

# **The Basic Features and Development Trend of the Political Ecology of Macao after its Return**

**FENG Bangyan, HE Xiaojing\***

Political ecology refers to the state of the integration of various elements of political system and its development trend after the increasing separation of civil society from the political state. Based on the discussion of the basic features of the political ecology in Macao, this article analyzes some new trends taking place in the political ecology of Macao since Macao's return to the motherland ten years ago, especially after the exposure of the case of Ao Man Long: the administration of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) is increasingly counterbalanced and supervised by the Legislative Council, the political forces are increasingly diversified and the middle class is rising. So, this article proposes several pieces of advice on the improvement of the political ecology in Macao, including paying attention to the improvement and strengthening of the administration of the SAR and enforcing the supervisory function of the Legislative Council, promoting the reform and transformation of the traditional non-governmental associations, accelerating the cultivation of talents who participate in the administration and discussion of state affairs, paying attention to the political demands of the middle class, intellectuals, civil servants and Macanese and improving continuously the sense of citizenship and creating conditions for development of democratic politics.

## **I. Basic features of the current political ecology in Macao**

Political ecology refers to the state of the integration of various elements of political system and its development trend after the increasing separation of civil society from the political state, including the relationship between the respective parts of the organizational structure of a political system itself and that between the political system and its environment, and the political phenomenon occurring therefrom. In accordance with the analysis approach of ecology, the political ecology can be classified into three levels: internal ecology within the political system, ecology of politics-society, and the ecology of politics-society-nature. Under such system, the basic features of the political ecology in Macao are as follows:

### **1.1 Constitutional status of the policies of “One Country, Two Systems”, “Macao People Ruling Macao” and a high degree of autonomy**

The constitution and the laws are the expression of and safeguard for the political, economic

---

\* The former is a professor and Ph.D. supervisor at the College of Economics of Jinan University; the latter is a master candidate at the College of Economics of Jinan University.

and cultural system. Therefore, the primary meaning of modern rule of law is the constitutionalism.<sup>1</sup> Macao has never been a political entity, instead, it is only an administrative entity, an important component of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The policy of "One Country, Two Systems" is an institutional innovation to the traditional political model, and the unification of sovereignty and administration was realized after Macao returned to the motherland. The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administration Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter as "the Basic Law") acknowledge in the form of law the constitutional status of policies of "One Country, Two Systems", "Macao people ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy.

It should be emphasized here that the relationship between the Macao SAR and the Central People's Government is not a relationship of separation of powers under federalism, the high degree of autonomy enjoyed by Macao is authorized by the National People's Congress (NPC), and the Macao SAR does not enjoy any powers other than authorized. Meanwhile, under the supervision of the Central Authorities, Macao enjoys legislative power with a high degree of autonomy and legislative supervision power which is distinctive from that of the People's Congresses in the mainland in the forms of filing for record and taking effect; further, the Legislative Council enjoys special powers of approval, supervision and veto and the Legislative Council shall be composed of permanent residents of the SAR. All these provisions are the sufficient expression of the principle of "Macao People Ruling Macao". Therefore, the constitutional status of Macao and its political model not only maintain the unification of the state sovereignty and the completeness of the state territory, but also symbolize the guidelines and policies of "One Country, Two Systems", "Macao People Ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy.

### **1.2 The executive-led allocation of powers and its operational mechanism**

By "executive-led", we mean that the Chief Executive is the center of political power, the executive power is predominant as compared to legislative and judicial power. The executive-led administration has advantages of prompt decision-making and high efficiency.<sup>2</sup> As some scholars pointed out, Macao and Hong Kong are special administrative regions with a high degree of autonomy directly under the Central People's Government, and they are not political entities. So, the western systems such as separation of powers, presidential system or cabinet system are not applicable to them. Instead, it is necessary to establish a new executive-led, judicially independent administrative system with the executive and the legislature checking and cooperating with each other based on the actual situation in each respective SAR.<sup>3</sup> The main features of the executive-led administration implemented in Macao under the Basic Law are as follows:

Firstly, with respect to the executive authorities, the Chief Executive of the Macao SAR is the head of various powers who may exercises powers to initiate legislation, to decide on government policies and to issue administrative regulations. The Chief Executive also has power to appoint principal officials, a certain number of members of legislative council, judges, procurators and members of the executive council, such appointment can be made without the approval of the Legislative Council and any disputes resulting from such appointment cannot resort to litigation procedures. Further, the Chief Executive has power to sign acts. Significant issues and administrative decisions relating to the SAR on the whole shall be signed by the Chief Executive before they are carried out. The executive authorities shall carry out their work under the leadership

of the Chief Executive and shall carry out the decisions made by the Chief Executive.

Secondly, with respect to the executive authorities and legislature, an executive-led, legislature-supervised political structure is established. The exercise of power by the SAR Legislative Council is to certain extent checked by the executive power. For example, a certain number of members of the Legislative Council are appointed by the Chief Executive. Further, if the Chief Executive considers that a bill passed by the Legislative Council is not compatible with the overall interests of the SAR, he or she may return it to the Legislative Council for reconsideration. The Chief Executive also has power to dissolve the Legislative Council if he or she refuses to sign a bill passed the second time by the Legislative Council or the Legislative Council refuses to pass a budget introduced by the government.

With reference to the principle of balance of power from the representative democracy, the Basic Law establishes a sound supervision mechanism with mutual check of executive power and legislative power so as to avoid dominance by only one power, corruptions and bribes which are often denounced by the Macao residents.

Thirdly, with respect to the executive authorities and judiciary, the judiciary is relatively independent. The courts of the Macao SAR shall exercise judicial power independently. They shall be subordinated to nothing but law and shall not be subject to any interference and are not accountable to anyone or any institutions including the executive authorities and the Chief Executive. The judiciary supervision of the executive authorities is realized through adjudicating administrative suits, and the legislative power is also supervised to some extent through constitutional review.

The internal ecology of Macao's political system with features such as that of the principles of "One Country, Two Systems", "Macao people ruling Macao" and Executive-led administration can well coordinate the relationship between the Macao society and the SAR Government, that among the Macao executive, legislature and judiciary and that between the Macao residents and the SAR administration. Meanwhile, it also helps Macao to improve continuously the organizational structure within the political system and the efficiency of administration through gradual reforms, and to ensure interaction and balance of such core ecological level through mutual checks and balance of powers to set a solid foundation for the balance and optimization of the entire political ecology system in Macao.

### **1.3 Politics of non-governmental associations: the major channel for citizens to participate in and discuss about politics**

A two-level dual complex social structure with coexistence and separate administration of Chinese and Portuguese was formed in Macao during the administration by Portugal. The special social structure and historical and cultural background in Macao made non-governmental associations a special type of social organizations. As pointed out by some scholars, the function of non-governmental associations in Macao is beyond the general functions of non-governmental associations limited to civil society and to the category of the third department. These non-governmental associations also have the partial functions of the administration, which is referred to as "quasi-administrative function" of non-governmental associations.<sup>4</sup> The especially active non-governmental social activities and voluntary civil activities brought up by the non-governmental associations have made the non-governmental associations permeating in every aspects of Macao society whether economic, political or cultural aspects, which also becomes a

symbolic feature of the Macao society. After Macao's return, the region has turned into a unitary society with "Macao People Ruling Macao"; nevertheless, the special historic and social background of Macao and its non-governmental associations still kept these non-governmental associations continuing their important and positive roles in the political ecology of Macao, making Macao shift to a new unitary political ecology with a double-level structure. The politics of non-governmental associations have status and functions in Macao's political ecology as follows:

Firstly, making up the absence of administration and alleviating social conflicts. The Portuguese administration in Macao failed to perform its obligation to provide public goods and quasi-public goods to the Chinese community in Macao for a long time. So, many non-governmental associations were devoted to providing to the society certain public goods or quasi-public goods. Among these non-governmental associations, quite many provide philanthropic services and other mutual help services. Services provided by the Chinese non-governmental associations in Macao further involve some pure public goods such as road construction, supply of fresh water and garbage disposal. As Macao is a small city with many different nationalities, classes and cultural values, the absence of administration easily leads to social instability. But the positive function of the non-governmental associations in Macao effectively alleviates the social conflicts while making up the lack of supply of public goods. So, these non-governmental associations have been the cornerstones for the harmonious and stable development of Macao for a long time. The positive social assets created by many of these non-governmental associations have promoted the unification of different races and nationalities and the social trust, effectively integrating and motivating interest demands and values of various social classes and greatly alleviating the pressure of the authorities and social conflicts. The grass-root non-governmental associations, the *União Geral das Associações dos Moradores de Macau* (the General Union of Neighbors Associations of Macau) takes active part in resolution of family and economic disputes for the resident members.

Secondly, building the communication bridge between the mass and the government. When Macao was administered by Portugal, there were no conditions for the existence of party politics, and there were also no channels for the civil residents to express their demands, of interests through communication with the government. Part of the interests of Macao Chinese could be satisfied through non-governmental associations; nevertheless, the respective interests of different Chinese non-governmental associations and the overall interests of all Macao Chinese still needed to be supported by Macao administration and safeguarded with policies. Therefore, the non-governmental associations became an institution pooling the opinions and wishes of their members, and they further expressed the demands of interests on behalf of their members and tried to obtain to the greatest extent the support and safeguard for their interests and policies from the government, meanwhile they also shoulder the responsibilities to explain on behalf of the government the public policies to their members and other members of the society relating to them.<sup>5</sup> Since the signing of the Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Portugal on the question of Macao, the non-governmental associations in Macao have been taking active part in the governance of Macao by Macao people with the spirit of patriotism and love for Macao. Besides its function of serving continuously as a channel of expressing interests and demands for the citizens, the non-governmental associations are also contributing their ideas and exerting efforts more actively for the development of Macao. They are indeed the communication bridge between the mass and the government.

Thirdly, integrating social forces and carrying on the culture of patriotism and love for Macao. Macao is a pluralistic heterogeneous society with many complexities, and the Macao administration under Portugal was very incompetent in activities of social integration and mobilization. Nevertheless, a great many non-governmental associations have created positive social assets and promoted unification of races and social trust through autonomy of residence community, settlement of suits and mediation of disputes between members of non-governmental associations, which has released great ability of social integration and social mobilization. Furthermore, Macao Chinese have the tradition of strong passion of patriotism and love for Macao, and the Chinese non-governmental associations have been the major non-governmental associations in Macao. Chinese non-governmental associations carry on the Chinese traditional culture through establishing schools and holding various non-governmental activities with special Chinese features. During the period of anti-Japanese war, they also actively mobilized various social forces to form the all-circle rescue commission, and shortly before the return of Macao to the motherland, they actively organized and mobilized social forces to participate in the preparatory work. They also did a lot of work especially in the drafting and promoting of the Basic Law and mobilizing people to participate in the governing Macao by Macao people. After the return, Macao has a closer connection with the mother land, these non-governmental associations actively mobilized compatriots in Macao to take active participation in various work such as the bid for the Olympic Games, bid for the Expo, the successful travel of the manned space shuttle and rescue efforts during floods and earthquakes, making great contribution to carrying on and promoting the culture of patriotism and love for Macao.

Fourthly, participating in the management of state affairs and cultivating and supplying political elites. Currently, there are 200 non-governmental associations in Macao which have the voting right for the members indirectly returned of the Legislative Council; and the Legislative Council, the Municipal Council and advisory bodies of the executive are all open to the general public. Therefore, the non-governmental associations can participate in the management of state affairs through the voting for indirectly returned Legislative Council members. Moreover, the non-governmental associations have gradually become the base camp for cultivating and supplying political elites. Many political and social elites active in the political field of Macao are well experienced in the work of non-governmental associations. For example, both the first Chief Executive, Edmund Ho Hau Wah and the current Chief Executive, Fernando Chui Sai On held important positions in several social non-governmental associations such as Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society and Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association. The non-governmental associations provide every youth with potential opportunities to expand the visions and social network, to accumulate working experience, to improve organizational capabilities and management standards, to edify the sense to serve the society and to build healthy personality so that they can grow up through the activities of non-governmental associations to be mature “backbones” and social elites to better shoulder the important responsibility of “Macao People Ruling Macao” and a high degree of autonomy.

The establishment of constitutional status of “Macao People Ruling Macao” after the return of Macao further ignited the consciousness of citizenship among the mass, and the laws and administrative structure in the SAR provide general public opportunities to participate in the legislative, judicial and executive system. The process of “Macao People Ruling Macao” turning into a formal constitutional system from an informal system of non-governmental associations also

stimulates the consciousness of citizenship among Macao people, which helps the civil society to rise, the political culture to shift from that of non-participation to participation and from traditional to modern, and to promote the regular communication and exchange between the government and the individual citizens and the ecological reaction, making the operation of the political ecological system in Macao normalized and continuously optimized.

## **II. New development trends of the political ecology in Macao**

Since Macao's return to the motherland, especially after the disclosure of the case of Ao Man Long, the following new trends of development have occurred in the political ecology in Macao:

### **2.1 The administration of the SAR is counterbalanced and supervised by the Legislative Council**

The case of Ao Man Long and the case of Alexandre Ho exposed the weakness of the supervision institution, greatly damaged the authority of the administration among the citizens and brought great attention of the Macao residents to the problems of collusion of business and politics and of the channeling of interests. According to the statistics, only 40% of the residents are satisfied with the SAR administration, the sense of pride of the Macao residents for their freedom of speech and press after the return reduced over 10% as compared to that in 1991, and the Macao residents are dissatisfied with the single-sided report for the administration by Macao media.<sup>6</sup> In another word, with the exposure of the case Ao Man Long as the turning point, the SAR administration which had been at a strong position since the return of Macao began to be supervised and counterbalanced by the Legislative Council and social political groups during its administration. In the election of the Legislative Council in 2009, every participating groups focused on the administration of the executive and proposed to strengthen the supervision over the executive, to require the executive to be accountable and to improve the transparency of administration. With the gradual implementation of the policies of "Macao People Ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy, the status and the functions of the Legislative Council have been gradually strengthened, and it is expected that the various political forces in Macao will start game playing on the political platform of the Legislative Council in the future 5 years to form closer supervision over and counterbalance of the administration of the SAR executive.

From the perspective of political ecology theory, the source of corruption lies in the impediment of the operation chain of the power which damages the sound ecology of the power operation. Good operation of political power is based on the complete ecological structure, the break of any link such as power input, exercise of power, power output and feedback from the result of operation will make the political ecology deteriorate causing corruptions and channeling of interests. The overemphasis of the stability of executive-led administration during the transitional period granted the executive too much power, but there was no corresponding mechanism of supervision and checks and balances. There was also relatively low degree of transparency of the administration. For a strong executive with strong link to business without checks and balances and supervision under the protection of the executive-led system, problems such as abuse of powers, collusion of business and politics, corruptions and bribes seemed to be unavoidable, which certainly affect the stability of Macao's political ecology.

## **2.2 The politics of non-governmental associations tends to turn into the politics of political groups**

Since the exposure of the case of Ao Man Long in 2006, there has been increasing demand for the supervision of the administration from the mass. After that, *Regime Jurídico de Enquadramento das Fontes Normativas Internas* (Regulation on the Formulation of Internal Norms) was passed on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2009 after the third Legislative Council revised the Legislation Act for 5 times, pointing out clearly that the Legislative Council of the Macao SAR is the only legislature in Macao and the regulations made by the executive do not have the legal nature and effectiveness of laws and the laws prevail over the regulations. So, the status of the Legislative Council in the public opinion and political ecology was further improved.

Looking at the election of the Legislative Council in 2009, we could find one of the trends worthy of our attention, i.e., a great many teams participating in the election put forward the proposal of constitutional reform, improvement of democracy and the implementation of universal suffrages of both the election of the Chief Executive and that of all the members of the Legislative Council. 8 out of the 16 groups mentioned problems of improving democracy and reforming constitutional government. Various tendencies indicate that the politics of non-governmental associations in Macao tends to be developed into the politics of political groups. According to some comments, the ups and downs in the political ecology in Macao indicates that some people in Macao started to impose pressure on the SAR executive with political issues following the opposition in Hong Kong opposing just for the sake of opposing.<sup>7</sup> At present, there are some signs of the development of the politics of non-governmental associations in Macao toward the politics of political groups and party politics. Nevertheless, parties represent the interests of people of certain class, and they claim for political powers. In contrast, the non-governmental associations in Macao still have not developed clear claims for political power and their definite political platforms despite their active participation in politics. The political ecology in the SAR is bound to develop in the direction of democracy and liberty. But regarding democracy we must distinguish the good democracy from the bad democracy, and in some democratic politics, rights are owned exclusively by a fixed majority of people and the laws are frequently violated when too much emphasis is put on the majority. There exists to different extent some limitation of violating freedoms in any forms of political governance. In recent years, the problems of collusion of the business and politics have resulted in severe ups and downs of the public opinion in Macao, so the rapid shift of the politics of non-governmental associations to that of political groups and party politics under such background will probably lead to the loss of balance of the former political ecology in Macao, against which we must stand on guard.

## **2.3 The political forces tend to be diversified and the middle class is gradually rising**

During the election of the Legislative Council in 2009, 7 out of the 16 participating groups flaunted the battle of pro-democracy or pan-democratic force. It is worth noting that the percentage of votes obtained by the pro-democracy camp remains fairly stable at about 1/3 of the total number of the voters according to the voting results of the third and fourth elections of the Legislative Council. The sector of industry and commerce obtained 5 seats, the same as it did in the last election; and the voters from the industry of gaming played an important role for such result. Every interest groups including the Macao natives, the Macanese and civil servants all played important

roles in the election. It is worth noting that the interest group of the gaming industry has increasing desires and sense of participating in politics with the rapid development of the gaming industry into one single pillar industry in recent years.

One sign indicating the increasing diversification of political forces and gradual rising of the middle class during the direct election of the present term of the Legislative Council is that the candidates tended to be young in age and diversified in profession. The candidates came from various professions such as business, civil servants, academic scholars, social workers, nurses, singers and even current university students, there rose also a new group representing professionals and middle class.

### **III. Some advice on establishing favorable political ecology in Macao**

#### **3.1 Paying attention to the strengthening of the administration by the executive and reinforcing the supervision function of the Legislative Council**

The practice after the return of Macao to the motherland proves that the state of administration by the SAR executive is closely related to the political ecology in Macao. During the ten years after the return, the SAR executive has done lots of work and has significant achievements in implementing the policy of "One Country, Two Systems", carrying out the policies of "Macao People Ruling Macao" and a high degree of autonomy in accordance with the provisions of the Basic Law, opening the operation right of gaming industry and promoting the rapid development of economy. Nevertheless, the executive government also made some mistakes in its administration, and the weakness in supervision mechanism was disclosed with the exposure of the case of Ao Man Long in 2006. Therefore, the SAR administration must establish and improve democratic and scientific decision-making system and improve the decision-making standard. The administration should be institutionalized and standardized steadily to keep improving the administrative capabilities. The basis of rule of law in Macao is weak, the administrative system is executive-led and there is also increasing pressure from the industry of gaming and other social political interest groups. With such background, it becomes more necessary for Macao to distinguish clearly the distinction between the legislative power of the Legislative Council and the power to make administrative regulations, to distinguish the hierarchical relationship between different laws and to carry out effectively the right to question and supervise the executive authority and to ensure the judicial independence of the courts and procuratorates. By promoting the rule of law we could ensure the checks and balances of the political ecology in Macao and bring the political ecology into the ecological interaction with the collaborated evolution of the organizations.

In recent years, the rapid development of Macao's economy is mainly driven by the gaming industry, the simplification of economy and the risks resulting therefrom are getting obvious. How to carry out the moderate diversification of the industry in the future is one of the difficulties the SAR administration faces to ensure the stability, prosperity and sustainable development of Macao. Therefore, how to effectively carry out the moderate diversification of the economy and well manage the relationship between the society and the interest groups would certainly be the problems to be faced forthwith by the new administration. Besides, the bread-and-butter issues should be effectively solved in order to realize the prosperous and contented life of the residents and build harmonious society. At present, people from all sectors all pay the greatest attention to the

bread-and-butter issues including social housing problems, illegal employment problems and teenager problems. The next administration should not escape their responsibility to solve all these problems, and it is one of the focus of its work to resolve the problem of how to make the residents work happily and live contentedly.

### **3.2 Promoting the reform and transformation of the traditional non-governmental associations and accelerating the cultivation of talents who participate in the administration and discussion of state affairs**

Since Macao's return, the traditional non-governmental associations have promoted their institutional reform such as actively resolving the leadership's aging problem and giving up the paternalistic management. However, with the rapid development of situation, the politics of non-governmental associations in Macao is shifting toward the politics of political groups; but some traditional non-governmental associations still fail to keep up with such changes, some are even regressing in their functions and in their work to solve the bread-and-butter issues for the mass. Currently, there are seats subject to direct election in the Legislative Council and the number of which will increase in the future elections according to the Basic Law, which actually provides rich soil for the breeding of the politics of political groups. Therefore, it is important to promote the transformation of the traditional non-governmental associations into political groups with forward-looking political philosophy and active and energetic vitality to become the significant foundation for the effective governance of the SAR administration and the important platform for "Macao People Ruling Macao".

The greatest political shift of the return of Macao is the resumption of sovereignty and the shift of the administration's role. Accordingly, the roles and functions of the non-governmental associations in Macao are also changing, especially of those having significant impact in the political and social life of Macao. Faced with such significant changes, the traditional non-governmental associations must have clear understanding and prepare themselves well in both organization and talents to keep up with such changes; they must especially speed up their institutional reform and introduce scientific institution of management. Professional management talents should be introduced to carry out scientific management and young talents with new thoughts and ideas should be encouraged to grow to inject new vitality into the non-governmental associations so as to meet the demand of the reality that the politics of non-governmental associations is developed toward the politics of political groups. In recent years, there has been temporary shortage of leaders in some non-governmental associations and a fault of political talents. So, the top priority at present is to accelerate the cultivation of political talents in order to meet the need of either future development of Macao or the development and grow of the non-governmental associations themselves.

### **3.3 Paying attention to the political demands of the middle class, intellectuals, civil servants and Macanese**

During the direct election of the Legislative Council in 2009, Agnes Lam, the first candidate of Civil Power of Macao obtained over 5,000 votes for her first-time election, which is especially outstanding. As a young professional intellectual, Agnes Lam stood out in the election and was regarded to be attractive to the young voters, middle-class voters and intellectuals. Since the new voters were mainly young people in this election, the respective teams participating the election all

introduced young candidates to gain the support of new voters. Statistics shows that there are approximately 30,000 voters aged from 18-24 in Macao, and they take up 10% of the total voters becoming the significant source of votes in Macao's society. As the new administration is assuming power, it will become one of its major focuses to maintain and strengthen the social harmony on the basis of patriotism and love for Macao by further promoting the unification of various social segments, classes and groups.

### **3.4 Improving the sense of citizenship and creating conditions for development of democratic politics**

No social system can be put into practice and operated effectively without the participation of various roles. But, at present, the Macao residents, especially the youth have very weak sense of citizenship, and the political ecology in Macao will lose its drive for optimized development and operation basis if such situation remains unchanged in the future. The good interactive ecological relationship between the state, the government and the citizens depends on the good cultural and political quality of the citizens which in turn depends on the social responsibility of the state and government, a government which provokes the mass wisdom and embraces the mass.

The SAR administration should further reinforce the improvement of the residents' sense of civil rights and obligation on the whole, increase the transparency of administration, pool the wisdoms of the masses and increase channels for the mass to express their wills so as to help the Macao residents, especially the youth to form strong sense of voluntary social responsibility and sense of political efficiency. Improving the standard of participation in the politics by the common citizens is the essence for Macao's democratic governance and for the persistent, stable and sound development of the political ecology.

### **Notes:**

- <sup>1</sup> Yi Zhihua and Ma Jinbao (2009). Study on the Political Ecology of Macao SAR and Its Development Trend, *Academic Research*. Volume 6. 5-11.
- <sup>2</sup> Yang Jianping (2008). A Comparative Study of Executive-led Among Hong Kong, Macao and Singapore. *Chinese Public Administration*. Volume 2. 118-123.
- <sup>3</sup> Zhang Weike (1999). On the Similarities and Distinctions between the Governance Institution of the Macao SAR and the Hong Kong SAR. *Oriental Forum*. Volume 1. 66-70.
- <sup>4</sup> Lou Shenghua (2004). *Study on the Non-governmental Associations in Macao during Transition Period: Analysis of Legal Consortium in Pluralistic Society*. Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House. 217-218.
- <sup>5</sup> Sun Yanyan, Ning Shaolin and Sun Dongchuan (2006). Thoughts on the Status of Non-governmental Associations in Macao in the Harmony and Stability of Macao. *Theoretical Exploration*. Volume 1. 130-131.
- <sup>6</sup> Yee, H. S and Loi Kuok Man (2007). *The Mass Political Culture*. In Wong Siu Lun, Yeung Yue Man, Wan Po San, Cheng Hung Tai (Eds.) *The Social Memoir of Macao: a Look at the Life Quality from the Study of Indicators*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of Hong Kong Chinese University. 304-305.
- <sup>7</sup> Huangyuan Qingniao. The Rapid Change of the Political Ecology in Macao. In the website of *Macao Monthly*: <http://www.Macaomonthly.net/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=1195>. 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2008.