you know how to cook Macanese food?*

Ivone: Yes, my mother taught me how to cook.

(Ivone is in her late 50s).

In Edith and Ivone's quotations, one common theme emerged in their recollections of the family's domestic space: namely that food provided a means of a bonding between family members, for example, between aunt with niece, and mother with daughter (Sutton, 2001:137; Blunt, 2005:507). Each of their narratives outlined quite similar ways in which food was the means of passing and sharing personal and collective experiences with the next generation, whereby food became the medium for transmitting family recipes and cooking skills. What is more, food is also associated with the intersection between family practices, gatherings and festivities throughout the year (Sutton, 2001:137). According to one participant, the Chinese only celebrate their own festivals, while the Macanese incorporate Western (Portuguese) and Eastern (Chinese) celebrations. However, shifting societal changes have encouraged more women to enter the labour market, hence lessening their role and ability to commit to spending time in the kitchen. In terms of the younger generation, none of the participants from the Category A group were convinced that the younger Macanese will have the same passion and required skills for preserving the Macanese food culture, as this exchange states:

Margarida: Do you think this new generation will be able to cook Macanese food at all?

Ivone: They [the youngsters] generally do not know how to cook, so it is pointless to teach them, and even if we give them the cooking book, they won't be able to do it.

(Ivone is in her late 50s).

Ivone's observations with regards to the futility of hoping that younger Macanese would preserve Macanese food, was articulated in the context of increasing intermarriages with other ethnicities. However, it was noticeably less acute compared with impact of the social changes during the post-handover in Macau. What Ivone

noticed after her return from Portugal as a retired civil servant was that societal conditions were evidently not in favour of the Macanese. As such, she thought that her nieces and nephews, along with her former colleagues, were undergoing a tougher and more competitive life than during the Portuguese administration period. Many of the elder Macanese perceived the younger generations' primary focus was on upgrading their skills to better position themselves in the Chinese labour market, rather than diverting their attention in trying to sustain their own culture. This also shows that even though food remains an identity marker, it fails to entice the younger generation's desire to preserve it as the older Macanese did in the past. In fact, evidence from my participants shows that the majority of them demonstrate almost no cooking skills and expressed no interest in preserving the food culture. What is more, their busy working schedule along with the impact of sinicization has, in part at least, been responsible for such a situation. For example:

> *The younger generation is not very keen to preserve the Macanese cuisine. The sinicized Macau is making it more difficult to sustain this culture. Unlike before where there was the presence of the European culture, where its daily contact had largely help this culture to grow, but now we only have mostly mainland people living here.*
>
> *(Ana is in her mid-50s).*

The period since 1999 in Macau has seen unprecedented social changes in light of the handover, that have prompted the arrival of large numbers of people from Mainland China, many of whom are currently part of the labour force working in the hotel industry as well as in construction sites. According to Ana (in her mid-50s), the effect of sinicization was seen as something negative, and central to hindering the further development of Macanese culture. As she notes, the Macanese culture is being confronted by multiple difficulties that are impeding its ability to sustain itself and to evolve, given that there are only a few thousand Macanese left in Macau, and even fewer Portuguese people. In fact, a few participants' narratives reflected the idea that sinicization, together with demographic decline amongst the Macanese, are among the central factors that hinder the preservation and development of Macanese culture.

In spite of the above, the findings that emerge from this study show that food is not only perceived as a culinary practice, but also the perception of a significant cultural phenomenon in the Macanese context, which should be preserved and sustained. Miguel notes this as follows:

> *Manuel: Food is still a strong identity marker, but besides that, there is nothing on the daily basis that helps to bind the Macanese as a community.*
>
> *(Manuel is in his late 50s).*

Ascribed as an identity marker (Sutton, 2001:54), food, according to my participants, can be relied upon to preserve a Macanese sense of identity, as stated in Manuel's excerpt above. Manuel believes that culture should not be perceived as something to be preserved, but rather that it should be perceived as being a 'living culture' and a 'contemporary thing' where it should be constantly changing and evolving through the process of living. For Manuel, if this generation expressed appropriate sentiments and opted to affiliate to their own culture, they should acquire the passion to re-create and innovative their cuisine so as to prevent it from disappearing. Otherwise, if the Macanese culture continues to stagnate, it will eventually become marooned as a heritage culture, that only exists in old stories. As a consequence, it will cease to survive in the present.

Up to now, I have explored the perceptions of the Category A's group associations with food as a cultural phenomenon perceived through their experience in the context of Macau. In the next section I will examine how Category B perceived the relationship with the Macanese food cultures in contemporary Macau.

7.8 Food: a representation of a mixed culture

Similar to some members from the Category A group, none of the Category B participants expressed a strong compulsion to engage in any forms of Macanese culinary practice themselves in their own homes. Throughout the interviews,

participants mostly mentioned their parents' or grandparents' practices when they mentioned Macanese food, such as in the case of Flora:

> *It is only during feast days such as Christmas, New Year or my birthday that my mother makes Portuguese snacks, because my grandmother is Portuguese and she cooks Portuguese food. My mother knows how to cook Portuguese food, but she said it takes a lot of time and Chinese food is simpler to cook.*
>
> *(Flora is in her late 20s).*

From this, we can see that even Flora's mother's generation seem to be distancing themselves from the time-consuming cooking practices associated with Portuguese cuisine relative to Chinese food preparation. In addition, the findings that emerge here support Sutton (2001:146)'s observation when they suggest that the requisite labour is crucial in deterring participants' willingness to engage in cooking traditional Macanese food. This may also be accentuated by the fact that the role of women is no longer restricted to the domestic context because, as the female participants from the Category B group all reported, as they are all in full-time employment.

What is noteworthy is that Flora recalled both her mother and her grandmother's cooking skills with a sense of pride; yet she never mentioned or hinted at a desire to practice these skills herself. Furthermore the convenience of having meals prepared in restaurants probably discourages Flora and other participants from the Category B group from engaging in the tedious process of cooking meals at home. According to Priscila, few people could master the culinary skills required for preparing Macanese food in Macau today, as shown below:

> *As far as I am concerned, the Macanese culture has not disappeared in its entirety, but there are obviously fewer people that know how to cook Macanese food. It is true that our grandparents' generation can cook these dishes, yet our generation will never be able to cook as well as them, which is a pity. Therefore, I think this cooking culture should be preserved.*
>
> *(Priscila is in her 30s).*

The waning of Macanese cooking culture in the home depicted in the quotation above highlights the younger generation's inability to preserve Macanese cooking techniques for posterity. However, this does not imply that all hope is lost in sustaining the racially mixed community. The findings reflected in this study show that some young, enthusiastic Macanese are trying to preserve the culture in the hope of increasing the younger generation's awareness of it. The objective was particularly targeted at Macanese who were more affiliated with Chinese rather than Portuguese heritage. Yet as a very new movement, Priscila noted that it would require a larger presence or platform in order to have a significant enough impact on younger people. The Chinese government has also been active in offering financial help to fund local Macanese associations. This includes the annual arts festivals that deliver Portuguese and Macanese performances to the general public. For Priscila, the financial support given to these performances was essential in allowing them to continue, as these performances were not just intended for local people but also to promote tourism and attract visitors through the celebration of Macanese culture.

Along with that, the gastronomic scene seems to have taken a new turn. In recent decades, a growing number of Macanese are seemingly less reluctant to disclose their family recipes. However, a number of Macanese, now in their 50s or older, have begun to disclose recipes and to publish cookbooks in the hope of sharing and continuing the Macanese gastronomic culture with the general public. From this we can conclude that Macanese food has become yet another commodity to be sold – yet at the same time this phenomenon might lead to its preservation into the future.

7.9 Culture: a necessity for preservation

None of the participants from the Category B group articulated a desire (or the required skills) to cook Macanese food. However, the importance of recognising and preserving a distinct Macanese culture was unanimously supported by this study's participants as the quotation below demonstrates:

Margarida: Do you think there is a Macanese culture?

> *Joaquim: I do think there is a Macanese culture because there are distinctive features which make the Macanese culture different from the local Chinese community and Portugal. You can see it exists. It is very clear for me to see that it exists.*
>
> *(Joaquim is in his late 30s).*

The quotation above from Joaquim clearly highlights the existence of a robust Macanese culture which is also manifested and celebrated in the majority of the participants' narratives. As discussed previously in the literature review chapter, Macanese culture claims its distinctiveness as a result of a unique mixing of mainly traditional Portuguese and Chinese characteristic. Similar to other participants, Joaquim's narrative reiterated the importance of preserving the Macanese culture, but he also noted that it should not be 'too exclusive'. What he was attempting to convey was that the preservation process should encompass the 'wider context'. He highlighted that Macanese culture is the Macau way of life, together with the local Chinese culture which should be equally preserved. For Joaquim, the Macanese and local Chinese cultures share more similarities than with the Portuguese. As such, he considers that the support given to the local Macanese associations and the leaders of these associations is a mere token to validate the racially mixed community's presence in Chinese Macau. That is, for Joaquim this is a mere gesture by the central government to the Macau SAR government. This support, according to Joaquim, was central to the process of marking the status and role of these associations in Macau, in the process of them being recognised by the two governments. In doing so, the government hoped to lessen any tensions that might have been perpetuated after the handover between the Chinese government and the racially mixed community, as the quotations here elaborates:

> *We could see that there was an effort from the authorities to the Macanese in showing that…don't worry…you're part of the new Macau…and actually a good example of that was when they (the government) invited Leonel Alves (a Macanese legislative member who abandoned his Portuguese nationality) to be a member of the*

> *Chinese People Political Conference, this is undoubtedly a friendly gesture towards the Macanese community.*
>
> *(Joaquim is in his late 30s).*

Joaquim's excerpt suggests a different motivation in terms of Macanese cultural preservation as employed by the Chinese government. This support was to ensure the protection of Macanese culture as well as the stability of the Macanese community. The Chinese political government's aim was to minimise or avoid conflicts with the Macanese. This process has also helped to develop the city's tourism. In addition, Joaquim stated that the Chinese would rather opt for a smoother transition period after the handover, as they realised the pyramid of power had shifted with the Chinese ascending to the top, followed by the Macanese and the general population, composed of mostly Chinese people, being at the bottom. Moreover, Joaquim was not convinced that the existing Macanese associations would succeed in sustaining the Macanese culture. He meant that the associations' affiliation with Portuguese roots would evidently be weaker than before, which was reflected in the wider Macanese community and identity becoming gradually more sinicized. For Joaquim, the uniqueness of the Macanese culture could not be complete with the decline of the Portuguese heritage, which was seemingly diminishing in Macau. Moreover, the group of people who were being groomed to become future Macanese leaders were from a different stratum of society. Many of them were educated in English speaking countries such as England, Australia and the United States, and had not studied in universities in Portugal. As mentioned earlier in the last two findings chapters, the social environment in Macau is being shaped by sinicization as a result of the handover. The weakening of the Portuguese element, as most of participants noted in their narratives, is seemingly irreversible in contemporary Macau. In spite of all this, one participant expressed a rather interesting point in relation to this phenomenon:

> *Margarida: Have you experienced any changes between the previous generation, yours and the next generation?*

> *Silvio: Everything is becoming Chinese; everything is Chinese in the beginning. This is China, and Macau is now part of China.*
>
> *(Silvio is in his mid-30s).*

The above quotation from Silvio articulates the political and social status of Macau, now part of China and no longer under a Portuguese administration. The concept behind the handover, as everyone in Macau is aware, was to place Macau back in China's soil. Silvio noted that the Macanese culture should still embody Portuguese as well as Chinese elements, as that is where its uniqueness stems from. He gave, as an example, the St Paul's Ruin façade where Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese artefacts are exhibited to accentuate its multicultural features. Yet the more recent architecture, in the Co-Tai Strip (where the new casinos are located) for instance, has been a disaster: most of the buildings lack local, cultural values and simply mimic a Las Vegas-esque aesthetic.

7.10 Contrasting dispositions

Thus far, I have examined both Category A and Category B group perceptions according to their experiences and positioning relative to Macanese food and culture in the context of contemporary Macau. By using Bhabha's concept of 'in-betweenness', I will now examine food and its practices as perceived by the hybrid group.

My findings from this study show that the Category A and Category B are among the two groups that expressed more concern about the waning of the Macanese culinary culture. Some participants pointed out that the lack of motivation among the younger generation was, in part, responsible for hindering the prospect in cooking Macanese food, as the following quotation notes:

> *If it continues to be like what they are doing now, there will be nothing to preserve, except this small group of Macanese who are still passionately trying their best to sustain this culture. However, they are mostly in their 50s or above, and the Macanese theatre group and gastronomy association only consist of very few new members. The younger generation could not care less because they are born and raised*

> *here; they do not identify themselves and do not know who they are…Only at home are they still able to find their Macanese roots mostly coming from their parents. However, neither they nor their friends know how to cook Macanese food, and eventually they will lose interest.*
>
> *(Mateus is in his mid-60s).*

Mateus' concern captured in the excerpt above is largely pessimistic in terms of the younger Macanese preserving their own culinary culture. Although his pessimism may encompass all Macanese, it was apparent that he was focussing on local Macanese youngsters' lacking the knowledge and motivation to uphold their own culture. What Mateus saw was that, besides occupying a different social milieu to their parents, most youngsters are failing to identify themselves as Macanese. They tend to be confused and perplexed and seemingly split between two worlds. This finding is evident in Bhabha's (1994) concept of 'in-betweenness' to suggest the split as a consequence of the struggle between their rooted Macanese identity and their assimilation to the emerging Chinese context. In this process many of the younger generation are experiencing elements of acculturation. According to Mateus, these younger people lack ownership of their racially mixed identities and cultures; instead they rely on their parents to provide this for them. He also observed that the youngsters were hardly involved with food preparation such as during festivities and the like, as all the Macanese had been in the past. As a consequence, it is likely that Macanese cuisine will not be preserved into the future, as neither the youngsters nor their Macanese friends expressed interest in preserving it.

7.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated how religion and food are both perceived both as identity markers and how the impact of the post-handover context has eroded the Macanese affiliation with each of these practices. Although religion has noticeably suffered a decline in terms of numbers of believers, this has not stopped religious practices from prospering. In essence, I have argued that religiosity, particularly amongst the Category B group, is not dying out. There are signs that the Macanese

from this group could redeem their relationship to their religious traditions either through the process of maturing and/or having families of their own. In terms of food, however, it has become increasingly challenging to sustain the culinary culture since the handover. This is particularly the case amongst the Category B participants who are currently in full-time employment in the labour market. For these participants, upgrading and positioning themselves in the competitive market is their ultimate concern, which has by and large decreased their ability and willingness to develop the skills necessary to preserve these culinary practices. Yet from a commercial perspective, the food industry has accomplished much success, predominantly in the tourism sector. Thus, I believe that Macanese food is capable of surviving, not as an identity marker for group solidarity (Valentine, 1999:520-521; Sutton, 2001:61) in the racially mixed community context, but rather in the form of a commodity, as a quasi-Macanese by-product to be sold commercially on the open market.

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion

Macanese positionalities as a racially mixed community after the post-handover era have been explored through the three preceding thematic chapters focusing on identity, language and culture, as three key emergent themes and drawn from the empirical results of this study.

In the first part of this chapter, I will return to the questions raised in the literature review. These will be discussed in greater depth and my contribution will be identified by examining the issues structured throughout the themes in this thesis. The latter half of this chapter will focus on the three research questions that I have identified in the introduction and the literature review of this thesis. They are as follows:

- What mechanisms have the Macanese employed to negotiate and re-appropriate their identities in the Chinese administration?
- What impact did the post-handover period have on the Macanese's disposition with regard to their identity, language and culture?
- In what ways do the Macanese position themselves as a mixed-race minority group in contemporary Macau?

8.1 Negotiating the racially mixed identity after the post-handover era

As documented in the data chapters, the two groups (Category A and Category B) differed in both their perceptions of themselves as racially mixed individuals, in terms of their perceptions of the Chinese Other. This study found that the former group, comprising Macanese in their 40s to late 60s, showed a noticeable degree of marginalisation and exhibited more difficulties in negotiating with the Chinese as Macanese, especially as members of the civil service. This tension was partly due to the asymmetric treatment applied to both ethnic groups (Macanese and Chinese civil servants) during the Portuguese administration that had apparently not dissipated, thus widening the gap between Macanese and Chinese civil servants even after the

handover. As Solomos and Back argue, the inequalities embedded in race (in a sociological context) should not be perceived as an unchanging or static phenomenon, but rather as a volatile social process (1996:67). Moreover, the loss of the Macanese intermediary role, together with the undermining of the formal importance of the Portuguese language, has significantly eroded the confidence of the Category A group, particularly those who were less equipped in Cantonese language skills. Many experienced isolation and felt that they were being degraded by the dominant Chinese power.

In contrast, the Category B group expressed less adversity, and reported less fiction with the Chinese, while at the same time showing a greater flexibility in adapting to Chinese Macau. Their more academic backgrounds and their competence in Cantonese seemed to have enhanced their confidence as racially mixed individuals, which in turn seemed to enable them to blend in with the majority Chinese population with greater ease than the Category A group. Most important of all, the Category B group acknowledged the fact that Macau's new political status was a non-reversible reality since it is now part of China. Many younger Macanese believe that reducing the ethnic gap will, by and large, alleviate the tensions created between both ethnic groups in light of the asymmetrical treatment established during the Portuguese administration. One contribution in this study is to identify how Macanese intergenerational differences result in different perceptions of both the Macanese themselves, and of the appeal of Chinese-ness to the Macanese since the handover. In doing so, I have illustrated how the Category B group managed to negotiate and adapt to Chinese administrated Macau by acknowledging the context and significance of Chinese-ness in the social context.

The notion of survival was one of the imperative concerns that emerged from the Macanese narratives in this study. Previously, the process of 'passing' (Ali, 2003:13; Song, 2003:68) has in the past been applied to the Western conceptual representations, in order to access benefits to a more privileged racial status. This study has found that the process of 'passing' in the Macanese context was clearly not intended to acquire a white status, but rather a 'Chinese' status. The things participants stood to gain from 'passing' did not correlate to the meanings articulated

in ethnicity (as in biological terms), but rather to the economic benefits that race would yield, which I argued in the findings chapter. Moreover, the result of assimilating with Chinese-ness was primarily for profit and was not related to patriotic sentiments associated with China (Ong, 1999:113). Earlier studies have often argued that the Macanese before the post-handover era very often applied a one-dimensional rhetorical approach when delineating their affiliation with the Portuguese ancestry (Hao, 2001:193-194). My study has contributed to this research by exploring how the strategy of 'passing' is deployed, by some at least, as an illustrative positioning to acquire leverage in relation to performing and negotiating, for the intention of self-interest in the Chinese administration and/or economy.

Yet the processes involved in 'passing' were not common and not perceived as a common practice amongst the Macanese participants in this study, particularly those who were not self-employed and were less dependent on such connections (with the Chinese) for socio-political and economic gain.

This thesis also contributed theoretically by drawing on mixed race studies to understand how Macanese perceived and positioned themselves, both as individuals and as a community in the Macau context. Despite both groups (Category A and B) experienced sentiments of 'in-between-ness' (Bhabha, 2007) due to their dual ethnicities, it was clear that the majority of my participants express no desire to become Chinese. The choice of dis-identifying themselves as Chinese is an implication to emphasise their Portuguese heritage as a valuable attribute, resulting from, but not restricted to the privileges observed during the Portuguese colonial period. However, this also does implicitly suggest that their identification with their Portuguese heritage is unaffected after handover. This study found that, the societal and political changes are central to shape the Macanese's positionalities that caused some to shift to the Chinese identity on their own accord. The findings here highlight some major implications that this sort of shifting will likely accelerate in the future among Macanese, for political power and economic benefits in the Chinese society. In addition, the political stability and steady growing economy in Macau, largely supported by China, will most likely prompt more Macanese to shift and blend into the Chinese identity, particular those who continue to remain Macau after the handover.

The post-handover era is, for many, associated with the decline of the Portuguese-ness of the Macanese identity (Zepp, 1991:161; Berlie, 1999:24; Hao, 2011:194). My participants supported this assumption, in fact they suggested that its decline would continue in the future. What might to be done about this? Some studies claim that the family is a significant source to influence an individual's perception of affiliating with the membership of a group (Crawford and Alaggia, 2008:93). The family may also be imperative to providing a solid foundation for the sustainability of identity choice, as well as to foster the sense of mixedness to the child (Crawford and Alaggia, 2008:85; Kerwin et al, 1993:221). However, this foundation was less explicit from the Category A group, who were mostly parents. In addition, I found that the degree of ambivalence associated with being mixed heritage is more visible among the older Macanese and less explicit within the younger group. It seems that it was only in recent years that the Macanese have begun to contest the meanings and rootedness of their identity and sought to preserve it.

With that said, the study found that the Category A group reflected a stronger affiliation with the Portuguese identity as shown in their usage of the Portuguese language (as an identity marker), which was largely imposed by the paternal lineage both in the domestic and academic spheres (Watts, 1997:293). The shift in language that we can observe today began in the mid-1970s (ibid.) and escalated before the advent of the handover. This significantly altered the languages children were educated in, a choice often based on practical concerns for children's future employability rather than language choice being employed as an identity marker. Consequently, many of the participants from the Category B made academic choices which were structured in similar ways: to benefit their future prospects and upward mobility in the Chinese labour market.

8.2 Employing language for positioning

The unprecedented social changes which arose in the post-handover era motivated many participants to contemplate and position themselves as racially mixed individuals who could accept and adapt in the new Chinese Macau. As such, generational differences between the Category A and Category B groups were noted. In terms of

mixed-ness, the former group (Category A) demonstrated greater pessimism, while also encountering a degree of exclusion and marginalisation (Stonequist, 1935:7; Root, 1996:13; Kerwin et al, 1993:221) from the Chinese after the handover. This was particularly visible between the Macanese and the Chinese employed in the civil service before and after the handover. Further to that, the undermining of the Portuguese language served to inhibit the Macanese's role as an intermediary (between the Chinese and Portuguese) which had been conferred on them during the Portuguese administration, due to their proficiency in both languages. As Pina Cabral highlights, the Portuguese language was employed as a vehicle to maximise and to capitalise on 'Portuguese-ness' (2002:199). In this respect, according to participants, the Cantonese language would now be used to subvert Macanese civil servants who had only limited Cantonese linguistic knowledge, by maximising the capital of Chinese-ness in Macau after the handover. As such, those who only had acquired Portuguese linguistic skills would find their opportunities for upward mobility in the Chinese administration limited, particularly within the civil service. In light of this, most of the Category A participants expressed dissatisfaction, while some found it exasperating and unpleasant to witness Macau being 'degraded' under the Chinese rule, particularly in terms of the apparent denigration of the Portuguese language. In contrast, the participants from the Category B group were much more optimistic a result of the various opportunities they ascribed to being racially mixed members of a new generation. Their academic backgrounds, along with their proficiency in the Cantonese language, were important to provide a more diverse life experience, and not be constrained with just one option: a civil service job. What is more, they assumed that their knowledge of the Cantonese language would inevitably enhance their integration with the Chinese people (Edwards, 2009:26) as well as serving as a qualification which would allow them to adapt to the labour market. Most Category B participants employed this strategy in the hope of avoiding being alienated from the larger population and at the same time to acknowledge their Chinese ancestry as racially mixed individuals, as a means of bonding with both ethnic worlds (Spickard, 1992:21; Root, 1996:13; Song, 2003:75). Kerwin et al argue that racially mixed individuals who acknowledge their mixed race identities, perceive it as less of a conflict and more as an opportunity to understand both groups (1993:228). This position is supported by the

narratives from the Category B group, as many of them tended to look beyond the archetypically biased perspective which many of the elderly Macanese still hold towards Chinese, particularly after the handover. For many of the Category B, they found that being educated and brought up in a sinicized background, and not a unitarily Portuguese institutionalised social environment, was helpful in developing a more receptive mind-set towards the Chinese people as well as to Macau. Some participants said that this was the result of a 'reciprocal gesture' due to the mutual respect they held for both ethnic heritages. Indeed, most of the Category B participants clearly expressed their confidence and pride in their mixed ancestries, now living in the Macau SAR. In addition, most of the participants from the Category B group had not encountered marginalization (Stonequist, 1935:7; Root, 1996:13; Kerwin et al, 1993:221) nor had they experienced being alienated from Chinese people. Unlike Category A, the Category B groups' positivity was a resource they utilised to exude pride in their mixed heritage. In turn, their positivity and pride was evident, as none of them wanted to dis-identify themselves from either parent's racial heritage (Waters, 1990:57-58; Root, 1996:13).

8.2.1 Shame

Jenkins argues that 'group identification…presupposes that members will see themselves as minimally similar' (2004:133). As stated in Edwards, 'language and identity are powerful and complexly intertwined' (2009:254): they underpin group solidarity, but they can also be mechanisms of differentiation and exclusion (Auer, 2003:406). To exclude oneself from the ideologies rooted in a particular language is similar to rejecting and being excluded from the membership of that particular group along with the group's ancestry. Besides being used for communicative purposes by the Macanese, the Portuguese language also acts as 'an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point' (Edwards, 2009:55) to underscore their Portuguese heritage. In Cheng's (1999:178) description, the choice of language reflects one's identity to his or her homeland. As such, the change of administration was marked by the process of many Macanese deliberately refraining from using Portuguese language. Some participants speculated that speaking the former

administrative language became associated with a sense of shame, as a consequence of the Portuguese colonial period (and the 123 incident). Therefore, speaking other languages, such as English and Cantonese conveniently allowed some participants (especially the Category A group) to abandon the 'capital of Portugueseness' (Pina Cabral, 2002:41) amongst some of the other negative connotations which the Portuguese legacy conferred. By looking at this behaviour I am making a contribution to exploring how language is ascribed as a mechanism to shift ethnic capital by the Macanese in the wake of the handover (Amaro, 1994:227). For some Macanese, being constrained by the Portuguese language became a form of 'incapacitation from assimilation into the Chinese society' (Cheng, 1999:178) and at the same time evoked a sense of shame in speaking the language of the colonisers (but who are also one's forefathers and ancestors). A Portuguese poem by Fernando Pessoa, cited in Cheng, '*Minha Pátria é minha lingua*' (my homeland is my language) acts as an illustration of the importance of speaking in the Portuguese language as a way of affirming one's Portuguese identity (1999:178). The phrase shows that language is an identity marker used to reflect the phenomenon of the Macanese as perceived from the past, yet it mirrors an identical assimilation to exemplify many Macanese who refrained from speaking the Portuguese language after the handover period. The homeland is the same, but the historical context and the language have changed. In the new context, the implication of the shift to a Chinese homeland and assertion of a Chinese identity in the language context reveals a highly complex, emotional and also instrumental set of processes and transformations.

8.3 Language for career prospects

The centrality of career prospects was one of the main concerns in this study, and greatly affected the choice of language for the new Macanese generation. Unlike those in Category A who were all educated in the Portuguese language, some of the participants from the Category B group were educated in a different way, in that Cantonese and/or English were their major languages of education. This provision in alternative languages in the education system in Macau has become widely adopted by the parents of the Macanese in their late 20s and above, for the purpose of

preparing them for their future in the Chinese dominated labour market. As Noronha and Chaplin argue, after the Portuguese administration ended, the 'preference and priorities [in languages] have changed' (2011:411). Further to that, the Cantonese language has clearly been in higher demand in Macau, largely prompted by the impact of sinicization and rapid economic growth, which was followed by rising demands for English (in the education and tourism sectors) and, lastly, the Portuguese language has mainly been used in the judicial area. However, the Category A group's reaction to this changing context was largely negative. They laid the blame at the feet of the government, who they accused of being incompetent with regard to supporting the Portuguese language. As a result, and for the aim of better career prospects, many younger Macanese have opted not to be educated in Portuguese. This is supported by Noronha and Chaplin's study which found that future Macanese generations probably will not choose Portuguese as the choice of communication, but will choose to acquire high levels of literacy in either Chinese or English, or both (2011:422). Furthermore, language choice is also articulated in the socio-political changes that took place after the handover, whereby the aspirations of younger Macanese have changed in terms of how they anticipate being positioning in the labour market. This new reality requires that they do not exclusively rely on the Portuguese language to target civil service jobs as the previous generation did. I found that participants who had received multi-lingual education (as the education system in Macau usually comprised of two or three languages in the curriculum) were successful in the private sector and presented themselves as individuals with high aspirations who, like the Chinese, were willing to work hard and be independent and successful individuals. The evidence emerging from this study shows that some of the Macanese from Category B, who were proficient in Portuguese, showed no signs of surrendering it and perceived it as part of their ancestral roots and sense of family belonging (Giles and Johnson, 1985:206). Further, the evidence introduced in this study shows that not all participants who abandoned the Portuguese language did so as a consequence of feeling a sense of shame as previously demonstrated. The late 1970s, (Pina Cabral, 2002:31) along with the approach of the handover, were central in propelling new survival mechanisms and attempts at strategic positioning in light of the approach of Chinese rule. The switch from the Portuguese language to English and/or Cantonese was necessary to meet this

purpose, thus instrumentality, rather than shame, characterised this transition in language use for many participants.

Although the Portuguese language is less spoken in the local context, I found that this does not mean that the language has completely disappeared in Macau. In fact, the Portuguese language still has a role to play in terms of trade cooperation between China and the Portuguese speaking countries, although some assigned participants viewed the latter with some suspicion, suggesting that this role has been assigned by the central government of China to give 'face' to the Macanese community. All this being said, many participants believed that there has been a lack of conviction in the effort given to promoting the Portuguese language on the part of the Chinese government, even though, it is one of the official languages of the Macau SAR.

8.3.1 Forging alliances

In order to survive, Macanese from the two groups (Category A and Category B) employed different strategies to negotiate a set of risks, both as individuals and as a group, to position themselves for the purpose of surviving in the Chinese context. Without the Portuguese government's support, the Category B group was forced to take greater responsibility to endure uncertain outcomes in the wake of the handover. These uncertainties have to a lesser extent been responsible for inciting a 'gradual assimilation with the dominant culture' (Song, 2003:8). According to many participants, the most effective way to successfully achieve 'alignment' with the new Chinese reality was to forge an alliance with the Chinese population which dominates the economic and political sectors. As Song argues, 'the recognition and assertion of various ethnic identities presents us with the possibility of constructing alliances which acknowledges, rather than suppresses, the…visions of disparate groups' (2003:146). In the last 20 to 30 years, the Macanese have been observed as shifting in a dynamic way, in order to accentuate the multiplicity of the community's mixedness (Ali, 2003:171). As most of the Macanese (especially Category B) were educated overseas, their visions and perceptions of being racially mixed have been given new meaning, apparently departing from the norm of the previous generation where the notion to prioritise one ancestry over another had been evident. This is noticeable in Tizard and Phoenix's

study, where biracial individuals depicted more advantages than disadvantages in being mixed race (1993:161). Although it is assumed that in the future the Macanese may affiliate and disaffiliate move readily in order to align with whatever identity affords them the greatest opportunities for social mobility. The Category B's acknowledgement of their Portuguese and Chinese mixed parentage is still evident.

8.4 Re-affiliating with religion

Parental guidance is considered a central source in terms of their children's affiliation with a religion. This is particularly the case of the Macanese. It is how religious identity is reproduced amongst them as a Catholic community. However, it should not be assumed that such affiliated behaviour is consistent unless an on-going religious practice is adhered to (Wilson and Sandomirsky, 1991:306-307). The evidence from this study shows that some members from the Category B group lacked weekly or regular commitment to organised religious practice, even though most of them were brought up with parents who practiced the Catholic religion. However, there was no indication that their affiliation to religion has ceased to prevail. Some of the participants from the Category B group explicitly expressed that it was likely that they would return to Catholicism in the future. As Wilson and Sandomirsky's argued, people in general tend to become more conservative and seek to return to their religious faith in later life (1991:291). I found that the participants who articulated the necessity to seek out the church for help were those who thought that they might experience doubts or a crisis in the future. In addition, the younger participants who stopped practicing their religion similarly pronounced the possibility of returning to Catholicism when they grew older or had children of their own. However, this did not mean that all participants would return to Catholicism. It was apparent that the possibility of returning to religion was clearly demonstrated by some participants in the Category B group. As such they produced evidence of the virtue embedded in religion. This is consistent in Ysseldyk et al's study which suggested that religion conferred a feeling of belongingness and stability (2010:67). Many Macanese expressed this positive affiliation due to being formerly educated and brought up in a religious context, and regarded it as important that this tradition should be continued and passed on to the

next generation. However, the decision to affiliate or dis-affiliate with a religion is not necessarily an independent choice as the study found that the role of the spouse is significant in affecting how such a decision is made. As Wilson and Sandomirshy suggest, a non-affiliated spouse may, in some cases, undermine the chances of affiliating to a religion (1991:306). My contribution to the understanding of current Macanese religious practice in this thesis takes the form of elaborating on religious affiliation by looking at individual Macanese attributes, rather than affiliation solely as a consequence of family influence (Wilson and Sandomirsky, 1991:307). By exploring this I have brought new insights to this thesis, as religion has always been a mandatory communal practice and rarely associated with an individual's choice in the Macanese context. Perceived as an identity marker and regarded as one of three vectors to define a Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002:39), current religious practice, in contrast to the past, is weaker. In contemporary Macau, the church seemingly lacks the power to generate a committed and regularly attending Catholic community. Furthermore, intermarriages with other ethnicities that began in the mid-1970s will very likely continue to be the trend of the future for the Macanese (Pina Cabral, 1994:234; Yee, 2001:136-137). As such, Catholic affiliation might decrease in Macanese families in the future, whereas in some cases, religious practice may only be sustained and carried out as an individual attribution.

8.5 Food as a cultural practice

The role of women in society in light of the prospering labour market (both in the 1970s and after the opening of the gaming license) and a demotivated younger generation have proved pivotal in eroding traditional culinary practice. This study found that the desire for cooking Macanese food was less explicit and clearly not in the participants' list of important things to do. The evidence emerging from this study shows that Macanese cooking was less practiced and likely to survive only as a 'commodification of tradition' (Sutton, 2001:163) that helped people reminisce of the past and was celebrated verbally rather than practically engaged in. This supports Amaro's study, where she articulated that the Macanese and its cultural practice would gradually disappear and even those that managed to preserve their practice

would likely be absorbed by the dominant Chinese culture (1994:227). Although the outcome presented by the participants in relation to the culinary practice was largely undermined, this did not mean that Macanese food has disappeared. On the contrary, the culinary culture has achieved much success as a consumption commodity in the local tourism sector by emphasising its multi-ethnic features comprising Chinese and Portuguese influences amongst others.

8.6 Research findings

In this section, I will answer my primary research questions identified in the introduction and the literature review of this thesis. As Joseph (2004:152) argues, China represents the future and positioning one's identity with China serves the purpose of both ethnic and political deployment. As Hao notes, although the Macanese were in power during the Portuguese administration, many now felt the need to survive as well to maintain their social status as a minority group in a Chinese city (2011:170). In doing so, most Macanese sought to develop Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) language skills while a few strategically opted to acquire Chinese citizenship, to benefit from and adapt to the Chinese labour market. Some participants were aware that these would likely weaken their attachment to their Portuguese roots. Some studies have speculated that the Macanese will eventually cease to exist and will very possibly assimilate to become Chinese in light of their racially mixed heritage (Morbey, 1994:212). In contrast, there are studies that have argued that the Macanese affiliation is unilaterally Portuguese rooted (Da Silva, 2001:115; Hao, 2011:193-194). As such, there is very little exploration of the aspirations highlighted by my Category B participants, and their positionalities being shaped by the impact of the post-handover era. My study contributes to this knowledge by exploring this phenomenon and showing how the Macanese affirmed their perception of being racially mixed in this process. Despite the influence of sinicization, the findings emerging from this study show disparities and deviations from the above local studies where it is assumed that Macanese will simply become Chinese. In truth, none of the Macanese from Category B in this study articulated their desire to become Chinese, or even reflected the desire to assert a 'Macauan identity' which is created out of the

difference of Chinese and a Portuguese identity (Hao, 2011:198). Further to that, the participants of Category B acknowledgement of both parental ethnicities, is visible. In terms of the conflict between the Macanese and Chinese, most participants from Category B demonstrated a more optimistic view and were convinced that the situation would very likely improve in the future.

The post-handover was, on the whole, perceived as negative in that it would impose certain limits imposed by mainland China. As a minority group, many participants were sceptical that the Macanese community had the stamina to survive on their own, and had to reach out to the Macau government for financial support. As such, evidence showed that not only was consistent help provided by the government after the handover, but the Macanese were also provided with a 'space' and freedom from constraint for their group, allowing cultural traditions to flourish and be preserved. Although the Chinese culture was comparatively stronger, it was not considered subversive. Some participants believe the Macanese culture has the potential to survive. However, it is important for the new generation to acknowledge its difference in order to prevent it from disappearing, as Filipe confirms:

> *It all depends on this awareness. If this awareness makes sense to the younger generation, we should keep being different. It is worthwhile to feel different or should we just embrace the common culture that surrounds us…We should be aware, then this sense of different in this awareness of our background history of our community that are, I think is the fundamental to us preserving the Macanese community.*
>
> *(Filipe is in his mid-50s).*

Some studies have presumed the Macanese identity, culture and traditions would be absorbed by the monolithic Chinese culture (Zepp, 1991:161; Amaro, 1994:227). There are those who have contested if there even is a Macanese culture (Morbey, 1994:208). Filipe's quotation serves to refute this by affirming that a Macanese culture does, in fact, exist. Its characteristic is not the result of one but an array of elements comprising mainly Portuguese and Chinese, amongst others influences which make it different and

unique. Furthermore, the study found that the undermining of Macanese culture, particularly in the context of religion and food was not being caused by absorption into the dominant Chinese culture. I found that it was the Macanese lack of interest in these practices, their preoccupation with positioning in the labour market, which were crucial and which have ultimately prevented these cultural practices from prospering. In fact, the sinicized impact on the Portuguese language was more explicit, where it has become far less of a choice for academic and conversational purposes.

For some participants, Macanese should be comprised of dual facets: the individual as well as the community, which are closely intertwined. This was how it should be perceived and analysed under this distinctive structure, in order to 'complete' a Macanese and understand how they should be identified. This is evident in Jenkins, who argues that individuals who share 'a similar situation…define themselves accordingly as members of a collectivity' (2010:43). This collectivity functions as a brand to define and be defined by others in terms of how Macanese should be perceived and acknowledged. It would become senseless or superficial if only the individual context is observed, and the group context is lost, even though some negative stereotypes (Pina Cabral, 2002:44-45) may be evoked from it. One could perhaps argue that about the reasons why some individuals have opted out of their membership from the Macanese community are as result of this. As such, the assertion by younger generation of their mixed race identities was relatively more visible, in spite of how the degree to which Macau has become sinicized.

8.7 Contributions of this research

In conclusion, this thesis is making an original contribution to knowledge the following ways:

Firstly, in this thesis I have explored the Macanese community in relation to the impact of the post-handover era which very little Western and Chinese academic research has thus far tried to cover. In this study the Macanese sample allowed me to explore the intergenerational differences in how they managed and negotiated to survive by acknowledging the context of Chinese-ness in the contemporary Macau. The diversity

of perceptions and experiences on account of their age and background, and relations with the past and present administrations, allowed this study to examine their dispositions and compare why such different tactics were deployed.

This thesis also contributes an understanding of why the Macanese have to employ the process of 'passing' after the post-handover era, to access benefits. In this context the Macanese sample group challenges the presumption of the Western concept of 'passing' which is to gain white supremacy (Ali, 2003:13; Song, 2003:69), but rather underpins Ong's (1997:7) study which suggests the process in 'passing' is for a non-white 'Chinese' status, in order to obtain certain economic benefits. This provides an understanding that the aspiration in shifting is interrelated to the socio-political context where the Macanese chose to affiliate or dis-affiliate for the aim of self-interest.

This research has also contributed to the recognition of how groupness rooted is rooted in language, and how it has gradually eroded as a consequence of the 1999 handover in Macau. A number of studies have documented the significance of the Portuguese language that served to confer status with the aim of positioning the context of 'Portugueseness' above the majority population who were Chinese (賈淵、陸凌梭：《颱風之鄉-澳門土生族羣動態》(澳門：澳門文化司署，1995)，頁 44; Yee, 2001:134; Pina Cabral, 2002:38;). Now, many Macanese are refraining from speaking the Portuguese language. In this study, I have noted how the change of administrations was crucial to instigate the decision to opt out of using the Portuguese language, as well as the identity yields from using the language.

Religion is termed one of the three vectors to describe a Macanese (Pina Cabral, 2002:39). In recent years the reduction in power of the local Catholic Church, together with the dwindling religious community, clearly highlights that this cultural practice is dissipating. My contribution in this study explores the religious affiliation, by looking at the Category B sample's progress, given that their challenge on account of their ages to sustain this practice is significantly higher. Furthermore, my findings tell me that religious affiliation has the potential to survive. As the majority of the younger Macanese (Category B sample) are in the labour market, their current dis-affiliation

from religious practice may not reflect their disposition in the future. In truth, there are signs that some of the participants are returning to Catholicism when they grow older or have children of their own. Hence, we cannot conclude that the religious identity will become extinguished. Since this area has rarely been explored or challenged, further research will be useful to study the outcome of these younger people's disposition and their task with regard to sustaining cultural practices.

Some studies that were written before the handover asserted the Macanese will likely discard their Portuguese identity and become Chinese (Da Silva, 2001:115; Hao, 2011:193-194). Despite the shift in language from Portuguese to Cantonese, this study shows that, particularly in the case of the younger group, many were proud of their racially mixed identities. This is evident in the literature which studies biracial individuals who acknowledge both ethnic parentages (Kerwin et al, 1993:228; Tizard and Phoenix, 1993:62; Thornton, 1996:113; Root, 1996:13). This is an important contribution to the study of the younger Macanese generation, their aspirations, and how they position and perceive themselves as racially mixed individuals in the post-handover period. The study found that the majority of them are proud of their racially mixed identities and expressed no desire or intention to become Chinese (Hao, 2011:193-194).

8.8 Limitations of this research

I will now move on to the limitations identified in this study and suggest ideas for future research to tackle some of the challenges involved in researching this racially mixed group.

One of the major limitations found in this study is the fact that communication between the Macanese as a group is poorly executed. The cultural practices in religion and food suffered to a great extent as a consequence of a lack of motivation and encouragement. This may be slightly remedied if both generations sought a way to sustain their culture by conversing more. This study found that the younger people were often accused of disinterest in sustaining their cultural practices yet there was no significant encouragement or motivation from the older Macanese to draw their

attention to safeguarding these cultural practices. Family members might be helpful by marking, explaining and passing on such practices to their own children, perhaps when congregating on feast days and traditional Macanese cultural occasions.

8.8.1 Exiting problems in the Macanese community

Another possible limitation of this study is that the Macanese community is, on the whole not united. An intrinsic division still exists, particularly between groups and associations in which members intentionally avoid taking part. The tension was the result of the perceived hierarchical structure which, as many participants acknowledged, still exists. Some participants pointed out that one of the Macanese associations still used the Portuguese language to recruit new members. Although other associations were more flexible in using more than one language, there was always the tendency to fall back on the use of Portuguese. In order to obscure this division and for the benefit of accessing a more inclusive atmosphere, the Macanese associations could consider engaging a multi-lingual approach due to the fact that many Macanese do not possess proficiency in the Portuguese language. This might be helpful to reduce the divisions, and might even enhance the sense of group cohesion in the future in the long run. Given the complexity of intergenerational differences present in the Macanese context, further research could explore this division and conduct a comparative study to explore the disparities, from the perceptions of two different generations. It would also be advisable for researchers to continue to study and monitor both generations' dispositions and aspirations to better understand their evolution and cohesiveness as Macanese individuals and as a community.

I wished I could have increased my sample of participants to incorporate a few more Macanese from the diaspora group, but unfortunately including the older and younger generations who live outside of Macau was outside the scope and budget of this thesis.

I also wished that I could have included some of the returnees, that is, Macanese who had returned from Portugal and elsewhere to work in the hospitality industry. Their perspectives as returnees would have enriched the research and added yet another

layer in terms of comparisons (between stayers and returnees). Perhaps this will be an option for my post-doctoral research.

Appendix A

Interview questions

-Can you tell me a bit about your family history?
-What do you think are the main changes of Macau after 1999?
-What do you think are the main changes are for the Macanese after 1999?
-Do you think everything should become Chinese?
-Have you experienced any changes between (a) the older generation (b) the younger generation (c) your generation?
-The following four key areas are particularly interested to me (1) culture (2) language (3) Identity (4) younger generation.

Culture:	**Language:**	**Identity:**
-Do you think there is a Macanese culture? -What are the main characteristics of this culture? -Do you think it should be preserved? -How should the Macanese culture be preserved? -Do you think the younger generation will preserve this culture? -Can you name some of the threats to the preservation of the Macanese? -Will the Macanese culture continue to prosper or will it disappear? -Do you think there is anything about the Macau culture and ethnicity which contradicts each other? -Do you connect more with the Portuguese or the Chinese national anthem?	-Do you think the language in Macau for the Macanese is changing? Can you give some examples? -What are some of the major influences in the language use? (in the social economic sector, in the administration?) -What is the cause of the Macanese language option? -What is the linguistic future for Macau? -Do you think the Macanese have adapted to the linguistic changes in Macau? Can you give some examples? -What do you think is the younger generation's linguistic choice?	-Do you think the Macanese identity has changed after 1999? -Are you aware that the Macanese identity will disappear? -How would you describe yourself in terms of your identity? -Do you think Macanese will appropriate or resist the Chinese identity? -Do you think everyone in Macau should become Chinese? -What do you think the younger generation choice of identity? -Do you think there is a gender privilege in Macau? Can you give examples? -Do you think Macanese is very complicated or do you think it is quite simple? -What do you think of the woman status compared with the past and now?

-Besides language, identity and culture, what are other changes of the Macanese in Macau?

-Are there any other things you want to tell about the things we have discussed?

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: The Impact of Younger Macanese after the Decolonised Macau

Researcher: Margarida Cheung Vieira

Ethics number: 3560

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a part-time PhD student in Sociology at the University of Southampton. My research aims to examine the impact of the decolonization of Macau on younger Macanese.

In particular my study aims to examine:

- The insights of those who have experienced the handover on the attributes of the local younger Macanese generation in contemporary Macau.
- Their views on dispositions towards identity, language and culture after the handover back to China.
- The issue of the mixed race community.

Why am I chosen for this research?

This research requires participants who have lived or stayed in Macau during the colonial period until the present to identify their views on the rapid socio-political and economic changes in Macau in relation to the Macanese younger generation's and their future.

What should I do to take part in this interview?

You will be asked to reply to questions with regard to Macau and the Macanese community's dispositions before and after its return to China. The whole process will take approximately 1 hour, and it will be taped with your approval.

Will the information I provide be kept in anonymity?

I have received authorization from the Ethics Committee of the School of Social Sciences of the University of Southampton to conduct this interview. Our conversation will be recorded but only upon your consent; if for any reason you do not wish to continue or refuse to participate or feel uncomfortable to answer any question, you are free to refrain from the interview at any time without any legal rights being affected. Furthermore, this research will not discuss or hint at any trace of your identity to a third party and the data collected will be kept on a password computer in confidentiality under my protection during/after the completion of the interview.

What contribution will I achieve for taking part in this research?

Your insights for this research are pivotal for the studying in relation to the sustainability of the Macanese community and its prospects, chiefly due to a severe lack of serious academic research on this mixed race community. I therefore sincerely request that you consent to this interview by signing the Consent Form which is attached with the Participant Information Sheet.

I have included the contacts of Dr. Martina Prude, Head of Research Governance and my supervisor, Professor Pauline Leonard, in case if there are any queries or complaints pertaining to the interview.

Dr. Martina Prude,
Head of Research Governance,
University of Southampton,
Phone: +44 2380 595058
Email: mad4@soton.ac.uk

Professor Pauline Leonard,
Sociology, Social Policy & Applied Social Sciences
Social Sciences
University of Southampton
Southampton, SO17 1BJ
Email: pleonard@soton.ac.uk

Version 1 February 2013

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM (*No.1*)

Study title: The Impact of Younger Macanese after the Decolonised Macau

Researcher name: Margarida Cheung Vieira

Ethics reference: 3560

Please tick each box below to confirm your consent to participate in this research:

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet (*Version 1 February 2013*) and agree to participate and be interviewed for the above research project.	☐
I consent to allow my data to be used for the purpose of this research.	☐
I understand my participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question in the interview without any penalty affected.	☐
I consent to have the interview recorded for the purpose of this research.	☐

Data Protection

I understand that all personal data collected in this research study will be kept anonymous, and will be used only for this project, and be kept in a password protected computer under the researcher's protection.

Name of participant (print name)……

Signature of participant……..

Date……

List of References

Alexander, C., Edwards, R. & Temple, B. (2007) Contesting Cultural Communities: Language, Ethnicity and Citizenship in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33:5, 783-800.

Ali S. (2003)a. *Mixed-race, Post-race: Gender, New Ethnicities and Cultural Practices*. Oxford: Berg.

Ali, S. (2012)b. Situating Mixed Race Politics. In Edwards, E., Ali, S., Caballero, C., & Song, M. (eds.) *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixedness and Mixing.* Oxon: Routledge.

Amaro, A.M. (1994) The Macanese: A Changing Society. *Review of Culture*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 213-237.

Anthias, F. (2001) The Concept of 'Social Division' and Theorising Social Stratification: Looking at Ethnicity and Class. *Sociology,* 35:4, 835-854.

Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1992) *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-racist Struggle.* London: Routledge.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987) Borderlands: La Frontera. In Rivkin, J. & Ryan, M. (eds.) *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (2nd ed.) Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Appiah, K. A. (1994) *Race, Culture Identity: Misunderstood Connections,* lectures on human values, University of California at San Diego, delivered 27 & 28 October, 1994.

Aspinall, P. J. & Song, M. (2013) Is race a 'salient…'or 'dominant identity' in the early 21st century: The evidence of UK survey data on respondents' sense of who they are. *Social Science Research,* 42:2, 547-561.

Auer, P. (2005) A Postscript: Code-switching and Social Identity. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 37, 403-410.

Beck U. & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2012) *Individualization*. London: Sage.

List of References

BelaMacau (2007) Filhos da Terra 澳・土・Sons of the Land [Online] Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wI9osSzbnvA [Accessed on 24/10/2014].

Berlie, J. (1997) Macau's Society and Economy: An Essay on Political Economy, Social Change and Prospects. In Ramos, R., Rocha Dinis, J., Wilson, R., & Yuan, D.Y. (eds.) *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century*. Macau: Welfare Printing Co. Ltd.

Berlie, J.A. (1999) Society and Economy. In Berlie, J.A. (ed.) *Macao 2000.* NY: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha. H. (1994)a. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (1996)b. Culture's In-Between. In Hall, S. & Du Gay, P. (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London: Sage.

Blumer H. (2012) Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. In Gallagher, C.A. (ed.) (5th edition) *Rethinking the Color Line: Readings in Race and Ethnicity.* New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

Blunt, A. (2005)a. Cultural Geography: Cultural Geographies of Home. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29: 4, 505-515.

Blunt, A. (2005)b. *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and The Spatial Politics of Home.* USA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bottero, W. (2005) *Stratification: Social division and Inequality.* Oxon: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3:2, 77-101.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (2015, January 2) *Macau's Gambling Revenue Hit with First Annual Fall*. Available:http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-30654190 [Accessed on 2/1/2015].

Bryman, A. (1984) The Debate about Quantitative and Qualitative Research: A Question of Method or Epistemology? The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 35, No.1 (Mar.,1984) pp.75-92.

Chan, K. M. (2003) Different Roads to Home: the Retrocession of Hong Kong and Macau to Chinese Sovereignty. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 12:36, 493-518.

Charmaz, K. (2003) Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis. In Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*. California: Sage.

Chavez, C. (2008) Conceptualizing from the Inside: Advantages, Complications, and Demands on Insider Positionality. *The Qualitative Report*, 13:3, 474-494.

Cheng, C. M. B. (1999) *Macau: A Cultural Janus.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Cheng, T. (2003) Macau's colonial blood drains away. Available; http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/in/asia-pacific/3113027.stm [Accessed on 28/8/2014].

Chivallon, c. (2001) Religion as Space for the Expression of Caribbean Identity in the United Kingdom. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 19:4, 461-483.

Choi, S. (2015) Stories of Former Illegal Immigrants who fled to Macau during the 70s 'In search of Freedom and a Better Life'. *Macau Daily Times.* Available:http://macaudailytimes.com.mo/stories-former-illegal-immigrants-fled-macau-70s-search-freedom-better-life.html. [Accessed on 30/1/2015].

Chong, K. H. (1998) What it means to be Christian: The Role of Religion in the Construction of Ethnic Identity and Boundary Among Second-generation Korean Americans. *Sociology of Religion,* 59:3, 259-286.

Clayton, C. H. (2013)b. *Macau's 'Sort-of Sovereignty'. The Focus*, Summer 2013. Available:http://iias.asia/sites/default/files/IIAS_NL64_2627.pdf [Accessed on 21/9/2016].

List of References

Coates, A. (1978) *A Macao Narrative*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. (2006) Exploring 'Quality': Research Participants' Perspectives on Verbatim Quotations. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9:2, 97-10.

Counihan, C. & Van Esterik, P. (1997) Introduction. In Counihan, C. & Van Esterik, P. (eds.) *Food and Culture.* New York: Routledge.

Crawford, S. E. & Alaggia, R. (2008) The Best of Both Worlds?: Family Influences on Mixed Race Youth Identity Development. *Qualitative Social Work,* 7(1): 81-98.

Cultural Affairs Bureau. Macau Patrimonio Mundial. Available:http://www.macauheritage.net/wh/indexe.asp [Accessed on 21/12/2016].

Da Silva, A. M. P. J. (2009) Diaspora Macaense to California. Macau: Associação Promotora do Instrução dos Macaenses.

Da Silva, R. J. B. (2001) *The Macanese Identity: Macau*: Macau: Macau International Institute.

Delamont, S. (1995) *Appetites and Identities: An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe.* London: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000) The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd edition)*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

Doling (1998) *Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey.* Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publications (Asia) Ltd., Hong Kong.

Edwards, J. (2009) *Language and Identity.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, C. & Berger, L. (2003) Their Story/My Story/Our Story. In Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*. California: Sage.

Fan, Y. (2002) Questioning Quanxi: Definition, Classification and Implications. *International Business Review,* 11, 543-561.

Fanon, F. (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Faure G. O. & Fang, T. (2008) Changing Chinese Values: Keeping up with Paradoxes. *International Business Review*, 17, 194-207.

Fenton, S. (2010) *Ethnicity*. (2nd ed.) UK: Polity.

Flick, U. (2014) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. (5th edition) London: Sage.

Flynn, M. Dr. (2007) Reconstructing 'Home/lands' in the Russian Federation: Migrant-Centred Perspectives of Displacement and Resettlement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33:3, 461-481.

Fung, A. (2001)a. What makes the Local? A Brief Consideration of the Rejuvenation of Hong Kong Identity. *Cultural Studies*, 15:3-4, 591-601.

Fung, A. (2004)b. 'Postcolonial Hong Kong Identity: Hybridising the Local and the National'. *Social Identities*, 10:3, 399-414.

Furlong, A. & Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change: Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity.* Burkingham: Open University Press.

Giles, H. & Johnson, P. (1985) The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In Turner, J. C. & Giles, H. (eds.) *Intergroup Behaviour.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Greenlees, D. (2007) Catholicism faces Crisis in Booming Gambling Mecca of Macau. *Taipei Times* [online] 29/12/2007 Available:http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/print/2007/12/29/2003394763 [Accessed on 17/6/2013].

Gunn, G. C. (2005) *Encountering Macau: A Portuguese City-State of the Periphery of China, 1557-1999.* Macau: Tipografia Macau Hung Heng Ltd.

Hall, S. (1994)a. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Williams, R. & Chrisman, L. (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hall, S. (1996)b. Who Needs 'Identity'? In Hall, S. and Du Gay, P. (eds.) *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage.

List of References

Hannabuss, S. (1996) Research Interviews. *New Library World*, 97:5, 22-30.

Hao, Z. (2011) *Macau History and Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Hemming P. J. & Madge, N. (2011) Researching Children, Youth and Religion: Identity, Complexity and Agency. *Childhood,* 19:38.

Hogg, M. (1987) Social Identity and Group Cohesiveness. In Turner, J. C. et al. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Holstzman, J. D. (2006) Food and Memory, *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 35:361-378.

Jenkins, R. (2010) *Social Identity*. (3rd ed.) Oxon: Routledge.

Jacobs, A. (2011) Distinct Mix Holds on in a Corner of China. *The New York Times.* Available:http://nytimes.com/2011/02/08/world/asia/08macao.html?-r=3 [Accessed on 8/4/2015].

Jorge, C. (2004) *Macanese Cooking: a Journey across Generations*. Macau: Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses.

Joseph, J. E. (2004) *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious.* London: Palgrave.

Kaiser, C. R. et al. (2009) Group identification moderates attitudes toward ingroup members who confront discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* vol 45:4, 770-777.

Kerwin, C. et al. (1993) Racial Identity in Biracial Children: A Qualitative Investigation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 40:2, 221-231.

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009) *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* California: Sage.

King, A. Y. C. (1985) The Individual and Group in Confucianism: A Relational Perspective. In Munro D. (ed.) *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values*. Center for Chinese Studies Publications: University of Michigan.

Lages, A. (2009) Forum review: Chinese and Lusofonia trade a success. *Macau Daily Times*. Available: www.macaudailytimes.com.mo/macau/8648-Forum-review-Chinese-and-Lusofonia-trade-success.html? [Accessed on 2/2/2010].

Lam, W. M. (2010) Promoting Hybridity: The Politics of the New Macau Identity. *The China Quarterly*, 203, 656-674.

Lee, J. (2011) Toward a Parallel Corpus of Spoken Cantonese and Written Chinese, *Proceedings of the 5th International Joint Conference on National Language Processing*. Chiang Mai, Thailand, November 8-13.

Leitão, L. (2011) Drowning, not waving. *Macau Business*, December 2011, 72-74.

Leonard, P. (2010) Work, Identity and Change? Post/Colonial Encounters in Hong Kong. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Series*, 36:8, 1247-1263.

Leung, P. (2009) Gary Ngai Mei Cheong: Where're the people to make Macau International? *Macau Daily Times*. Available: https://poyileung.wordpress.com/2009/12/23/gary-ngai-mei-cheong-wherere-the-people-to-make-macau-international/ [Accessed on 8/4/2014]

Li, D. C. S. (1997) Borrowed identity: Signaling Involvement with a Western Name. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 28, 489-513.

Lo, S. H. (2007)a. Casino Politics, Organized Crime and the Post-Colonial State in Macau. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 14:43, 207-224.

Lo, S. H. (2008)b. *Political Change in Macao*. Oxon: Routledge.

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. H. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*. (3rd ed.) Belfmont, California: Wadsworth.

Lopez, G. L. et al. (2008) Translation Barriers in Conducting Qualitative Research with Spanish Speakers. *Qualitative Health Research,* 18:12, 1729-1737.

Luke, C. & Luke, A. (1999) Theorizing Interracial Families and Hybrid Identity: An Australian Perspective. *Educational Theory*, 49: 223-249.

List of References

Ma. E. K. W. & Fung, A. Y. H. (2007) Negotiating Local and National Identifications: Hong Kong Identity Surveys 1996-2006. *Asian Journal of Communication*, Vol.17, Iss.2, 172-185.

Macau Daily Times. 2012. *Macau's economic diversification: Casinos & Heritage*. *Macau Daily Times*. Available: http://www.macaudailytimes.com.mo/extra-times/essay/39001-macau%E2%80%99s-e... [Accessed on 17/2/2014.

Mead, G. H. (1962) *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

McCartney, G. J. (2005) Casinos as a Tourism Redevelopment Strategy – The Case of Macao. *Journal of Macau Gaming Research Association Issue,* 2, 40-54.

McGivering, J. (1999) *Macao Remembers*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press (China) Ltd.

Mendonça, N. (2009) Portuguese Culture Made in Macau: Resisting and Growing. *Macau Closer*. Available: http://www.macaucloser.com/older_issues/MacauCLOSER_site_march_2009/portuguese_culture.html [Accessed on 20/7/2012].

Morbey, J. (1994) Aspects of the 'Ethnic Identities' of the Macanese. *Review of Culture*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 203-212.

Munro, D. J. (1985) Introduction. In Munro, D. J. (ed.) *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values.* MI: Center for Chinese Studies Publications, University of Michigan.

Moura, N. (2016, July) Coming Home. *Macau Business*, [online] 29/07/2016. Available: http://macaubusinessdaily.com/Society/Coming-home [Accessed on 8/9/2016].

Noronha, M & Chaplin, I. (2011) Researching Changing Language Learning Identities for Ethnic Minority Education Policy Formulation: A Case Study of Macau S.A.R., China. *Filologia Linguistica Portuguesa*, 13:2, 409-440.

O'Connor, P. (2004) The Conditionality of Status: Experience-based Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Issue. *Australian Geographer*, 35:2, 169-176.

O' Keeffe, K. (2014, December) Chinese President to Visit Macau, Where Stakes are high. *The Wall Street Journal.* Available:http://www.wsj.com/articles/chinese-president-to-visit-macau-where-stakes-are-high-1418850002 [Accessed on 20/4/2015].

Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Parker, D. & Song, M. (2001) *Introduction: Rethinking 'Mixed Race'*. London: Pluto Press.

Payne G. (2006) An Introduction to 'Social Divisions'. In Payne, G. (ed.) *Social Divisions*. (2nd ed.) N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pieterse, J. N. (2001) Hybridity, So What? The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18:2-3, 219-245.

Pina-Cabral, J. D & Lourenço. N (1994) Person Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity: Naming Practices among the Eurasians of Macao. *Social Anthropology*, 2:2, 115-132.

Pina Cabral, J. D. (1994)a. The 'Ethnic' Composition of Macao. *Review of Culture*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 229-239.

Pina Cabral, J. D. (2002)c. *Between China and Europe: Person, Culture and Emotion in Macao.* London: Continuum.

Pinho, A. (1991) Gambling in Macau. In Cremer, R. D. (ed.) *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture.* (2nd ed.) Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Plummer, K. (1983) *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005) Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52:2, 137-145.

List of References

Root, M. P. P. (1996) *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier.* California: Sage.

Rose, G. (1995) Place and Identity: A Sense of Place. In Massey, D. & Jess, P. (eds.) *A Place in the world? Places, Cultures and Globalization.* London: Oxford University Press.

Sarup M. (1994) Home and Identity. In Robertson et al. (eds.) *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement.* London: Routledge.

Scott, J. (1996)a. *Stratification and Power: Structures of Class, Status and Command*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Shipp, S. (1997) *Macau, China*. North Carolina: McFarland.

Smith, R. C. (2003) Analytic Strategies for Oral History Interviews. In Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds.) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*. California: Sage.

Solomos, J. and Back, L. (1996) Racism and Society. Hampshire. Macmillan Press. Ltd.

Snow, D. B. (2004) *Cantonese as written language; the growth of a written Chinese vernacular*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Spickard, P. R. (1992) The Illogic of American Racial Categories. In Root M. P. P. (ed.) *Racially Mixed People in America*. California: Sage.

Song, M. (2003)a. *Choosing Ethnic Identity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Song, M. (2010)b. Is there 'a' Mixed Race Group in Britain? The Diversity of Multiracial Identification and Experience. *Critical Social Policy*, 30:337

Song, M. (2010)c. Does 'race' matter? A study of 'mixed race' siblings' identifications. *The Sociological Review,* 58:2, 265-285.

Song, M. (2012)d. Making sense of 'mixture': states and the classification of 'mixed' people. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35:4, 565-573.

Statistics and Census Service (DSEC) Estimate population of Macau. Available:http://www.dsec.gov.mo/default.aspex?noredirect=true [Assessed on 8/10/2014].

Stonequist, E.V. (1935) The Problem of the Marginal Man. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1, 1-12.

Stroobants, V. (2005) Stories about leaving in Narrative Biographical Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18:1, 47-61.

Sutton, D. E. (2001) *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. Oxford: Berg.

Teixeira, M. (1994) The Macanese. *Review of Culture*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 85-127.

Temple, B. & Edwards, R. (2002) Interpreters/Translators and Cross-Language Research: Reflexivity and Border Crossings. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1:2.

Thornton M. C. (1992)a. Is Multiracial Status Unique? The Person and Social Experience. In Root M. P. P. (ed.) *Racially Mixed People in America*. California: Sage.

Thornton M. C. (1996)b. Hidden Agendas, Identity Theories, and Multiracial People. In Roots, M. P. P. (ed.)*The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier.* California: Sage.

Tizard, B. & Pheonix, A. (1993)a. *Black White or Mixed Race? Race and Racism in the Lives of Young People of Mixed Parentage.* London: Routledge.

Tizard, B. & Pheonix, A. (1995)b. The Identity of Mixed Parentage Adolescents. *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol.36, 8, pp.1399-1410.

Valentine, G. (1999) Eating in: Home, Consumption and Identity. *The Sociology Review*, 492-522.

Waters, M.C. (1990) *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America.* London: University of California Press.

Watts, I. E. (1997) Mediating Cultural Identities: Three Macanese Women in the Transition. In Ramos, R., Rocha Dinis, J., Wilson, R., & Yuan, D.Y. (eds.) *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century*. Macau: University of Macau.

List of References

Wei, G. C. X. (2014) Macao: A Cosmopolitan/Global City. In Wei, G. C. X. (ed.) *Macao – The Formation of a Global City.* New York: Routledge.

Williams, T. K. (1996) Race as Process: Reassessing the "What Are You?" Encounters of Biracial Individuals. In Roots, M. (ed.)*The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier.* California: Sage.

Wilson, J. and Sandomirsky, S. (1991) Affiliation and the Family. *Sociology Forum*, Vol.6, No.2, 289-309.

Wong, C. (1997) Sons of Macau: Cultural Identity in Macanese Literature as viewed through Patois Dramas. In Ramos, R., Rocha Dinis, J., Wilson, R., & Yuan, D.Y. (eds.) *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century*. Macau: University of Macau.

Wu, Z. (1999) Segredos da Sobrevivência - história Política de Macau. Macau: Tipografia Hung Heng.

Yan Y. (2009) *The Individualization of Chinese Society*. Oxford: Berg.

Yee, H.S. (2001) *Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region*. New York: Palgrave.

Young, Jr A. A. (2004) Experiences in Ethnographic Interviewing about Race: The Inside and Outside of It. In Bulmer M. & Solomos, J. (eds.) *Researching Race and Racism*. London: Routledge.

Young, R. J. C. (1995) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race.* London: Routledge.

Ysseldyk, R. et al. (2010) Religiosity as Identity: Toward an Understanding of Religion from a Social Identity Perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14:1, 60-71.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. Patterns of Prejudice, 40:3, 197-214.

Zabielskis, P. (2014) Faith and Property: Pressures of Development and Change on the Kwan Tai – Tin Hau in Cheok Ka Chun, Taipa, Macao. In Wei, G. C. X. (ed.) *Macao – The Formation of a Global City*. New York: Routledge.

Zepp. R. A. (1991) Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures. In Cremer, R. D. (ed.) *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture.* (2nd ed.) Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

賈淵,陸淩梭:（颱風之鄉-澳門土生族群動態), 澳門文化叢書（澳門:澳門文化司署,1995).