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- 1 Similarly with Auden's observations above, the actual social problems of Macao are much more intense in the gambling area of town than in public services or workers, and these may include those from the gangster groups that control prostitution, or the derelicts and impoverished who lose all money gambling. Women prostitutes, for instance, sent from poor villages in north China, are held in near slavery by these local elements, and the police seem to actually look the other way. That may very well be true, and it has probably been true since the rise of the gambling industry in the middle of the nineteenth century.
- 2 This article is not, however, focusing on the problems in the area of gambling, which, as the reviewer points out, are "eminently worth an article". Rather, the intention is to give a bird's eye view of the social problems in Macau, including gambling. Specifically, the issues discussed here are gender inequalities, race and ethnic relations, class inequalities, urban housing, traffic and transportation, air pollution, crime and deviant behaviour, and education.
- 3 Some of these issues, such as gender, crime and education, can be viewed as problems of the human environment, and others, like housing, air pollution and traffic, can be viewed as problems of the physical environment. These problems interact with and influence one another².
- 4 Is it true that "nothing serious can happen here", as Auden sarcastically observes? This article implies that further development towards a democratic political polity and a stronger civil society may be more important than any single force in dealing with Macau's problems.
Gender issues
- 5 In traditional Chinese culture, women have a lower status than men in terms of power, wealth and prestige. We will look at some of the important indicators of women's status: the number of women in important political positions, the money they make, and how they feel about themselves and their position relative to that of men³.
- 6 Women constituted 52% of the population of 465,000 in Macau at the end of 2004. Yet, out of the 27 legislators in the second Legislative Assembly of the Macau Special

Administrative Region of the PRC, only five, or 18.52% of them, were women⁴. Women constitute about 20% to 40% of the government officials at various levels in Macau, except at the lowest rank (see Table 1). The average number is already fairly high compared with the PRC⁵.

1. Proportion of women and men among government officials





	Sex	Total	Per cen
▶ Director	Male	38	73%
	Female	14	27%
	Total	52	
▶ Deputy-director	Male	34	56%
	Female	27	44%
	Total	61	
▶ Chief of department	Male	84	59%
	Female	59	41%
	Total	143	
▶ Chief of division	Male	148	57%
	Female	110	43%
	Total	258	
▶ Chief of sector	Male	19	63%
	Female	11	37%
	Total	30	
▶ Chief of subsector	Male	41	47%
	Female	47	53%
	Total	88	

Source: 2003 nian Aomen tebie xingzhengqu gonggong x baogao (2003 Public Administration Human Resources i Public Administration and Civil Service Bureau, 2004

- 7 According to He Gui-ling, women constituted 47.2% of the labour force in 2002, yet they comprised only 0.6% of business employers and 1.3% of business owners⁶. Men and women also vary greatly in the amount of money they make. In manufacturing, men make an average of MOP\$5,901, while women make only MOP\$3,974. In utilities supply, the figures are MOP\$19,298 vs. MOP\$15,036; in hotels, restaurants, and similar activities, MOP\$6,578 vs. MOP\$4748; and in financial institutions, MOP\$16,746 vs. MOP\$10,636⁷. On average, women earn 70% of a male's salary.
- 8 It is of note that there are fewer women than men in the first three categories of work, which are the three highest paid (see Table 2); women are more likely to be clerks or unskilled workers who are lower paid⁸.

2. Number of People in Different Categories of Employment

	Number of people	Men 	Women 
Legislators, senior officials, directors and managers of companies	10,657	10,657	2,925
Professionals	7,754	4,419	3,335
Technicians and associate professionals	20,213	10,185	10,028
Clerks	44,085	14,987	29,098
Service and sales workers	44,898	24,798	20,100
Skilled workers in agriculture and fishery	1,860	1,478	382
Craft and similar workers	22,996	19,828	3,168
Plant and machine operators, drivers and assemblers	21,820	11,557	14,063
Unskilled workers	37,004	17,025	19,979

Source: Macau Government's Statistics and Census Bureau, <http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?erc=/english/pub/>

- 9 It is not clear to what extent such differences are due to gender discrimination. But we may determine a hint of the problem in a survey of Macau women by Penny Chan in the early 1990s⁹. According to this survey, 77.0% of the women felt that they had equal status with the males in their families, and 13.5% of them felt that they had low or lower status in the family. In the workplace, only 59% felt they were equal to men in status, and 30% felt they had low or lower status than men. In addition, while 75.5% felt they were not discriminated against because they were women, 19.4% did think that they were.

Ethnic relations

- 10 Since East-West exchanges began in the 1500s, Macau has at one time or another been one of the most international cities in China. The emergence of an independent Macanese community implied both a clash and integration of civilisations¹⁰. According to the 2001 census, Macau had a population of 435,235. Of that population, 95.17%, or 414,200, were Chinese by nationality; 2.02%, or 8,793, were Portuguese¹¹; 1.23%, or 5,334, were Filipino¹²; 0.17%, or 733, were Thai; 0.28%, or 1,217, were American and Canadian; and 1.15%, or 4,985, were other¹³. Although the population in early 2005 was 469,000, the proportion of each group has most likely changed very little. Given the fact that the large majority of the population is Chinese, and the Chinese in Macau have political power since the handover in 1999¹⁴, one might assume that the effect of ethnocentrism and racism may not be very noticeable. This may be true in particular because the non-Chinese population is comparatively small and members of these groups have a relatively high social status¹⁵. That said, the existence of multiracial groups in Macau, among them those with a lower socio-economic status, indicates a possible ethnic relations issue. Such issues need to be addressed if the government wants to create a more fair and just society in Macau.
- 11 After the handover, the Macanese community understandably felt concern for the preservation of their cultural heritage, even of their power, as they feel a need to maintain a fairly high social status as a minority group in a sea of Chinese.
- 12 On the whole, however, the Macanese and Portuguese seem to be doing well. While some have taken on other positions following their government service, others have stayed in the government to play more important roles. In addition, the Macanese and the Portuguese have maintained their niche in the arena of law in Macau. They have insisted, and succeeded, in maintaining the use of Portuguese, almost exclusively in the higher courts, along with Chinese in the lower courts¹⁶. UNESCO's approval of Macau as

a world heritage site in 2005 should also give the Macanese and Portuguese a boost in preserving their culture. Efforts to use Macau as a platform for economic co-operation among the Portuguese-speaking countries in the world can also help enhance the importance of the Macanese community.

- 13 Nonetheless, ethnic groups in Macau are still socially separate from one another, although this may change with the younger generation. While the older Macanese generations' social circles remain largely Portuguese-speaking, the younger generations tend to speak two or three languages or are even bi- or tri-lingual and tend to have more friendly contact with Chinese people than in the past, though social boundaries remain¹⁷. The same applies to the relationship between Chinese and other groups, including foreigners. Our interview data finds that foreigners and the local Chinese have little social contact with one another, as the Cantonese and Fujianese, especially the older generations¹⁸. As one of the reviewers points out, "The number of mainland Chinese becoming resident in Macao has increased in the last ten years." Thus there is conflict between new and old immigrants, and among the Macanese, Hong Kong Chinese and mainlanders, who are all Chinese.
- 14 The Filipina interviewed felt that she suffered discrimination by the local Chinese. Even though this may have to do with her social status, as many in Macau are maids to families in Macau, the discrimination exists¹⁹. This treatment is very similar to that of South and South-East Asians by the Chinese in Hong Kong. As the latter example indicates, class may not matter. Race does²⁰.
- 15 In a word, although ethnic relations in Macau seem to be cordial, there is separation. In other words, groups still tend to keep their distance from one another. One group is generally not in the inner circles of the other. Above all, ethnocentrism, racism and discrimination can often be a problem. Cultural integration is thus still a mission unaccomplished, despite frequent claims to the contrary, and as such claims of any government that its society is a fair and just one are disputable. For cultural integration and development to occur, everyone in Macau, people from all the different cultures there, as well as the government, must make an effort to create a Macau identity that all who live in Macau can share and enjoy and live in co-operation, which must be through basic education and understanding of Macau's history and culture.

Income inequalities

- 16 In July 2001, the number of the employed was 215,059. Of that number, 57.6% made less than MOP\$6,000, 20.5% made between MOP\$6,000 and MOP\$9,999, 15.2% made between MOP\$10,000 and MOP\$19,999, and 5.6% made MOP\$20,000 or above²¹. (Meanwhile 1.1% of the employed were family helpers without pay)²². Thus a majority of the people in Macau made less than MOP\$6,000.
- 17 It is true that the economy has picked up since then. But benefits do not seem to be distributed any more equally, and the gap between the lower and upper salaries of earners remains large. People working in industries related to gaming have seen increases in earnings, especially in hotels and restaurants. For example, by the end of 2004, the average salary in wholesale and retail businesses was MOP\$5,972, with an increase of 6.4% over the same period in 2004, and the average salary in the hotel and restaurant industries was MOP\$5,593 in the first quarter of 2005, with an increase of 4.7%²³. Employees in the gaming industry averaged MOP\$10,730 in 2004, the Chief Executive now makes MOP\$136,000, a chief secretary responsible for a number of bureaus makes MOP\$102,170, and an Assembly legislator makes MOP\$34,050²⁴.

- 18 In addition, while the cost of living has been rising, many workers' salaries remain unchanged. Salaries in the retail sales industry have not increased. Rather they decreased during the SARS epidemic in 2003 and have remained at this level. Meanwhile some such businesses have applied for more migrant workers from outside Macau to pay lower wages. People have to work longer hours, more than the usual eight hours a day, in order to keep their jobs (see Table 3 for the median number of hours people work every week in different industries.)²⁵ A survey at the end of 2004 by the Macau General Federation of Unions found that over 60% of workers had seen no salary increase in 2004, and that the average salary of workers in manufacturing were lower than MOP\$3,000²⁶. The most recent data indicate that about one-third of employees of all kinds, 78,200 people in total, made less than MOP\$4,000–47,500 of them making less than MOP\$3,000²⁷. In addition to the problems above, the number of the underemployed was 4,339, or 1.9%, of the labour force, and the unemployed 11,046, or 4.8%, in 2004²⁸.

3. Industries and Median Number of Hours People Work per Week

	Number of work hours per week
Manufacturing	47.4
Electricity, gas and water supply	41.9
Construction	46.2
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	41.2
Hotels, restaurants and similar activities	41.1
Transport, storage and communications	47.6
Financial intermediation	44.2
Real estate, renting and business activities	41.7
Public administration, defence and compulsory social security	39.6
Education	41.3
Health and social welfare	44.5
Other community, social and personal services	41.4
Households with employed persons	58.5

Source: Macau Government's Statistics and Census Bureau
<http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/english/indicadores>
 August 25th, 2005.

- 19 As a result, the gap between the rich and the poor keeps widening. The government survey in 2002/2003 indicates that the bottom 20% of the households made an average monthly income of MOP\$3,316, with a decrease of 1.6% compared with 1998/1999, while the top 20% of the households made an average monthly income of MOP\$27,792, with an increase of 9.5%. The Gini coefficient was 0.45 in 2002/2003, and some Macau economists believe that the number may have increased to 0.46 in 2005²⁹. It makes Macau one of the areas in the world where the gap between rich and poor is the largest.
- 20 This gap comes with other problems. One of them is the conflict among workers and between workers and employers. Macau workers tend to be strongly against the importation of labour. There is a workforce of imported labour of about thirty

thousand in Macau now. Some employers give priority to such migrant workers and use the local workers only as substitutes. This has aroused protests from local workers who frequently complain to the government for violations of Macau law³⁰. Tour bus drivers too have found their jobs going to workers hired from outside Macau³¹. So far there has been no violent conflict between local and migrant workers, but the situation has become tense and needs the government's serious attention. It is going to be difficult to find a fair and just way of handling this issue.

- 21 The other problem, already mentioned above, is the mistreatment of workers, by paying less while increasing work time. Migrant workers may face even more serious problems, tending to live in crowded quarters, and in isolation from the local people. In addition a gap in industrial health and safety causes injury and fatalities³². Oftentimes employers will delay or refuse to pay due wages, and workers have been known to resort to drastic measures to obtain their wages, including threatened suicides³³.
- 22 The status of sex workers in Macau is another serious issue. If about 13% of women workers are in prostitution in Hong Kong, one can assume the same percentage for women in Macau, i.e., about 16,500 of them³⁴. This is probably where the greatest human rights abuses can be found and yet they are not really addressed by the government.
- 23 To create a fair and just society, the government has to deal with the widening gap between rich and poor. For most workers, to enforce the eight-hour work day without decreasing their salaries might be a good place to start.

Urban housing

- 24 One of the things visitors to Macau may notice is the striking contrast between the well-preserved historic buildings on one hand and the dilapidated urban housing on the other. In the 1950s and 1960s, many five- or six-story buildings were put up in Macau, especially on the Macau peninsula³⁵. They are small, worn-out and sanitation is bad. The Macau government has set a goal to rebuild these areas³⁶. The new community of high-rises the government is planning to build in Youhan, for example, would include a school, a park and other community facilities like underground car and motor cycle parking³⁷. But this is only the planning stage, and Youhan is an experiment to see how such projects might be undertaken. It will take years for the buildings to materialise. Meanwhile, many other older areas are still awaiting transformation. Finding new homes for those who will be moved is a big challenge for the government. Some of the residents in Youhan already point out that they applied for low income housing several years previously, but with several thousand households applying and only a hundred homes available, as in 2004, their chances are slim³⁸.
- 25 But the slow progress in urban reconstruction reinforces the gap between rich and poor.

Traffic and transportation problems

- 26 Traffic problems are the first concern among young professionals, according to a survey by Macau Polytechnic University in 2005³⁹. The other concerns are drug abuse, public healthcare, education and social welfare. With an area of 27.5 square kilometres, Macau had 142,583 motor vehicles (68,730 cars and 72,528 motor cycles) in 2004. In the same year, out of the 12,758 traffic accidents involving transportation vehicles, there were 16 fatalities, 332 serious injuries, and 3,801 minor injuries⁴⁰.

- 27 Although public transportation is fairly convenient, it is not unusual for taxi drivers to overcharge passengers or refuse to take them. In the first three quarters in 2005, according to government statistics, 336 complaints were filed, a 15% increase over the same period last year. Most of them were concerned about the rudeness of the drivers and their refusal to take passengers. Among those cases, 40 were successfully prosecuted⁴¹. And one frequently sees taxis with handles above the windows falling off or simply broken. Like taxi drivers, many bus drivers do not seem to understand Putonghua, either, let alone English.
- 28 With the rising number of vehicles, the government needs to think at least about accident prevention, which would include road improvement, driver education, and enforcement of rules and regulations⁴². For example, certain areas are accident black-spots, which may indicate bad road planning or directions. Green lights at some crossings last for such a short time that there is not enough time for pedestrians to cross the road⁴³. Drivers do not generally give way to pedestrians at crossings⁴⁴. The government, however, does not seem to be making much progress on improving the human and physical environment regarding traffic and transportation issues.

Air pollution

- 29 According to the government's Environmental Protection Committee, in 2003 there were 14 to 24 days when the air quality was bad—the high density population areas and roadsides being the worst affected. The overall quality of air in Macau has worsened⁴⁵. In 2004, the number of bad days had increased to 42⁴⁶. Meanwhile, the number of people with respiratory diseases has risen, according to government statistics⁴⁷.
- 30 Although pollution on mainland China may also affect Macau's air, there are some major polluters in Macau as well. These are mainly the power plants, solid waste incinerators, sewage treatment plants and cars and trucks. Whether the government is going to take any effective measures against these polluters remains to be seen. It is an issue of balancing business interests and the interests of the people in general in Macau⁴⁸.

Crime and deviant behaviour

- 31 In Macau, crime is punished by law while deviant behaviour generally raises people's eyebrows but bears no legal consequences.
- 32 The overall crime rate in 2004 was lowered by 1.4%: the number of crimes decreased to 9,786 in 2004 from 9,920 in 2003. Robberies decreased 37%, from 541 to 340, and extortion 23.2%, from 95 cases to 73. In a small place like Macau, however, these figures may still seem too high. In addition, theft increased 1.6 times, from 278 to 732⁴⁹. In the first quarter of 2005, theft further increased by 20%, to 786 cases in one quarter of the year. Furthermore, the overall crime rate in the first quarter of 2005 increased by 12% compared with the same time in 2004⁵⁰.
- 33 Some of these crimes are related to the gaming industry and the large influx of visitors from the mainland, although the overall crime rate for mainland visitors is low, 7.6 out of 100,000. The most reported crimes related to gaming may be usury, or "loan sharking", and the control of street prostitution by gangs.
- 34 "Loan sharking" causes the second highest number of arrests after drug-related crime (Figure 4)⁵¹. The usury groups would lend money at high interest rates to those who lost at gambling. If the latter could not pay the loans back, they would lock them up until their families found the money⁵².

4. Number of Arrests by Nature of Crime in 2004

Drug abuse	197
Drug trafficking	73
Usury	47
Kidnapping	
Unlawful detention	
Robbery	28
Wounding	16
Extortion	21
Theft	43
Criminal association	16
Homicide	2
Illegal immigration	

Source: Judiciary Police of Macau's website, http://www.pj.gov.mo/1024/pj_en/magazine_en.htm, Aug

- 35 Gang control of street prostitution often involves violence. People from different provinces form different gangs, entice women to Macau to work, and use them as prostitutes to make money. The gangs would have their own turf, and the gang members would serve as pimps, controlling the women's money, and protecting them from the police and competition⁵³. There is not much research regarding women in sex work in Macau, which is considered as deviant behaviour, if not as crime. Partly because of the difficulty in carrying out such studies, the ones we see tend not to be very comprehensive, albeit enlightening⁵⁴.
- 36 Another social problem related to gaming is gambling addiction. Although not a crime, it is considered deviant behaviour. The Institute for the Study of Commercial Gaming at the University of Macau researched the gaming activities of Macau citizens in 2003⁵⁵. Out of a representative sample of 1,121 Macau residents, ranging from ages 15 to 65, the researchers found that two-thirds of the respondents participated in at least one kind of gambling activity in the past year. While it may be true that most of them might have done it for recreational purposes, 1.78% were "probable addicted gamblers" (keneng yi chengwei bingtai dutu), and 2.50% were "probable problem gamblers" (keneng yi chengwei wenti dutu). If the ratio holds, out of 460,000 Macau residents, that would be 8,188 in the first category, and 11,500 in the second.
- 37 The problems of such gamblers can be seen, indirectly, from the following Hong Kong example. In the year between 2003 and 2004, Ming Ai Zhan Qing Center, or Caritas A G Counselling Centre, of Hong Kong, helped 350 addicted/problem gamblers who came to them a first time. Each still had a debt of HK\$200,000 to HK\$300,000. Half were addicted to gambling. Fifty had thought about suicide. Women gamblers had increased to 12%⁵⁶.

38 Macau government's Social Welfare Institute is thinking about setting up a counselling centre as well, since problem gambling has become a serious issue as the industry develops⁵⁷. But given the scope of the problem, the government may have to encourage more social organisations to help with the issue. This is especially true if we consider the problems in high school students. The Institute for the Study of Commercial Gaming at the University of Macau also found that 2.66% of high school students were probable addicted gamblers and 5% were probable problem gamblers. These are higher-than-average figures for Macau. The government has to start dealing with the problem from elementary and middle school level.

Some problems in education

39 In Macau, there are 143 educational institutions. Among them, 131 provide pre-school, primary school, middle school education and technical or occupational training. While 84.7% of these schools are private, 15.3% are public. In the 131 schools, 111 of them use Chinese as their main teaching medium, 5 of them use Portuguese, and 15 use English. Of the 111 private schools, 88, or 79.3% are in the government network of free and subsidised education. There are also 15 schools of special education, and 129 places that provide adult education. In the year 2003/2004, 96,814 students were enrolled in all these schools. In the same year, 4,483 students graduated from high school, and 1,964 of them graduated from vocational-technical high schools. The enrolment rate for higher education was 39.2%, which means that the majority of the 6,447, or 3,920 graduates, went to work or look for work⁵⁸.

40 In addition, there are 12 institutions of higher learning after secondary education, eight of which are private and four of which are public. In the 2003/2004 academic year, 14,526 students were enrolled, with 6,566 males and 7,960 females. In the same year, 2,743 students graduated, 1,006 males, and 1,737 females⁵⁹.

41 In the same year, 4,908 students left school before graduation⁶⁰. About one-third of them went to work in the gaming industry and the rest either helped with their family businesses or stayed at home⁶¹. Altogether 6,663 graduates from both high schools and colleges and 4,908 students who left school early all went on to the labour market that year⁶².

42 In terms of numbers, a large amount of the labour force is not well-educated. 64.7% of the employed population in 2004 did not have a high school education (see Table 5). Although the number of high school and college graduates had increased as compared with the 1990 data, those who did not have a high school education still constituted about two-thirds of people employed. More importantly, only 12.4% of them had a college degree. Among the civil servants, only 23.3% had a university degree, and 64.8% of them had a high school degree or lower⁶³.

5. The Employed Population by Educational Attainment in 2004

	Pre-primary education	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	Technical college	Four year college and univer
Number of employed	21,604	52,091	67,295	43,359	6,602	26,973
%	9.9	23.9	30.9	19.9	3.0	12.4

Sources: Statistics and Census Bureau's website, http://www.deec.gov.mo/index.asp?arc=/chinese/html/c_sitem on Feng Zengjun and Li Yiming, *Aomen jiaoyu gaifan* (An Introduction to Macau's Education), Guangzhou, Guang

43 In 2003 the Education and Youth Bureau distributed a survey to 3,413 public as well as private employers, asking them to evaluate the performance of middle-school

graduates they had hired⁶⁴. They collected 148 responses. The middle-school students they evaluated graduated from 1966 to 2003, but mostly they were graduates from the past ten years. The responses covered ten major industries and social organisations, 63 occupational groups, and 326 different occupations.

- 44 Among other things, 73.0% of employers thought that English was necessary in their work, but only 6.8% of them were satisfied with employees' spoken English, 29.1% were unsatisfied, and 45.6% of them thought these employees' English was just so-so. Regarding Putonghua, 68.9% of employers thought it necessary in their work, but only 8.8% were satisfied with employee ability in speaking Putonghua, 20.9% were unsatisfied, and 48.0% thought it just so-so. Regarding Portuguese, 18.2% of the employers thought their work needed Portuguese, but only 0.7% of them were satisfied with employee ability to speak Portuguese, 24.3% were unsatisfied, and 2.7% thought it so-so. The rest did not express an opinion. Overall, the satisfaction level with graduates' language ability in English, Putonghua and Portuguese was very low. Their scores in reading and writing were a little higher, but not very high.
- 45 Regarding employee ethics, employer satisfaction response was higher than their language ability scores, 47.3%, but considering the importance of the issue, the score is still too low. This is mostly a problem of the city's schools. One survey found that in 1993/1994 only about one-third of the schools had classes of civic or ethics education⁶⁵. The government's Civic and Municipal Affairs Bureau has just started an information website to publicise all kinds of activities they organise to educate citizens about building a society where people will care about each other and about the environment. But since this is a large social project, the Bureau's efforts will be far from effective if the schools are not formally involved in this in their curricula and if people do not learn about such issues early on.
- 46 If graduates have no unawareness of what is civil and ethical, one can expect more social problems, including those mentioned. As another example, in the 2005 legislative election, over 500 complaints and inquiries were filed regarding bribery by some candidates, and 14 cases were formally filed with the Commission against Corruption, a government watchdog organisation⁶⁶.
- 47 Also affecting quality of life in Macau are less serious civil and ethical problems such as: people not queuing when waiting to get on a bus; young people not often giving up seats to elderly people on a bus; drivers generally do not give way to pedestrians at a crossing, etc. According to government statistics, the number of incidents of drivers not yielding to pedestrians or vice versa increased 76.89%, from 424 to 750 in the first ten months of 2004 compared with the same period in 2003; similarly, the number of incidents of not following traffic signs increased 26.87% in the same period, and the number of incidents of crossing the street in violation of traffic rules increased 96.06%⁶⁷.

6. Number of College Graduates and their Specific Degree of Study at Graduation

Degree of study	Number of graduates
Teacher training and education	305
Arts	70
Humanities	287
Social and behavioral sciences	49
Journalism and information	N.A.
Business and administration	973
Law	210
Life sciences	51
Physical sciences	N.A.
Mathematics and statistics	5
Information technology	126
Architecture and building	17
Mechanics, energy, and chemical engineering	43
Health	175
Social services	92
Personal services	340
Security services	N.A.
Total	2,743

Source: The Statistics and Census Bureau's website, http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/chinese/html/c_sitemap.htm August 28th, 2005.

- 48 In higher education, students should have enough classes in humanities and social sciences in addition to ethics classes, but this does not seem to be the case. Looking at some statistics, as one can see from Table 5, from 2,743 college graduates in 2004, only 49 were graduates of social and behavioural sciences, which would have to include anthropology, sociology, political science, economics and psychology. The University of Macau offer all these social science programmes now except political science (they offer public administration instead) and anthropology (although there are courses in anthropology within the sociology programme)⁶⁸.
- 49 Various social organisations, including churches and news organisations, will have to play a more active role in the further development of democracy so that the government can be more responsive to social problems and more responsible for solving them. It is not clear how big a role Macau's churches play. The Catholic Church's newspaper, *Aomen guancha bao* (Macau Observer), seems to be critical of the government, for example, concerning its lack of efforts in curbing corruption. But it is not clear how influential the paper is. The *Macao Daily* seems to be making a special effort to maintain a very cordial relationship with the government. But only when citizens are more responsible for and responsive to what is happening in the city can they elect the most responsible and responsive decision-makers for the city, who will then make changes for the better. Education alone is not enough to effect social change. A more active civil society needs to be built and the political processes in Macau have to be more open and democratic⁶⁹. It is true that much change has taken place since the handover in 1999, and Macau is seeing economic development in leaps and bounds. But social progress is still quite slow in comparison. How and whether people in Macau deal with their social problems will determine what kind of identity they want to build for themselves.

 NOTES

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2. For a book on social problems in the 1990s, see Chen Xin-xin (ed.) *Aomen shehui wenti* (Social problems in Macau), Hong Kong, Guangjiaojing chubanshe, 1995.
3. For women in Macau in the 1990s, see Jesucita Sodusta (ed.) *Women in Macau Development*, Macau, The Macau Foundation, 1996.
4. The percentage in Hong Kong is similar, unlike that of Northern Europe, where women legislators in countries like Denmark and Norway may comprise over 30% of the legislative bodies. See Lei Cheuk Fai, "Lun liangxing can zhengxing wei de chayi" (On the difference between men and women in political participation), *Aomen yanjiu* (*Journal of Macau Studies*), Vol. 28, June 2005, pp. 26-31.
5. In mainland China, women constitute only a little over 10% of leading cadres at various levels of government. See "Zhongguo sheng bu ji guanyuan nüxing zhan yicheng" (Women constitute 10% of China's provincial level leaders), *Macao Daily*, August 25th 2005.
6. See He Gui-ling, "Aomen funü yu jingji canyu" (Macau women and their participation in economic activities), *Aomen fazhan celue* (Development strategies in Macau), No. 12, August 2004, at http://www.cpedm.org.mo/c_main.html [September 5th 2005].
7. Macau Government, Statistics and Census Bureau, http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/chinese/html/c_sitemap.html [August 20th 2005].
8. For women's educational and job opportunities, see also Liu Xian-bing, *Aomen jiaoyu shi* (A History of Education in Macau), Peking, Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999, pp. 201-229.
9. See Penny Chan (Chen Xin-xin), *Aomen shehui chutan* (A Brief Exploration of Macau Society), Hong Kong, wan shi wei chuban, 1992, pp. 44-65.
10. See Zhidong Hao, "The Clash of Civilizations (?) in Macau: How People Have Interacted with Each Other in the Past 450 Years", paper presented at the International Symposium on the Twenty-First Century Chinese Culture, November 25th-27th, 2004, University of Macau.
11. Some of the Portuguese passport holders are Chinese by origin. This group would also include the Macanese (Sino-Portuguese mixed-race people native to Macau), who numbered 4,963, or 1.14% of the population in 2001.
12. The number of Filipinas is increasing in Macau because they are more able than other groups to use English.
13. See Huang Hanqiang and TJ Cheng, *Xin lai Ao dingju zhi neidi yimin lunxi* (Analysis on Macau's new immigrants from mainland China) (Macau: Center for Macau Studies,

University of Macau, 2005), pp. 13-15. See also <http://www.dsec.gov.mo/search2/eng/search.html?Search=Search> [August 22nd 2005].

14. As one indicator of power changing hands, the percentage of Macanese holding director/chief-ranking civil servant positions had already changed from 34.8% in 1987 to 14.5% in 1995, four years before the handover. See Herbert S. Yee, *Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, p. 55. See also Wu Zhiliang's analysis on the localisation of Macau's public servants in Wu Zhiliang and Chen Xin-xin, *Aomen zhengzhi shehui yanjiu* (A study of politics and society in Macau), Macau, Macau Association for Adult Education, 2000, pp. 100-129.

15. The Portuguese and Macanese used to be in power in Macau, and as a group they still enjoy a high status after the handover. Most non-Asian workers in Macau hold professional positions with the government and international business as well as with educational institutions. Filipinos, who constitute a large part of the minority community, tend to have lower socio-economic status.

16. This has given rise to much complaint—as most Chinese do not understand Portuguese, why use it? For the problems in the court system involving language use, see a group of articles in *Macao Daily*, October 20th 2005, p. B3. For more discussion on the use of Portuguese in Macau, see Wang Yu, “Zhongwen shi Aomen tebie xingzheng qu de zhuyao zhengshi yuyan” (Chinese is the main formal language in Macau SAR), *Macao Daily*, August 22nd 2004; “Zai lun zhongwen shi Aomen tebie xingzheng qu de zhuyao zhengshi yuyan” (On Chinese as the main and formal language in Macau SAR), June 5th 2005. See also Mark Bray and Ramsey Koo, “Postcolonial patterns and paradoxes: language and education in Hong Kong and Macao”, *Comparative Education*, 40(2)215-39, 2004; S. L. Ieong, “Reflections on the language issues in Macau: policies, realities, and prospects” in R. Koo & H. T. Ma (eds), *Macau education: continuity and change*, Macau, Macau Foundation, 1994, pp. 60-69. What language to use, Chinese, Portuguese or English, and when, has been a battle ground for various political and economic forces with each striving to maximise its own interests.

17. See interviews by Cheang Mei Hou, Wong Kam Sang and Zhong Ning. These and the interviews below were carried out for this project. If there is too much integration, the Macanese culture could be lost—a dilemma of cultural integration.

18. See interviews by Chan Leong Fong.

19. See interviews by Ayano Taba, Leong Fong Hio and Leong Mei Ian. Their interviews find that foreigners and the local Chinese have little contact with one another. According to one statistic, there are 2,300 domestic helpers from outside Macau. See “Jia yong qiu guoyu gong, peidui nan” (More households want domestic help but it is difficult to match them to families), *Macao Daily*, May 8th 2004. For more information on Filipino workers in Macau, see Jesucita Sodusta, “Foreign Domestic Workers in Macau: Gender, Power and Family Change Among Philippine Migrants,” pp. 117-143 in Jesucita Sodusta, 1996, *op. cit.*

20. For a group of articles on discrimination in Hong Kong, see Tan Ruomei (May Tam), Gu Xuebin, Hok Bun Ku, and Jiang Shaoqi Travis Kong (eds.) *Gongmin shenfen de zaisi yu dazao: Huaren shehui de shehui paichi yu bianyuan xing* (Rethinking and recasting citizenship: social exclusion and marginality in Chinese societies), Hong Kong, Center for Social Policy Studies, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2005.

21. Penny Chan describes Macau's social stratification in the 1990s in terms of the upper class of mainly Portuguese and a few Chinese, middle class of mainly the earlier

generations of immigrants from the mainland and a few new immigrants, and the lower class of mainly new immigrants and some earlier ones. See Penny Chan (Chen Xin-xin), *Aomen fazhan xiankuang* (The contemporary development in Macau), Hong Kong, Guangjiaojing chubanshe, 1993, p. 33. See also her article on a comparison between Macau and Hong Kong in Wu Zhiliang and Chen Xin-xin, *Aomen zhengzhi shehui yanjiu* (A study of politics and society in Macau), Macau, Macau Association for Adult Education, 2000, pp. 218-239.

22. The data is based on a table in Huang and Cheng, *Xin lai Ao dingju zhi neidi yimin lunxi*, p. 55.

23. See “Lingshou zhaopin da zeng, shouru yi sheng” (Retail hires more people now and salaries have increased), *Macao Daily*, March 18th 2005, p. A10; “Shouji xinchou jun sheng, jiudian yinshi zui gao” (Salaries in the first quarter of 2005 have all been raised, and hotels and restaurants benefited the most), *Macao Daily*, June 18th 2005, p. A10.

24. See “Bocai ye kongque, pan zhi qi qian” (Seven thousand job vacancies in the gaming industry), *Macao Daily*, March 31st 2005; “Gongwuyuan jiang jia xin” (Public servants to enjoy salary increase), *Macao Daily*, February 4th 2005.

25. See “Guyuan daiyu ying shou guanzhu” (There should be concern about employees’ salaries and benefits), *Macao Daily*, August 22nd 2005, p. F4.

26. See “Zhizao ye yuexin bu zu san qian” (Workers in manufacturing make less than MOP\$3,000 monthly), *Macao Daily*, April 20th 2005.

27. See “Guan Cui-xing yu zhengshi zaizhi pinqiong” (Guan Cui-xing calls on the government take care of the working poor), *Macao Daily*, July 11th 2005.

28. See data for 2004 from the Statistics and Census Bureau website at http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/english/indicator/e_ie_indicator.html; http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/english/indicator/e_mn_indicator.html [August 25, 2005].

29. See “Ben Ao pin fu chaju qu zeng da” (The gap between the rich and the poor in Macau is widening), *Macao Daily*, April 27 2005. The Gini ratio of 0 means total equality, and 1 means total inequality. The Gini coefficient in Hong Kong was 0.5 in 2004. It was 0.447 for China in 2001. The Gini ratio was 0.325 for India in 2000, and 0.249 for Japan in 1993. See <http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/abstract/138/rr138ch01.pdf>. See also *World Fact Book’s* China data at <http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ch.html> [August 23, 2005].

30. See “You guzhu zei fa, youxian shiyong wailao” (Some employers violate the law to give priority of work to migrant workers rather than local ones), *Macao Daily*, July 13th 2005.

31. See “Luyou che siji zao qiang fanwan” (Tour bus drivers find their jobs taken away), *Macao Daily*, August 16th 2005, p. B1.

32. See *Macao Daily*, July 17th 2005, p. A3 for a number of articles discussing the death of a migrant worker and the injury of another in a fire in the place where they lived, and other issues regarding migrant workers.

33. At one time some workers threatened to jump from a gymnasium they were building. Only six days later, another seven workers did the same. See *Macao Daily*, April 13th 2005.

34. By some estimates, there were over 200,000 sex workers, or 13% of the 1,558,100 female labour force in Hong Kong in the second quarter of 2004 (see Travis Kong, “Part III: A Study on the Needs of Sex Workers’ Children in Hong Kong” in *A Report on Studies on Deprived Children*, The Social Work Professional Practice Centre, Department of

Applied Social Sciences, Hong Kong Polytechnic University and Hong Kong Society for Protection of Children, 2004).

35. See “Fazhan shang: jiuqu gaizao ying zhengpian kaifa” (Developers: development of the community is the way to go in transforming older areas in the city), *Macao Daily*, November 20th 2005.

36. See “Chengjian gequ tuixing, Aomen ri xin yue yi” (Urban development is happening every day, and Macau is seen in new faces each month,” *Macao Daily*, November 20th 2005.

37. See “Dangju nichai youhan qi diduan” (The government is planning to demolish seven buildings), *Macao Daily*, May 21st 2005 at <http://www.macao.ctm.net/modailylog/20050521/index.htm> [August 25th 2005].

38. See “Jiu qu zhu kong zu buchang” (Tenants in the older housing may have difficulty finding new housing), *Macao Daily*, May 21st 2005, p. B1. The government has 70 buildings, mostly on the Macau peninsula, and mostly in the northern part of the peninsula, to accommodate low income families for them to either buy a home or rent one. See the Housing Bureau’s website at <http://www.ihm.gov.mo/toc.htm> [August 26th 2005].

39. See “Jiaotong shu zui shou guanzhu shehui wenti” (Urban transportation issues are social problems of most concern). *Macao Daily*, April 22nd 2005. For comparison between now and the 1990s, see Zhang Jian-hao, “Jiaotong Wenti” (Traffic problems) in Chen Xin-xin (ed.) *Aomen shehui wenti* (Social problems in Macau), Hong Kong, Guangjiaojing chubanshe, 1995, pp. 89-100.

40. See Statistics and Census Bureau website at http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/chinese/html/c_sitemap.html [August 26th 2005].

41. See *Macao Daily*, “Shou san ji deshi tousu 336 zong” (There were 336 complaints filed in the first three-quarters of the year), October 11th 2005, p. B7.

42. Some attribute the traffic problems to the minute experience base of the drivers and the contempt for the law. But the law is there. If it is not enforced, it is the government’s fault. It is a structural issue, more than a cultural one.

43. See “Xingren ludeng shijian duancu” (There is little time for pedestrians to cross the road), *Macao Daily*, May 8th 2005.

44. See the story of a man seriously injured by a bus at a pedestrian crossing, *Macao Daily*, September 2nd 2005.

45. See the Environmental Protection Committee’s website at <http://www.ambiente.gov.mo/schinese/05/2004/02.pdf> [August 26th 2005]; see also “Ao zhengti kongqi zhisu xiajiang” (The overall quality of Macau’s air has worsened), *Macao Daily*, April 22nd 2005.

46. See “Zhu sanjiao kongqi zuran zhuanxing” (Air pollution in the Pearl River Delta has entered a new stage), *Macao Daily*, April 18th 2005. p. B3.

47. See “Hongqi zhiliang cha dangju xu guanzhu” (The air quality is bad and the government should pay attention), *Macao Daily*, November 3rd 2004.

48. For more discussion on the environmental issues in Macau, see Chen Xi-qiao and Tan Wei-guang (eds.) *Ershi shiji de Aomen huanjing* (Macau’s environment in the twentieth century), Macau, Macau Association for Social Sciences, 2004; Huang Jiu-shun and Li Jin-ping (eds.), *Aomen Huanjing Baohu* (Environmental protection in Macau), Macau, Macau Foundation, 1997; Francisco Nunes Correia and Pedro Liberato, *Aomen Huanjing Zhuangkuang Pinggu ji Celuexing Jianyi* (An evaluation of the environment in

Macau and suggestions on the strategies for its protection), Macau, Social Affairs and Budget Office, 1998.

49. See “Fanzui zei jiang baoli an jian jin liangcheng” (There is a slight decrease in crime and the violent crimes have decreased by 20%), *Macao Daily*, February 8th 2005, p. A2.

50. See “Shou ji zui an, tong bi zeng yicheng” (Crime in the first quarter of the year has increased by 20% compared with the first quarter last year), “Yiyuan Guanzhu Shou Ji Zuian Zengjia” (The legislator is concerned that crime rate in the first quarter has risen), and “Zuian qu sheng dangju you ji” (Crime is rising and the government has a way to deal with it), *Macao Daily*, May 7th 2005.

51. The crime rate in Macau before the handover in 1999 was high, with many unsolved murder cases. See Li Feng-yan “Zhian wenti” (Security problems) in Chen Xin-xin (ed.), 1995, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-88; Feng Zengjun and Li Yiming (eds), *Aomen Jiaoyu Gailun* (An introduction to Macau’s education) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1999), p. 144.

52. See the example of a Peking businessman imprisoned by a group of four young people in “Beijing shangren shu qing guili zao jingu” (Peking businessman lost the money he borrowed and was imprisoned), *Macao Daily*, February 14 2005. The usury group was composed of persons from Fujian, Hong Kong, and Macau.

53. See “Si sha zhan ren yi yan zhong shang” (Four devils stab at people and one man was seriously wounded); “Jitou zheng shi guo jie ji huo” (Pimps compete with each other for turf and got into violent conflict when one crosses the border), *Macao Daily*, 09/27/2004. For more examples of gambling related crimes, especially organized crime, see Leong Veng Mai, *Macau, Crime and the Casino State*, a thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of master of philosophy (Hong Kong: the University of Hong Kong, 2001). Leong’s study does not treat the problems of prostitution in Macau’s gaming industry.

54. See, for example, a study by Zi Teng, *Research Report on Mainland Chinese Sex Workers: Hong Kong, Macau and Town B in Pearl River Delta*, Hong Kong, The University of Hong Kong, 2000.

55. See Feng Jia-chao and Wu Mei-bao, “Aomen jumin canjia bocai huodong diaocha” (A study on Macau citizens’ participation in gaming), Macau, Institute for the Study of Commercial Gaming, University of Macau, 2003.

56. See “Wenti dutu pingjun qian zhai ershi wan” (Problem gamblers on average have a debt of HK\$200,000), *Macao Daily*, October 15th 2004.

57. See “Bingtai dutu fudao zhongxin xia bannian yunzuo” (The counselling centre for problem gamblers will start operation in the second half of the year), *Macao Daily*, February 14th 2005, p. A6.

58. Unless specified otherwise, statistics here are from Statistics and Census Bureau’s website, http://www.dsec.gov.mo/index.asp?src=/chinese/html/c_sitemap.html [August 28th 2005].

59. For a history of Macau’s higher education, see Liu Xian-bing, *Aomen jiaoyu shi*, pp. 35-59; and Feng Zengjun and Li Yiming (eds), *Aomen jiaoyu gailun*, pp. 185-222. See also Mark Bray & Ramsey Koo (eds.), *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, and Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004; and Mark Bray with R. Butler, P.K.F. Hui, O.W.K. Kwo and E.W.L. Mang, *Higher Education in Macau: Growth and Strategic Development*, Comparative Education

Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, 2002, at <http://www.hku.hk/cerc/Publications/he-macau.htm> [11/3/2005].

60. Since most of the students who leave school before graduation are middle school students, some suggest that the government should extend its free education up to senior high school rather than only up to junior high. Although this measure may not solve the entire problem, it should help. See “Liang Qing-ting yu xin xuenian puji gaozhong jintie” (Liang Qing-ting calls on the government to begin to subsidise senior high school education in the new academic year), *Macao Daily*, May 21st 2005, p. B8; see also Wu Guo-chang’s speech on free education in senior high school on December 23rd 2004, published in *Xin Aomen* (New Macau), No. 26, January 2005, p. 19; and a number of articles in issue No. 27, June 2005 of *Xin Aomen*. In 1997 free education was expanded to include one year of pre-school, six years of elementary school, and junior high school (see Liu Xian-bing, *Aomen jiaoyu shi*, p. 25). For more discussion on issues of education in Macau, see also Cai Chang and Gu Ding-yi (eds.) *Aomen jiaoyu yu shehui fazhan* (Education and social development in Macau), Hong Kong, Department of Educational Policy and Administration, Hong Kong College of Education, 2001.

61. See “Lixiao ji zhuxue xuesheng diaocha tiyao baogao 2004” (A report on students who left school before graduation in 2004), at Education and Youth Affairs Bureau’s website at http://www.dsej.gov.mo/~webdsej/www/www_dsej_page.php?con=www_report_page.php [August 28th 2005].

62. In fact, some of the adolescents who leave school early have become what they call “shuan shi shaonian,” or adolescents without school and without a job. It is not unusual to hear stories of them joining gangs of mafia types and engaging in illegal activities. Sometimes they are supported by their businesses in the gambling industry. See “Sijing lian gen baqi haibang tangkou” (Police raided a gang), *Macao Daily*, March 2nd 2005, p. A1; “Hei tangkou duting chengyao kuo shili” (Gangs were supported by their business in the gambling industry and they thus expanded their influence), *Macao Daily*, March 3rd 2005, p. A1.

63. See “2003 public administration human resources in Macau”, Macau, Public Administration and Civil Service Bureau, 2004, p. 42.

64. See “2003 guzhu dui bendi zhongxue biyesheng biao xian de yijian diaochao baogao” (A report on a survey of employers regarding their employees who graduated from middle school) at http://www.dsej.gov.mo/~webdsej/www/reference/doc/report/2003_gra_ability.doc [August 28th 2005] by the Education and Youth Bureau.

65. See Feng Zengjun and Li Yiming (eds), *Aomen jiaoyu gailun*, p. 325.

66. See “Huixuan tousu zixun wu bai duo 14 zong li’an” (500 complaints or inquiries registered concerning bribery in the legislative election and 14 cases formally filed), *Macao Daily*, October 2nd 2005.

67. See “Ling san nian ji ling si nian yi zhi shiyue bufen jiaotong ziliao bijiao” (A comparison of traffic data between 2003 and 2004 in the first ten months of each year), *Macao Daily*, November 7th 2004.

68. It seems that Macau society tends to prioritise professional training more than a well-rounded education. East Asian University, the predecessor of the University of Macau, used to have sociology as a major, but it was cancelled in 1993, three years after its inception. See Penny Chan (Chen Xin-xin), *Aomen fazhan xiankuang*, pp. II, 8-9. Sociology as a major was not resumed until 2005.

69. For a full discussion of social organisations and how they operate, see Lou Shenghua, *Zhuanxing shiqi Aomen shetuan yanjiu* (A study of Macau’s social organisations

in the period of transition), Guangzhou, Guangzhou renmin chubanshe, 2004; see also Aomen fazhan celue yanjiu zhongxin (Centre for the study of development strategies in Macau), “Aomen shetuan de xianzhuang yu qiangzhan” (The current status and future prospects for Macau’s social organisations) in Yu Zhen, Cui Bao-feng and Zheng Weiming (eds.), *Aomen lishi, wenhua yu shehui* (Macau history, culture and society), Macau, Macau Foundation, 2003, pp. 7-20; Wu Zhiliang’s article on building a civil society in Macau and Penny Chan (Chen Xin-xin)’s article on socio-political forces in Macau in articles in Wu Zhiliang and Chen Xin-xin, *Aomen zhengzhi shehui yanjiu* (A study of politics and society in Macau), Macau, Macau Association for Adult Education, 2000, pp. 204-17. Chan analyses the relationship between the middle class and democratisation, and social forces such as A. the traditional left; B. the religious sector of society; C. the Macanese; and D. democracy advocates, a framework based on Wu Guo-chang’s analysis. For the reform of the government, see Bill K. P. Chou, “Public Sector Reform in Macau after the Handover,” *China Perspectives*, No. 52, March-April 2004, pp. 56-63.

RÉSUMÉS

This article examines the current social problems in Macau—inequalities, problems in urban housing, traffic and transportation, air pollution, crime and deviant behaviour, and education. It does not focus on one social problem in detail; rather, it attempts to offer a broad picture of the issues from a sociological perspective. To help solve these problems, it seems that Macau has to build a stronger civil society and continue to democratise its political system. How Macau deals with these problems will determine the identity that people in Macau want to build for themselves¹.

This city of indulgence need not fear
 The major sins by which the heart is killed,
 And governments and men are torn to pieces:
 Religious clock will strike; the childish vices
 Will safeguard the low virtues of the child
 And nothing serious can happen here.
 W. H. Auden (1938)