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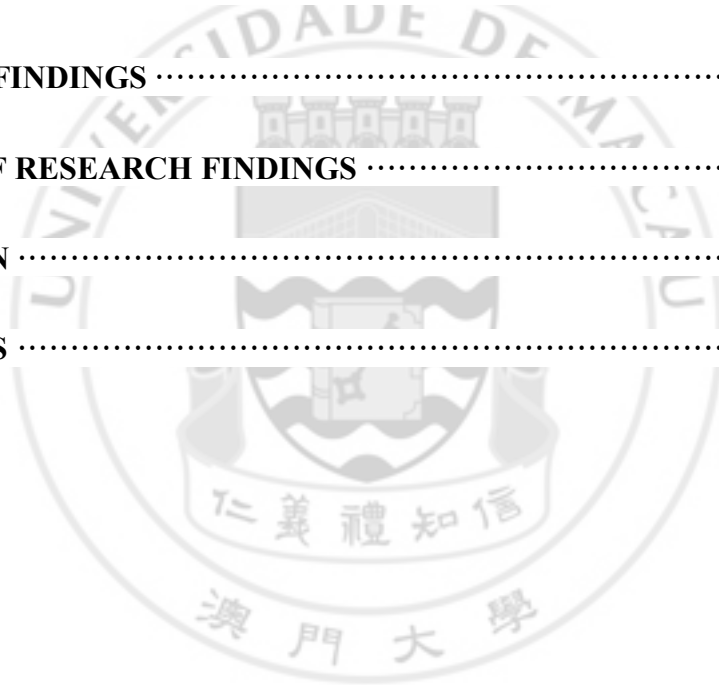
Political Participation and the ‘Bill of Greed and Privilege’ of Macau

BGPA402 Research Project

CHAN KA MAN, KARMAN
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Introduction

Much of the current debate about the citizenship of Macau people revolves around the question of participation. Several surveys and researches showed that majority of the Macau people lack regard for politics and political participation since before the handover of Macau to China. Macau people have been recognized as 'politically apathetic'. They tended not to be involved in politics and they regarded 'politics as dangerous'. At the same time, Macau people contained a weak civic competence and they recorded low score in political efficacy and political awareness. They barely believed that the local citizens could influence the government policies.¹ It might be the case that they maintained a weak faith in Macau government and they believed the government would not be responsive to the public opinions. Studies showed that people seldom demonstrated their opposition or engaged in social movement even when their interests were violated by the government.²

¹ Yee, H.S. (2014). The Theory and Practice of "One-Country-Two Systems" in Macao. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong. Retrieved from http://www.cityupress.edu.hk/Template/Shared/previewSample/9789629372071_preview.pdf

² Kwong, Y. H. (2014). Protests against the Welfare Package for Chief Executives and Principal Officials. Macao's political awakening. Hong Kong: China perspectives. Retrieved from <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/6588?file=1>

However, in recent days, we have witnessed a surprisingly growing political participation in Macau. The recent societal issue that I would like to specialize in this paper has received a great deal of attention. More people have surprisingly come to pay more attention on than before on 25th May 2014. 20,000 demonstrators were rallying to the streets to protest against a bill – 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. The bill was controversial that it would have granted benefits beyond normal limits to outgoing Chief Executives (CE) and top government officials. The protest was significantly recognized as the biggest march in the city since the 1999 handover.³ In this research I will concentrate on this significant social demonstration in the form of political participation, and give a comprehensive overview of recent details of the factors and processes that influence the level of political participation of citizens. I shall attempt to answer few empirical questions: How do citizens participate? What are the processes by which citizens come to participate? What are the consequences of the participation? (Verba, Nie, 1987)

³ Lam, O. (2014). 20,000 People Protest in Macau Against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. *Amsterdam: Global Voices*. Retrieved from <https://globalvoices.org/2014/05/26/photos-20000-people-protest-in-macau-against-bill-of-greed-and-privilege/>

Argument

As Verba and Nie put political participation as the best source of satisfaction, “Participation does not only communicate the citizen’s needs and desires to the government but also their satisfaction with the government and satisfaction with one’s own role”. The protest against ‘Bill of Greed and Privilege’ was regarded as a turning point of the social movement in Macau which revealed the essence of civil culture. The protest was expected to give rise to public’s awareness of political affairs, and thus to boost up citizens’ involvement in political participation and improve their political efficacy. Some political commentators and organizations believed that the protest was likely to bring about political and civic awakening and further shifted to democratic reform. One of the mobilizing organizations of the protest – Macao Conscience expected that citizens would increase their alert to Macau’s political system and increase their engagement in political affairs. Following this incident, Macao Conscience aimed to further arouse people’s sense of democracy in addition to fight for universal suffrage to select the Legislative Assembly members as well as the Chief Executive.⁴

However, this paper argues that the protest against ‘Bill of Greed and Privilege’ barely give rise to a real political and civic awakening and a growing democratic trend. In my opinion, the topic of the bill was quite easy and simple for people to remember. Next, the

⁴ Kwong, Y. H. (2014). Protests against the Welfare Package for Chief Executives and Principal Officials.

Macao’s political awakening. Hong Kong: China perspectives. Retrieved from

<http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/6588?file=1>

content of the bill was not complex for people to understand even they lack political knowledge, which suggested that the nature of this protest was quite different from the protests before, for instance, the Demonstration against the Article 23 law in Macau. More importantly, the bill obviously stressed on the remuneration of the government officials and thus created the notion of “self-serving” in which the public spending was found to be benefited by the officials.⁵ As being a taxpayer, people were much easier to get mobilized and engaged in the protest when the public spending tended to be abused. Furthermore, the protest against ‘Bill of Greed and Privilege’ was indeed not a democratic issue which the central government could give certain toleration. Although there were many voices that the protest may give rise to future political awakening and democracy, it is hard to see any future indication of real democracy in Macau as the Beijing government would not tolerate any sense of democratic reform.

Before proceeding further, it is essential to analyze the meaning of political participation, the dimensions of political participation as well as the reason to participate, or what motivates or mobilizes citizen to participate.

⁵ Kwong, Y. H. (2014). Protests against the Welfare Package for Chief Executives and Principal Officials.

Macao's political awakening. Hong Kong: China perspectives. Retrieved from <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/6588?file=1>

Literature Review

Political participation was frequently defined as the legal acts or activities performed by private citizens who fairly attempt to influence the choices and actions that government makes. In other words, they target to influence governmental decisions (Verba, Nie, 1987).

Reviewing the definitions of the term by Verba and Nie (1987), Milbrath and Goel (1977), Kaase and Marsh (1979), and Parry et al. (1992) have quite similar definitions. Milbrath and Goel (1977) suggested that political participation explained that private citizens do not only aim to influence but also to stand by the government and politics. Kaase and Marsh (1979) defined the term as all autonomous activities by individual citizens determine to alter political decisions either in direct or indirect ways at different degrees of the political system. Parry et al. (1992) proposed the term as actions by citizens direct to influence decisions which are sooner or later settle by public representatives and officials in most cases. The actions may vary from shaping the behaviors and manners of decision-makers before decisions of certain issues were made, or from protesting against certain decision outcome.

Another wider scope of definitions of political participation has been suggested by Brady (1999). He defined political participation as actions by ordinary citizens seek to influence some political payoff. He thus highlighted that political participation happens in a few sequence of steps: First, people voluntarily engage in obvious and clear actions or activities. Second, the participants refer to ordinary citizens, instead of political elites or civil servants. Third, despite the interests towards politics and societal issues, or regular

political discussion, political participation requires endeavor to affect the decisions of power actors, groups or business enterprises towards the societal issues (Brady 1999).

Verba and Nie (1987) then applied four dimensions of political participation to give further explanations to the ways people attempt to influence the government. The typology includes voting, campaign activity, communal activity, and particularized contacting. Campaign activity encloses activities associated with elections such as working for a party or candidate, attending meeting or rally, donating money and persuading others on how to vote. Communal activity encompasses cooperative activity and citizen contacting on social matters. Particularized contacting happens when citizen takes the initiative to contact a representative or official regarding personal issues.

Other scholars have chosen to conceptualize the dimensions of political participation in more expansive ways. Parry et al. (1992) suggested that the political participation varied in six measures: voting, party campaigning, collective action, contacting, direct action, political violence.

Another more extensive typology consists of five dimensions of political participation: electoral participation which stresses on voting, consumer participation which consists of money contribution for funding, striking, political consumption and signing petition. In this way, citizens act as critical consumers. Party activity stands in the third dimension which covers citizens doing voluntary work for the political party or contributing money to the political party. Protest activity is the next dimension which encompasses behaviors of citizens such as engaging in strikes, demonstrations, and other protest activities. The

last dimension is contact activity which includes contacting political organizations and actors (Teorell et al. 2007).

It is clear that Verba and Nie (1987), Parry et al. (1992) and Teorell (2007) has commonly included 'voting' or 'electoral participation' while measuring the modes of political participation. Studies of political participation have conventionally focused on actions mainly concentrated upon electoral activities, especially voting. Verba and Nie (1987) also concluded voting as the most general and commonplace political activity, and in terms of the overall effect of the citizenry on governmental achievement it may be the most distinct prime act. However, Kasse and Marsh (1979) argued people always focus on electoral behavior and neglected the protest behavior such as demonstrations, strikes, and boycott. At the same time, Parry et al. (1992) and Teorell (2007) have covered protest in their measures of political participation to embody political acts which are opposing the law, which Verba and Nie (1987) did not consider in their measures.

Baubock (2006) has suggested two forms of political participation: conventional political participation and less conventional political participation in his work *Migration and Citizenship*. He suggested that political participation implies active measure of citizenship. There are different ways citizens collectively or individually take part in issues under a common political community. Political participation covers two categories that associate with distinct model of activities. It covers conventional activities such as voting or election, and also less conventional activities such as protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, hunger strikes, boycotts, etc. Generally, conventional political participation is always both personal and collective while less conventional political participation is rather collective and hence it is likely to archive mobilization (Baubock, 2006).

We will next focus on what impulse motivates and leads some people to participate.

According to Milbrath and Goel (1977), political participants are divided into three categories: apathetic, spectators and gladiators who have rich experiences of carrying political actions. People who participate in on

e political action are likely to participate in many others political actions too. In the manner of speaking, political participation can be practiced in a cumulative way and the participants are put in a hierarchy.

Nonetheless, Parry et al. (1992) suggested that different types of people are motivated by different actions. For instance, some supporters of political parties prefer to work behind the scenes by delivering the envelopes to public for political advertising, rather than canvassing support in front of the public. Different levels of psychological preparation of people have different determination to engage in some rivalrous activities. Parry also proposed four basic impulses that lead to motivation of participation: instrumental participation, communitarian participation, educative participation and expressive participation (Parry, et al. 1992).

In addition, Verba and Nie observed from active participants that, people are likely to concentrate in either one or other measure of political participation (voting, campaign activity, communal activity, particularized contacting). He thus concluded that participants cannot be put in a single hierarchy (Verba, Nie, 1977).

Besides, 'organization' or 'group' effect is understood as stimuli to increase political participation of people. It increases the chances of people being exposed to political discussions or collective activity. 'Group' then encourages and strengthens people to

maintain and the actions. Hence, people are likely to be exposed to relating political stimuli and be more receptive to further stimuli. (Parry, et al. 1992; Verba, Nie, 1977)

So far, I have discussed about the theory suggested by different scholars about the definition and scope of political participation, the modes of political participation, and the process of how and why people participate.

Overall, I would like to apply the attempt of Verba and Nie to simply define the term 'political participation'. Verba and Nie defined 'political participation' as legal 'activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take' (Verba and Nie, 1987, p2).

However, when we look further into the measures and dimensions of political participation, I would nevertheless argue that the definition made by Verba and Nie is not optimal. I would rather like to applaud Parry et al., Kaase and Marsh as well as Baubock to conceptualize the measures and dimensions of political participation. As mentioned above, Kaase and Marsh suggested that political participation should calculate various protest behavior when determining the scopes of political participation. They considered demonstrations, strikes, boycott, etc. as part of the forms of protest behavior. Meanwhile, Parry et al., Baubock and Teorell indicated even illegal political acts should be taken account of measures of political participation, which is opposing the typology suggested by Verba and Nie. Notwithstanding, even Teorell has included protest behavior that are opposing the law into the measures of political participation, one of his dimensions of political participation, the consumer participation is not very ideal and suitable for my research. As mentioned, consumer participation consists of money contribution for funding, striking, political consumption and signing petition. Ekman and Amna (2012)

suggested that some latent behaviors are showing the characteristic of protest too. Some of the latent behaviors included blank voting, non-voting and signing of petition, etc. And such behaviors are taken into consideration of consumer participation suggested by Teorell and may de facto falsify the protest constitution and its dimension.

In addition, the explanations of the impulse that leads people to participate by Parry et al. (1992), Verba and Nie (1987) are comparatively appropriate to the case that I am going to research in this paper, hence I would apply their theories in the part 'the essential reason why people participate'. The four motivating impulses of participation suggested by Parry et al.; instrumental participation, communitarian participation, educative participation and expressive participation, give a specific scope to my finding on the behavior and perspective of the protesting participants against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' in my research. Besides, I feel that Parry et al. (1992) and Verba and Nie (1987) suggested a better point than Milbrath and Goel on the shifting and cumulative behavior of participants. Milbrath and Goel (1977) stressed that political participation can be practiced in a cumulative way and the participants are put in a hierarchy. For example, people participated in voting are likely to participate in boycotts too. The case mentioned by Milbrath and Goel, however, is not an optimal to apply in my research. I would rather applaud the perspective of Parry et al. (1992) and Verba and Nie (1987) that different people participate because they were motivated by different actions or impulses, and participants could not be put in a single hierarchy. Nevertheless, the organization or group effect mentioned by Parry et al. (1992), Verba and Nie (1987) was also essential to give meaning to both manifest and latent behavior of particular group of people participating in an organization in the field of research.

In the area of local political participation, some researches from local scholars focused on the civic culture and participation in Macau. Herbert S. Yee used two standards to measure political efficacy: civic competence and subject competence. The former introduced the concept of internal efficacy how citizens perceived of their capacity to influence government decision on policy – the determination in political participation. The latter described the concept of internal efficacy remarking the trust in citizens that their government is always responsive to them (Yee, 2001). Herbert S. Yee, Liu Bo Long and Ngo Tak Wing (1993) assumed that the mass political culture of Macau is characterized by high regard for subject orientation and low regard for participant orientation⁶. A survey conducted in 1991 revealed that the level of political participation by Macau people was low. Most of the citizens had not participated in any political activities such as complaining to government departments; seeking help from the legislators and social organizations; writing letter and calling to the media for assistance and participating in demonstrations, etc. There were over 75% respondents who felt they did not have power in influencing government decisions. Surprisingly, for those citizens who have once politically participated, most of them have engaged in proposing petition, going for march, protest, sit-in demonstration etc. (Yee, Liu & Ngo, 1993). According to Yee (1993, pp943-949), most citizens agreed that good citizens had the responsibility to engage in politics and should have high regard for politics. However, in reality they would always try to prevent from entering into politics and though prefer other people to

⁶ Subject orientation describes the political culture which people focused highly on the output material and less on the input object and activeness of political participation. They seldom express their demands and voices against the political system, and therefore, are passive towards political participation. In contrast, participant orientation is the opposite political culture of subject orientation, which usually composed of members who are willing to participate in societal activities and actively participate in the polity through expression of feelings against the political system. For more discussion, please see Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba eds. (1989), *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Newbury: Sage Publications.



enter. As a result, he concluded that Macau citizens, when facing political participation, as “passive, if not apathetic”. Moreover, Yee (2005) treated legislative election as a valuable indicator to measure citizen participation in Macau. The 1992 election shed on the light of the success of pro Beijing political groups, such as the Kaifong associations and the Federal of Labor Unions who worked hard on money politics and political mobilization. Since the return of Macau to China, the social groups had preserved a significant role in performing an active political participation (Lo, 2008). In fact, these political groups had used many techniques and materials to win half of the directly elected seats. They put in much effort in persuading the citizens to register and vote for them, they organized several “service stations” in different districts to catch attention and gain footings from citizens. The political groups adopted tactics, for instance, holding performance or parties which included famous actors, singers and celebrities, encouraging own staffs as well as delivering money or gifts to those who promised to vote for them (Yee, 1997).

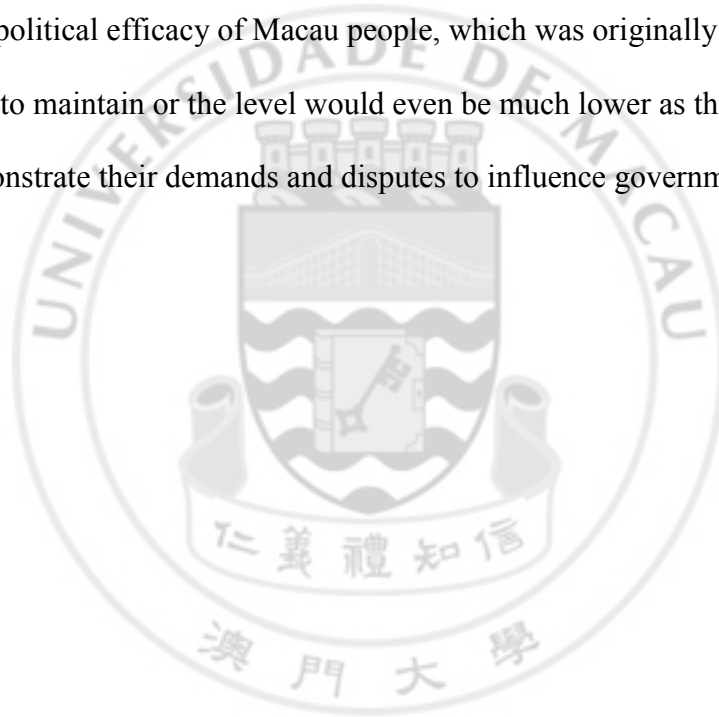
An analysis of voting behaviors in the 2005 Legislative Assembly election was conducted by Bruce Kam Kwan Kwong (2005) which demonstrated the characteristics of the reason for people’s voting and the factors that determined and mobilized their voting behavior. In his findings, the mobilizing groups were also found to be campaign materials, neighbors and friends as well as social groups, voters were often mobilized by face-to-face persuasion, telephone lobbying and campaign strategies. It was important as well, to note that there was a relatively high numbers of respondents showed reluctant attitudes in revealing the process how they were mobilized. Moreover, some respondents, although not most of them, stated that they voted in the purpose of supporting the candidate they

were in favor of. It was also significant to note that a few of them admitted they voted for money politics. Kwong then specified these citizens as subject oriented which was applicable to the perception of Yee, Liu and Ngo (1993) as mentioned earlier in this paper. Most of them considered the factors that the candidate assisted their daily matter, such as providing haircut services and career opportunity, and willing to fight for their interests against the government would help to shape their voting orientation. However, most of the respondents deemed that the electoral corruption was unlikely to happen in the 2005 election, and they commented that the Commission against Corruption (CCAC) had performed a good result. Kwong (2005, pp474-475) then concluded that the survey revealed the “clientelistic tendency” of Macau citizens and characterized the patron-client politics⁷ in Macau and self-interest orientated people. In his point of view, “patron-client politics would shift the voters’ attention from democratization to the benefits-dominated approach, which may even undermine the process and prospect of democratization of the government in the years to come.”

Further to the electoral form of political participation, Lo Shiu Hing (2008) specified the citizen protest in the form of group action as the most sticking out behavior of participation since the handover 1999. The labor protest that first happened on May 2000 opened the precedence of 1st May protests every year. The number of participants increased from the first confrontation in year 2000 with five hundred workers, to five thousand protestors in 2006 and ten thousand demonstrators in 2007. He concluded that

⁷ Patron-client politics, patron refers to politicians and client refers to voters, patron-client politics described the study of politicians-voters relationships, which usually focused on the personal interests and advantage and often lead to political corruption, for more discussion, please see Kam Kwan Kwong (2005), “Democratization and Patron-Client Politics in Macau: The 2005 Legislative Assembly Election”, *Journal of Comparative Asian Development*, 4(2), 455-476.

people were partly aroused by the active participation behavior of the neighboring Hong Kong people, and partly aroused by the local arising political awareness. The labor protest demonstrated that there were increasingly Macau people and mainland immigrants expressing their demands and voices through manifestation. Moreover, he also analyzed the poll outcome which was conducted by Robert Chung in 2003 about the citizens' perspective with respect to government policy. More than half of the respondents felt that the government merely provided the chances of public consultation. As a result, the political efficacy of Macau people, which was originally in a low level, would continue to maintain or the level would even be much lower as they had no channel to demonstrate their demands and disputes to influence government policy (Ho, 2011).



Research methodology

Recent studies have suggested the use of qualitative methods to examine in-depth research studies on people's political participation. The writers aimed to investigate how political aggregation is formed among people. Qualitative methodology was used with structured interviews so that the result of data collected by the researcher can be classified into different areas to favor statistical analysis. During the interview, they adopted open-ended approach to signify the use of qualitative methodology and thus give result of respondent-led finding.⁸ As a result, the interviewers can prevent from contributing a political definition to the interviewees which may provide bias or stereotype. Instead, the respondents are required to answer to the questions in their own terms. The researcher believed that the use of qualitative methodology allows 'thick description'. It is suggested that such use of qualitative methodology revealed a reflexive and flexible nature of interview. The researcher can interact freely with the respondents in order to investigate their conception of politics, how these decide their idea of political participation and the importance of political participation, their reason and their way of participation, their assumption of the outcomes, their satisfactions upon the outcomes,

⁸ Robertson, F.M. (2009). *A Study of Youth Political Participation in Poland and Romania*. (Doctoral dissertation, University College London, 2009). Retrieved from <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/18725/1/18725.pdf>

how participation altered the perception of themselves, others or organizations, as well as their reasons for non-participation.⁹

At the same time, Robert K Yin (2009) discussed that the best techniques applied in the case study are type of 'how' and 'why' questions, which allow the researchers to explain and define the social phenomenon in a comprehensive way.

This interview research method defined respondents' perceptive of the bill issue and explained their process of behavior change – how the introduction of bill drew their attention and influenced them to participate in the protest. In the interview, there were totally twenty five respondents. Among the all, two of them are students from high school, while eleven are current university undergraduates, ten are working groups and two are retirees. Figure 1 is shown below to demonstrate the types of participants by their current occupational status in the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'.

⁹ Irvine, H. J., Gaffikin, M. (2006). Getting in, getting on and getting out: *reflections on a qualitative research project*. Australia: University of Wollongong. Retrieved from <http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1127&context=commpapers>

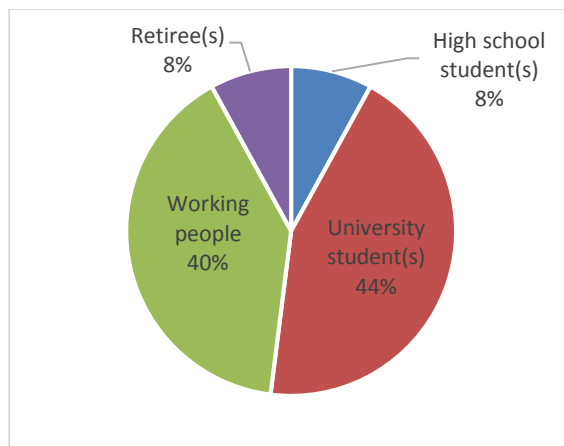


Figure 1. Type of participants by current status

It is also noted that among the working groups and the retirees, seven of them received degree at university level, one of them received doctor of philosophy degree level (PHD), two of them completed secondary high school level and two of them completed primary school level.

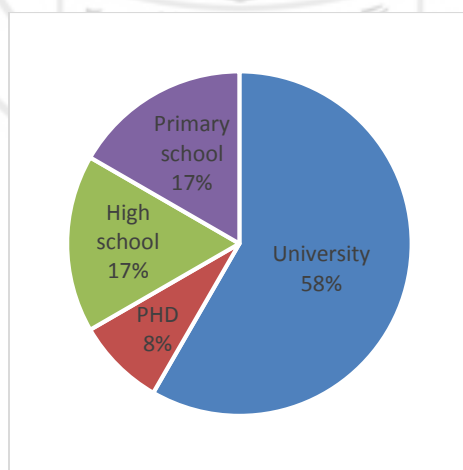


Figure 2. Types of participants among working people and retirees by educational level



Moreover, the group of respondent maintains different social class background that they received different level of monthly wages. All these diverse background and context of the respondents can help to diversify different perspective of how they were affected by the issue and defined distinct processes in how they get mobilized to participate in the protest.

In the book *Muslims and Political Participation in Britain* from 2015, Timothy Peace has chosen qualitative research approaches as methodology for his empirical research on young British Muslims. Peace (2015) chose to exercise qualitative methodology in his research in order to form a responsive engagement with the interviewees. He stated that it is essential to shape the engagement with the respondent while measuring the intricacy of identity and substantially political perspective. During his research, the snowball sample was used as a sampling method. It helped to connect points from various respondents with different backgrounds, these people were thought to be theologically different from each other in the sense that they may come from different social class background, different educational level etc.

The qualitative method of research was performed through semi-structured interviews with twenty five Macau local citizens age between 17 and 56. The targeting respondents are local citizens who joined in the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. The questions asked in the individual conversational interviews were semi-patterned in which the questions more or less relied on the different type of person. For instance, the questioned varied if he or she is a student, an office worker or a retiree, etc. Therefore, it created open questions that allowed the respondent to give his or her, self opinion bounded by the topic issue or question asked. The interview was performed in an

individual form. The aim of this individual interview is to explore people's understanding of the protest that happened in 25th May, 2015, and to investigate the particular experiences of political participation. Afterward, the respondents were required to reveal deeper perceptive and definition how they were attached to the particular political activity, the elements that triggered them to participate in the particular protest. The interviewer may also collect information about the life experience, daily activities and social circle, etc. practiced by every individual respondent. The function of this information gave the chance to the researcher to consider how their assumption of political participation was affected. For instance, if a respondent had once participated in the past protest, if he or she had engaged in any organization or association, if his or her family or friends were government principal officials, or, on the other hand, the extremists against the government, their assumptions and decisions to political participation were more likely to be affected. Finally, the qualitative research design was favored to analyze whether the particular act of protest functioned any implications for how people understood and experienced political participation. The responds also gave prediction of how people would react and act in terms of political participation if they faced and encountered other different conditions or topic, e.g. universal suffrage. Furthermore, the respondents were asked whether the protest had given rise to their civic awareness of political affairs.

Background

The 25 May protest that happened in 2014 is also known as the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. There are two important points included in the bill that are strongly opposed by the people: the compensation and the exempt from criminal liability. First, the head of the government, the Chief executive and his designated principal officials in Macau can receive compensations after they had accomplished their term of office, the compensations is equivalent to seventy percent of the official's monthly salary. On the other hand, the Chief Executive can receive an exempt of criminal liability during his or her term of office, in other words, the Chief Executive while in office are freely immune to any criminal prosecution.¹⁰

The Bill was drafted by the Macau Secretary for Administration and Justice and proposed to Legislative Assembly on 6 December 2013 in the absence of public consultation. Ten days after the bill had proposed, the Legislative Assembly generally passed the bill with twenty eight members agree to pass and three disagree. The legislators who showed opposition on passing the bills were Ng Kuok Cheong, Au Kam San and José Pereira Coutinho. In the following months, the Second Standing Committee had held seven closed-door meeting for the draft of the bill. Legislators Au Kam San and Ng Kuok Cheong proposed the bill should pass through public consultation. However, the proposal was vetoed in the seventh closed-door meeting in the Second Standing Committee. On 23

¹⁰ Lam, O. (2014). 20,000 People Protest in Macau Against 'Bill of Greed and

Privilege'. *Amsterdam: Global Voices*. Retrieved from <https://globalvoices.org/2014/05/26/photos-20000-people-protest-in-macau-against-bill-of-greed-and-privilege/>

April 2015, the Legislator Ng Kuok Cheong mentioned about the bill on a social network site, Facebook. On 13 May, the Hong Kong Oriental Daily News revealed the story of the bill and criticized on how the high-ranking officials are benefiting themselves on its headline. On 16 May, the New Macau Association set up petition signing in different regions of Macau, including Red Market, Costa, Public Administration Building, Portas Do Cerco etc. On 20 May, Macau conscience announced the 25 May march against the 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' demanding the government to withdraw the bill. On the day of protest, there were estimated 20000 citizens participating in the march, the number is about four percent of the total population.¹¹ The number of participants was surprisingly high and it was the largest demonstrations in Macau since the protest against 4 June movement in 1989. The participants included civil servant, students, teachers, casino workers and the parents of disabled children, etc. Two days after the protest, there were another 7000 citizens occupying grass plots around the Assembly Building, demanding the government to withdraw the bill. Accompanying the growing pressure from the public, the Chief Executive Fernando Chui Sai On once and for all announced the project of bill to be withdrawn completely (蘇家豪, 2015).

¹¹ Lam, O. (2014). 20,000 People Protest in Macau Against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. *Amsterdam: Global Voices*. Retrieved from <https://globalvoices.org/2014/05/26/photos-20000-people-protest-in-macau-against-bill-of-greed-and-privilege/>

Interview Findings

I have performed interviews with twenty five people who manifestly participated in the protest and took to street against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. Before proceeding to the reasons that mobilized them to participate in the protest, they were asked if they really understand the content of the bill and the issue before they went for protest.

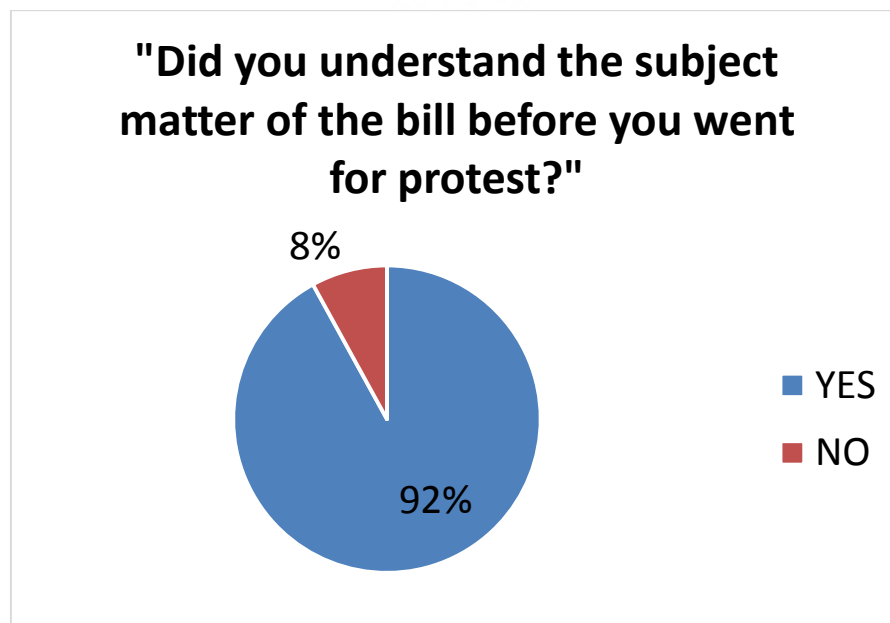


Figure 3. Do the participants look into the details the bill before they went for protest?

As shown in Figure 3, among all the respondents, there were only two of them who were not fully conscious of the issue before they demonstrated.

A set of result for all twenty five people participating in the protest is associated with different reasons: discontent against the government, peer effect, social injustice and self-

interest. In drawing the map of impulse to political participation in this particular issue, it is important to survey how many people in each particular area and the reason of participation is distributed through the particular area. I would like to research on two particular areas that may lead to different meanings why people participate in the protest, the area of age group and income level. Throughout the two patterns of result, it can give a better view about which group of people is more likely to participate and are more likely to participate because of certain reason. The result patterns of age group are set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Measuring impulse to protest by age group

	Discontent against government	Peer effect	Social- interest	Social injustice
<i>Ages</i>				
Below 18	0%	4%	0%	4%
18-25	8%	8%	8%	20%
26-35	16%	0%	4%	12%
36-50	8%	0%	0%	0%
Above 50	4%	0%	0%	4%
Total participants	36%	12%	12%	40%
(percent %)				



For the people who are below eighteen, 4 percent of the respondents participated in the protest because their friends ask them for accompany, the peer effect. Another 4 percent participated because that the case was far beyond the standard of morality and ethical mean that aroused their consciousness of citizenship, hence, the social injustice. The people age between eighteen and twenty-five occupy the majority of participants in my interview. Inside there are 8 percent of the participants went for protest for peer effect and 20 percent for social injustice. 8 percent of the participants protested because they were very unsatisfactory with the government, the discontent against government. It is noted that these people were simply showing their attitude to the government, but they were not protesting for the specific topic or issue on that day. Furthermore, 8 percent of the participants protested because they thought that government had deprived their own interest, as well as social resources that they should have enjoyed as a citizen. For the people who age between twenty-six and thirty five, there are 16 percent of participants hoping to show their discontent against government under the protest activity. 12 percent of them went for social injustice and 4 percent of them went for self interest. Next, 8 percent of the participants in the age group of thirty-six to fifty are hoping to show discontent against government. Following by the same reason 4 percent participated in the age group that is above fifty, in addition to another 4 percent of them protested for social injustice.

Overall, the result pattern clearly shows that there is fewer people participating in the protest on 25 May with the age below 18 and above 36. It is suggested that the more active participants who are willing to engage in the protest and stand in the opposite side against the government age above 18 and below 25. The particular group may show more



willingness or they are easier to be mobilized to engage in political participation when comparing to other age group. In contrast, the people who are above 36 are comparatively inactive in showing participation tendency in the protest. It may due to the fact that the older age group of people focus less on the political issue in the society, or the these group of people are less affected by the topic issue this time. It is difficult to mobilize them to participate when the people itself is barely affected. More importantly, the result shows that the reason for people to participate in 25 May protest mainly falls in the social injustice, following by the discontent against government. The pattern result of the participants in different income group is set out in Table 2.

Table 2. Measuring impulse to protest by income group

	Discontent against government	Peer effect	Self- interest	Social injustice
<u>Monthly salary</u> <u>distribution</u> <u>(in patacas)</u>				
Below 10000	0%	8%	0%	0%
10000 - 20000	16%	4%	8%	12%
20001 - 30000	12%	0%	0%	16%
30001 - 40000	4%	0%	4%	8%
Above 40000	4%	0%	0%	4%
Total participants (percent %)	36%	12%	12%	40%

There are 8 percent of the participants whose wages are less than 10000 patacas each month protested as affected by their peers. Following by the same reason is 4 percent of the participant whose monthly salary lies between 10000 and 20000 patacas. There are 8 percent of the participants whose monthly salary lies between 10000 and 20000 patacas and another 4 percent of the participants whose monthly salary lies between 10000 and 20000 patacas protested for their self-interest. Participants protested for social injustice result in 12 percent in the salary between 10000 to 20000 patacas, 16 percent between 20001 and 30000 patacas, 8 percent between 30001 and 40000 patacas, and 4 percent that receive more than 40000 patacas per month. Finally, for the reason for discontent against government, there are 16 percent of the participants in the income level between 10000 and 20000, 12 percent of the participants in the income level between 20001 and 30000, 4 percent of the participants in the income level between 30001 and 40000, and 4 percent of the participants in the income level of above 40000.

On the whole, the income group of people that is more likely to participate mainly takes place in the people whose monthly salary is between 10000 and 20000 patacas, following by monthly salary between 20001 and 30000 patacas. These income group of people mainly participated for discontent against government and social injustice. The result pattern suggested that the middle class is more willing to participate, and the lower class is easier to be mobilized to engage in political participation by their peers. In contrast, the upper class usually participates for social injustice, they are relatively unpersuadable.

During the final part of the interview, the respondents were questioned if the protest will increase their civic awareness or even participation in future political affairs. As shown in

Figure 4, they were asked if they will participate if the issue of the political affairs shifted to universal suffrage.

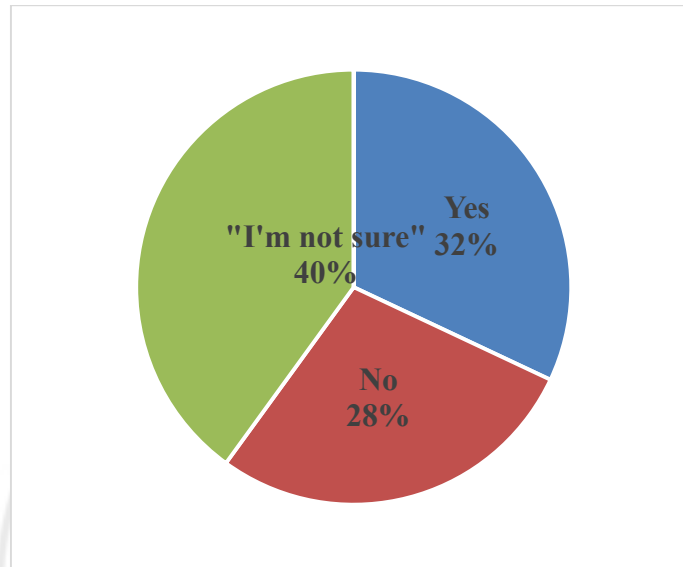


Figure 4. Do the participants participate in future political affairs if regarding to fight for "universal suffrage"?

The result revealed that only eight respondents will react and act in terms of political participation aiming for universal suffrage. Seven respondents claimed that they would not participate and another ten respondents were not sure if they would participate. As a result, the interview showed that the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' might not contribute big impact on future political and civic awakening, people's interest on political affairs as well as their sense of democracy.

Analysis of research findings

Further to the view and behavior of the respondents upon the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege', I would like to examine, analyze and hence identify the key factors of the research findings according to four impulses that lead to motivation of participation: instrumental participation, communitarian and organizational participation, educative participation and expressive participation (Parry, et al. 1992).

Instrumental participation

The theory suggested that people participated in political activity mainly for self-interested goals. According to a quotation from Verba and Nie (1987, p102), "participation is to us most importantly an instrumental activity through which citizens attempt to influence the government to act in ways the citizens prefer". Therefore, the main reason why people participate, at the same time, others do not participate was expected in the acknowledgment of cost-benefit. The people showed more interests in participating if they assumed that they can benefit from the action. For the people who participated to show discontent against the government, the theory of instrumentalism can be applied. Most of the people deemed that the government abused the public spending after the bills had been approved. In this manner of speaking, some people consider the bill was unfavorable to them, and thus tended to attend in political participation over the upcoming issue.

The social-psychological and economic approach of political participation further explained the extension of instrumentalist perspective. As mentioned in the literature review, Different levels of psychological preparation of people have different

determination to engage in some rivalrous activities. Participants cannot be put in a single hierarchy (Parry et al., 1992; Verba, Nie, 1987).

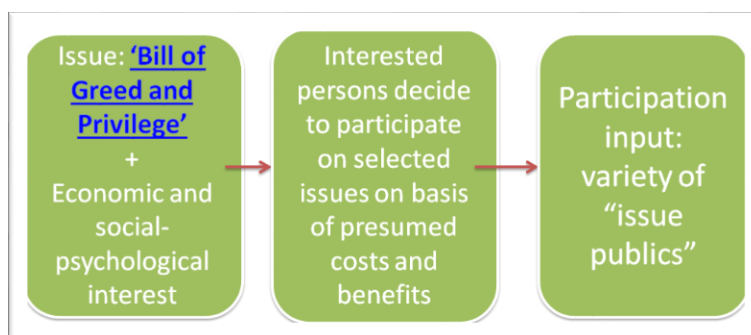


Figure 5. Social-psychological and economic model of the protest “Bill of Greed and Privilege”. Translated and adapted from Verba and Nie (1987). Participation in America. *Political Democracy and Social Equality*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.

Social-psychological approach (see Figure 5) highlighted the civil attitude established by people that urged them to participate. The attitudes were composed of affection of politics, the political consciousness, the perception of political effectiveness and the accountability to participate. The attitudes were usually developed with the people who maintained upper status in the society. These upper status individuals were better educated and more sensitive to politics. These individuals claimed to have a stable financial ability which allowed them to spend time, strength and money on political activity. At the same time, their social milieu was usually circled with people who shared a similar or identical disposition and thus strengthened the effectiveness of general civil attitude (Parry et al., 1992, pp9-11). According to Verba and Nie, they specified this socio-psychological approach as ‘socio-economic status model’.

In contrast, the economic approach also suggested that people participated due to their desires, needs and difficulties they encountered. Their problems may contribute to financial and social needs. The numerous and different needs, desires and problems may be characterized by the people's economic condition, education, housing etc. Therefore, the effective level of participatory activity was shaped with different sort of issues. For instance, the unemployed, or whose children studying in elite school with expensive terms of school fees, or who was living in social housing, they were easier to be pushed to participate in activity within the particular aspect. According to a quotation from Verba and Nie, "lower status citizens were more effective politically and used that political effectiveness to improve their social and economic circumstances" (Verba, Nie, 1972, p342).

Table 1 and 2 highlighted that most people were not satisfied with their government performance. During the interview, most of them were unhappy about the housing problem in Macau, they complained that the government should spend more on the construction of public housing and increase the availability of land for public housing. They deemed that the public fund which they had shared the contribution to the government was in turn abused by the government. Therefore, it gave support to the 'self-interest' reason of the three respondents, among the twenty five, mentioned during the interview that they participated because they felt their interests were being threatened by the bill. Other also discontented against the government with because of problem of inflation, shortage of medical resources. Most of these people came from the age group from 26-35, which reached the life period where they usually got married and built their own family. Therefore, it was suggested that they would be concerned more on the

accommodation problem than people with different ages. On the other hand, Table 2 suggested that most people received income of 10000-20000 patacas were discontent against the government. It gave evidence to the suggestion that they participated in the protest because their needs, desires and problems were not satisfied. The housing, inflation, medical problem, as well as the perspective of abused public fund by the government, impelled people to participate as their needs, interests and desires were threatened by the 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. As a result, participation focused on the "issue public". The bill issue this time caused criticism against government self serving motivation and inadequate transparency and bad performance. The participation only gave rise to civic awareness for a short period of time.

Communitarian and organizational participation

The theory of communitarian defined people taking part in political participation as they calculated themselves to be a part in the community. In this case, people were knowledgeable to the local needs and obstacles and perceived these needs were in the part of their sharing community. The people in the same community practiced a strong communal relationship and common belief and therefore developed a strong sense of communal identity. For instance, people working in the same field of job were suggested to receive support or sympathy in the case of participation. Therefore, it gave explanation to the peer effect which impelled people to participate in the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. In the theory of communitarian, people were motivated and affected by their sense of identity with their colleagues, friends, neighbors, or with people shared the same community. Participation was further stimulated if people actively revealed commitment to their community (Parry et al., 1992, pp 2-14, 336).

Besides, the organizational membership also suggested the idea how affiliation with organization functioned to reinforce the participation potential of people. The affiliation defined people's belonging to the organization and their sense of membership. At the same time, in every meeting of the organization, members may have chances to expose to political discussion or issue over the community problems. These types of organization did not merely refer to political clubs or association with frequent political conversation, rather it also referred to apolitical organization, e.g. the dragon boat team. It could be explained in the way that the affiliation provided people with broad field of vision of the world, thus forging the reinforcement of political participation potential. In the individual qualitative interview, few of the respondents mentioned that they were members of particular organization, i.e. the dragon boat team and the Student Association in the university. Most of them agreed that the issue 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' was discussed within their organization, though in the form of informal and casual discussion. As a result, it was suggested that the organization raised the opportunity for practicing participation within the organization and which in turn be shifted to political activity. Furthermore, organization induced higher level of political participation as it created a platform to maintain an 'explicit political stimuli'. The stimuli were expressed as the exposure to political conversation or community activity. More activity within the organization, people would be exposed more to the stimuli, and tended to increase their rate of political participation. The group, or organization contributed additional encouragement and efficacy to political participation (Parry et al., 1992, p86; Verba, Nie, 1972, pp182-191).

Educative participation

It was suggested that educative approach was an educative experience. People's participation helped to develop their sense of accountability and competence. At the same time, they got to have a more detailed understanding of politics through participation (Parry et al., 1992, pp14-15). However, the participation through the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' failed to give educative reason to participation. In the individual interview, none of the respondent stated that educative participation was seen as a factor influencing their potential for their participation. Therefore, the educative norm as an impulse to political participation could not be applied in our discussion this time.

Expressive participation

The expressive participation highlighted the expression of people's feeling or their standpoint over a particular issue. The expressive approach was a type of symbolic engagement. In this case, any anticipation of goal achievement or cause of concern for their community did not give into effect in the theory of expressive participation. People took part in the activity to express their political identity, solidarity with certain people or ideas, sense of citizenship, etc. In the protest of Macau on 25th May 2014, people participated to show their frustration against the government could be seen as an approach of expressive participation. In the individual interview, some of the participants claimed that they were already dissatisfied with the government performance far before the bills have been promoted. They made use of the protest to display their stance of discontent. However, it is this approach which may give confusion in classification comparing the theory of instrumental participation (Parry et al., 1992, p15). If people purely participated in the protest against the bill to display their feeling or stance, they

could not deny that they were not fostering the achievement of bill withdrawal. After the participation through protest, the project of bill was announced to be withdrawn by Chief Executive. Therefore, the expressive participation here, gave instrumental effects. The instrumental effects thus created difference to the government, whereas it was far away from the expectation of the participants as they were originally aimless to influence the governmental decisions.

As a result, the instrumental participation gave evidence on the validity of my argument which was mentioned before. Most of the people deemed that the government abused the public spending after the bills had been approved. In this manner of speaking, some people considered the bill was threatening their interests as being taxpayers, and thus tended to attend in political participation. The way of people concerning about own interest can give rise to the subject orientation on people's voting behavior and participation in political activities suggested by Yee (2005) and Kwong (2005) as mentioned in my paper earlier. People were mobilized to take part in the protest when they viewed their benefits as being deprived by the government. However, it was suggested that only a few respondents would agree to engage in political participation when they were revealed with issue such as "universal suffrage". Therefore, people were not actually attracted to political or civic awakening that the 25th May 2015 protest in fact did not increase their awareness of other future political affairs.

Conclusion

To look back, in 2014, the Macau government introduced a controversial bill to remunerate the outgoing Chief Executive and the principal government officials and to exempt the Chief Executive's criminal liability during his term of office. After all, the government was dispraised by the public that the bill was drafted in the absence of public consultation. Following by the criticism of self-serving motivation and inadequate transparency brought two large-scale protests to demand the withdrawal of the bill. On 25 May 2014, there were 20,000 citizens marching in the street and three days later there were another 7000 citizens occupying grass plots around the Assembly Building. A few days later, the Chief Executive finally announced the project of bill to be withdrawn completely. After the event, the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' was widely seen as a critical turning point to political awakening. The discussion in this research has paid attention on whether this particular social movement will lead to citizen awareness of political affairs and initiated more civic engagement in future political affairs.

Existing literature has characterized political participation as legal 'activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take'. The protest behavior in the form of political participation was then measured by manifest behavior such as demonstrations, strikes, boycott, here it emphasized that even illegal political acts should be taken account of measures of political participation. At the same time, the protest behavior also covered particular latent behaviors such as blank-voting, non-voting and signing petition.

More importantly, the behavior and perspective of the protesting participants against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' was further explained by the four motivating impulses:

instrumental, communitarian, educative and expressive. It is essential to distinguish which impulses give rise to participation of different people. Therefore, it explained the idea that participants could not be put in a single hierarchy, i.e. people participated in voting cannot be predicted that they will participate in boycotts too. However, it is noted that the group or organization could contribute additional effect of encouragement and efficacy to political participation.

In local participation, the level of political participation has been well known to be easily influenced by money politics and political mobilization. Since the legislative election voting in 1992, Macau people have maintained a high regard for subject orientation. The characteristics of patron-client politics and self-interest of people in voting behavior can be effortlessly observed in local political activities. People tended to vote for the candidates that brought benefits to them and assisted them in daily matters. Moreover, people who were political apathetic were even harder to express their demands and voices to the government due to the lack of public consultation channel.

The findings in the research paper have adopted qualitative research methods to examine in-depth study on how and why people participated in the protest. The semi-structured interview was applied to allow open-ended approach to give respondent-led finding outcome. When using these methods, the respondents are able to answer the questions in their own terms. Besides, the 'how' and 'why' questions helped to examine the behavior and perception of the respondents. The interview approach was carried with twenty five local citizens from different social class background, occupation, educational level and

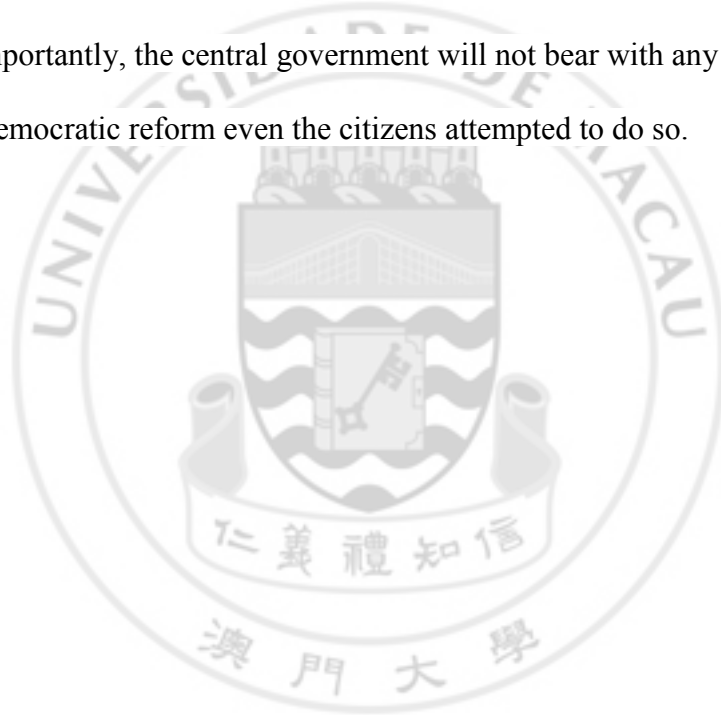
age between seventeen and fifty six. As a whole, the researcher can examine respondent's different points of view according to their different backgrounds in a comprehensive way.

The interview revealed that most of the people were drawn by social injustice to participate in the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege'. It suggested that the bill introduced this time by the government was far beyond reasonable limits that shaped the occurrence of the social movement. However, it cannot be neglected that there were also many of the participants who went for protest as they were dissatisfied with the government performance. It suggested that the society still contained undercurrent of discontent voices disregarding the rapid economic growth and low level of unemployment. In my point of view, the participants' feeling of 'social injustice' and discontent mainly focused on the remuneration of the government officials and the performance of government. The issue of remuneration successfully attracted the attention of citizens to participate in the largest demonstration since Macau's handover. Citizens were aroused to affect the governmental decision and increase their civic awareness to participate in the protest. However, in my opinion, the awareness of most people of the political affair was also used up and disappeared after the bill was withdrawn by the government.

As a whole, the 25th May 2014 protest can hardly extent people's political awareness of future social and political affairs. Most of the citizens will remain as 'politically apathetic' and maintain a low civic competence. Nevertheless, the issue of the protest was a non-democratic issue which suggested that the Beijing government allowed certain tolerance to the formation of social movement. It is clear that people's political awareness of democratic affairs will surely be suppressed by the central government. Therefore,

even the protest against 'Bill of Greed and Privilege' has established a foundation for future democratic movements, the path to the formation of the sense of democracy is yet a difficult task under the control of Beijing government.

In conclusion, the civic awareness of citizens was not genuinely increased by the protest that happened on 25th May 2014. Although the protest regarded as the largest demonstration since handover, the political and civic awakening was not strong enough to give rise to people's sense of political conscience to participate in other political affairs. More importantly, the central government will not bear with any social movement in the form of democratic reform even the citizens attempted to do so.



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參考文獻

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