

The Political Participation of Macao Residents and Proper Participation Channels

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In recent years, the awakening of civic consciousness in Macao has continued incessantly, with the civil society growing gradually and citizen participation achieving greater development. Against this background, all sectors throughout the society of Macao have been extensively involved in various political and government activities, including political elections and policy consultation, while proactively participating in the administration of Macao's public and political affairs, enhancing the consciousness of political participation of Macao residents and building up their political participation abilities. Nevertheless, there remains considerable room for improvement in the political participation of Macao residents, requiring efforts to further strengthen the healthy consciousness of political participation of Macao residents, expand pluralistic channels of political participation and improve the systems and mechanisms of political participation of residents in order to steadily push forward the development of causes of "One Country, Two Systems" and "Macao People Ruling Macao."

I. The political participation of residents and its value in democratic politics

The political participation of residents is a fundamental and important concept in modern political science in the West, which has been defined as the residents' attempt to influence the political process as well as the behavior and activities of public policy and public life through certain methods and channels. "Political participation refers to citizens' behavior of voluntarily participating in political life through a variety of legal means while influencing the political system's structure, ways and rules of its inner workings and the policy-making process."¹ The political science circles, both domestic and abroad, have made numerous classic definitions of political participation of residents. For instance, Samuel P. Huntington and Joan M. Nelson, both renowned American political scientists, have defined political participation in four aspects: the subjects of political participation, the objects of political participation, the purpose of political participation and the influence of political participation. Their view holds, "First of all, the subjects of political participation should be ordinary citizens. Secondly, political participation means actual political activities. Thirdly, the purpose of political participation is to exert influence on the government. Fourthly, political participation is not concerned about the results of the activities."² Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby in their *The Handbook of Political Science* have defined

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political participation mainly through the purpose of political participation, believing that the purpose of political participation is to “influence the government’s decision-making acts” or “attempt to influence the authoritative allocation of social value.”³ Wang Puqu, a professor at Peking University, has defined political participation in five areas: subjects, content, legal relationship, outreach and goals. Wang believes that “the subjects of political participation should be ordinary citizens. The content of participation means the citizens’ behavior of advocating their views on common interests. The legal relationship of political participation refers to the relationship between citizens and political rights, obligations and responsibilities of the public power. Moreover, political participation is limited to activities of influencing the government by lawful means, which exclude illegal acts. The goals of political participation also need to encompass all direct and indirect political lives related to the government activities.”⁴

Judging from the political participation of residents in practice, its basic elements are demonstrated in three main aspects: firstly, the subjects of participation; secondly, the areas of participation; and thirdly, the channels of participation. Among them, the subjects of political participation of residents are citizens with the need for participation, including both individual citizens and various kinds of social and private organizations composed of individual citizens. The areas of political participation of residents are the public spheres – characterized by the existence of the public interests and rationality – that enable residents to legally participate in politics. The channels of political participation of residents are the various kinds of existing channels in the society through which citizens can influence public policy and public life. In political practice, the political participation of residents is expressed in diverse forms, with the major ones including: free expression of political opinions or intentions, independent political decision-making and voluntary choice of political behavior and selection of representatives of political power.⁵ This shows that the political participation of residents is a concrete action rather than political awareness and attitudes. Therefore, the purpose of political participation of residents not only aims to influence political decision-making, but also to influence the implementation, evaluation and modification of policies during a series of political, governmental, and public governance processes.

One should admit that the participation of residents also contains the intrinsic drawbacks of citizen participation when the scope of citizen participation is involved. For example, it is difficult to verify the true desires of citizens. Ordinary citizens normally have no spare time to care about or understand policy issues. Those who have the time and interest may not necessarily have sufficient expertise required to understand such issues. Many citizens who do not participate in organizations are relatively silent and passive, rarely possessing their own independent views on social policies. Therefore, it is very difficult to determine the desires of citizens. The opinions of the townspeople are often considered to be short-sighted as the views of ordinary citizens have been deemed as just eyeing the immediate interests and instant successes without the ability to tolerate delays. Furthermore, they mostly care about narrow-minded interests that ignore the overall development of the society. Some are even irresponsible remarks equal to just lip service. Thus, citizen participation is not only inefficient, time-consuming and costly, but also will lead to social discontent and unrest.⁶ Nevertheless, judging from the requirement of democracy in democratic politics, the political participation of residents is the necessary condition for realizing democratic politics and sound social governance as well as a fundamental element of democratic politics. The concept of political participation also covers two main elements of “participation” and “competition” from the concept of democracy. Therefore, democratic politics cannot exist without

the political participation of residents. Only through the political participation of residents can democratic politics truly function. In light of this, without the political participation of residents, it will be difficult for the public to influence the formulation of public policies as well as to curb and supervise the public power to govern that has been entrusted by the public. In this regard, Yu Keping, a noted scholar at Peking University, in his discourse on the basic elements of democratic politics, says, "Every citizen has the opportunity and condition for participating in politics. The State encourages rather than prohibits its citizens from active participation, which includes competitive political participation. In this sense, democratic politics can be considered as a competitive type of political participation."⁷ Some scholars in Taiwan have even directly coupled the political participation of residents to democratic politics, believing that the development of Western democratic politics is the process of expanding the categories of political participation of residents and increasing the number of residents enjoying political power. "In fact, Western democratic politics have evolved in two ways. One way is the gradual increase of 'the categories of rights to political participation', such as the incremental addition of the right to vote, the right to petition, the right of appeal, the right to hold public office and the right of association. The other one is the cumulative increase of 'the number of people sharing the rights of political participation', such as the history of the right to vote, which has been chronicled by the gradual lifting of the restrictions on economic condition, educational level and race and gender so that the number of people granted the right to vote has gradually increased, eventually resulting in a process shared by all citizens."⁸ In this sense, democratic politics are politics with extensive political participation of residents. If there is no political participation of residents, there will be no democratic politics in the truest sense.

II. The Development of Political Participation of Macao Residents

The *Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China* (hereinafter as "the Macao Basic Law") has vested in Macao residents the fundamental right to political participation. Article 26 of the Macao Basic Law stipulates that permanent residents of the Macao Special Administrative Region (SAR) shall have the right to vote and the right to stand for election in accordance with law. Article 27 stipulates that Macao residents shall have freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom to form and join trade unions, and to strike. Therefore, under the institutional framework of the Macao Basic Law, Macao residents can choose their desired political leaders, voice their interests and demands concerned and provide opinions and suggestions on the government's policy implementation through political participation to ensure that the policy initiatives of the Government of the Macao SAR are formulated based on the popular will.

Before Macao's return to the motherland, citizen participation in Macao had always been in a less developed state. Due to historical reasons, the Chinese-speaking population in Macao had fairly limited participation in political affairs, especially compared to Hong Kong and the neighboring regions. Macao residents were once described as being "politically apathetic" with relatively less enthusiasm in political participation, not to mention the ordinary residents -- especially those from the lower-middle class -- who had even less involvement in the administration

of social and public affairs. It seemed too many people in Macao that citizen and public participation was the participation enjoyed by a minority of elites, rendering Macao residents apathetic in both “participation” and “politics”.

With the confirmed status of “Macao People Ruling Macao” after Macao’s return, the awakening of Macao residents’ civic awareness has begun with incessant emancipation of room for their political participation. Moreover, associations and organizations have also increased in Macao. Macao residents have also actively sought dialogue and communication with the Government as their level of political participation has significantly improved. The increasing level of political participation of Macao residents has first been reflected in the residents’ participation in direct elections of the Legislative Council of the Macao SAR.

**Table 1: The Overall Distribution of Direct Elections
between the 2nd and 5th Legislative Council of the Macao SAR**

categories \ years	2001 (2 nd Term)	2005 (3 rd Term)	2009 (4 th Term)	2013 (5 th Term)
The number of eligible voters (persons)	159,813	220,637	248,708	276,034
The voters who cast ballots (persons)	83,644	128,830	149,006	151,881
The voter turnout rate	52.34	58.39	59.91	55.02

Source: The website of elections of the Legislative Council of the Macao SAR: <http://www.eal.gov.mo/election/public/eal/html.jsf>

Table 1 shows that the number of eligible voters in direct elections of the Legislative Council in 2013 totaled 151,881 people, an increase of 2,875 people more than the 149,006 voters in 2009. The number of voters in 2009 was greater than the 128,830 voters in 2005 by over 20,000 people. Moreover, the number of registered voters participating in direct elections of the Legislative Council of each term had increased gradually. The fifth term in 2013 reached 276,034 people, a 73% increase compared to the 159,813 people of the second term in 2001. The voter turnout rate during direct elections of the Legislative Council in 2013 was approximately 55.02% while that in 2009 went up to 59.9%. The voter turnout rate during direct elections of the Legislative Council in 2005 reached 58.39% while that in 2001 was 52.34%. Thus, judging from the indicators of number of eligible voters and actual ballots cast, the political participation of residents had increased along with direct elections of the Legislative Council of the second, third and fourth terms between 2001 and 2009. However, their participation in the fifth term in 2013 dropped by 4%.

According to the 2011-2012 survey conducted by the Macao Youth Federation on the “current state of the participation of the youth of Macao in associations and political activities,” nearly 40% of the youth have participated in political activities through associations, reflecting the bridging role of associations in the political participation of the youth of Macao. The survey also shows that over 60% of the youth respondents have registered as voters, suggesting the widespread youth attention to civil rights. In addition to the strengthening concept of electoral participation, the rising political consciousness of the youth in Macao is also reflected in their active involvement in public policy discussions and safeguarding their own interests. Moreover, some youth associations have also carried out polls and discussions on various public policy issues, enabling more youth groups and others to organize processions to express their views on a variety of comprehensive issues.⁹

The rising consciousness of the political participation of Macao residents has also been embodied in their active participation in the public policy advisory activities held by the SAR

Government as well as their active expression of interests and demands to the SAR Government. In recent years, Macao residents have extensively participated in the policy advisory activities on the relevant institutions launched by the SAR Government, including the public housing system, the two-tiered social security system, the legal system of registration and notarization, the real estate brokerage system, the institutional framework of teaching staff, the legal age of criminal responsibility, the amendment of three election laws, the public transportation, the decree law on cultural heritage preservation, the legislation on World Heritage protection and relevant rules governing building management. The incident involving the "Macao Light Rapid Transit System (MLRT) route passing through London Street" in 2010 has even demonstrated that the participation of Macao residents is not that of the minority. Instead, ordinary residents have already indicated their enthusiasm and proactiveness to participate in social and public affairs in areas such as urban planning and transportation. In the case of the "MLRT route's passage through London Street," more than forty resident representatives from London Street and Porto Street in Zona de Aterros do Porto Exterior expressed their views to the relevant government departments, putting forth demands for changing the MLRT route. They believed that the potential occurrence of noise and air pollution after the start of the MLRT's operation could damage the environment of London Street area and thus opposed the MLRT's passage through Macao Cultural Centre via London Street in elevated fashion. They hoped to establish a rational communication mechanism with the SAR Government in order to achieve balanced development. This incident has reflected the increasingly widespread awareness of participation of Macao residents, especially when facing some community-based public affairs concerning the interests of the residents. The residents have changed their previous attitude of "passive participation" and proactively sought communication and dialogue with the SAR Government to understand its rationale and explanations while exerting influence on the public policy.

III. Proper Channels of the Political Participation of Macao Residents

With the increasing complexity of public affairs management, the sole reliance on the government can no longer effectively manage a wide range of social and public affairs. Against this background, governments around the world have generally advocated the transition from the "single-center management model" solely administered by the government to the "polycentric governance model" jointly managed by the government, society and citizens. The key to preventing the "polycentric" governance model from becoming the "centerless governance model" is that both the government and society need to achieve positive interaction, mutual dialogue and communication while resolving differences in order to ultimately reach compromise and trust. The two very critical links during this process are the enhancement of transparency of government's governance and the participation of residents – also the factor that determines whether the government and residents can achieve communication, dialogue and cooperation. Judging from the perspective of public governance, the political participation of Macao residents has made some achievements, but there still remains considerable room for improvement, including the insufficient and ineffective institutionalization and standardization of citizen participation. Therefore, it is necessary to promote the development of political participation of Macao residents in three aspects: strengthening the healthy consciousness of political participation of residents, diversifying the

channels of political participation and improving the systems and mechanisms of political participation of residents.

3.1 Strengthening the healthy consciousness of political participation

Establishing and strengthening the healthy consciousness of political participation is the foundation and direction of increasing the political participation of Macao residents. If the political participation of residents is irrational, disorderly and driven by self-interest, it will be difficult to ultimately form a positively and soundly developed culture of political participation even if there are pluralistic and smooth channels of political participation with sound systems and mechanisms of citizen participation.

As everyone knows, political participation refers to the activities in which citizens voluntarily and legally express their ideas and interests during political process in order to influence the political decisions and acts of the State. It is the core feature of modern democracy and political modernization as well as a fundamental right that the constitution has vested in citizens. The stages and levels of the development of political participation vary among countries and regions. In the developed countries and regions, the orderly political participation of citizens has been internalized as an inseparable part of their lives, becoming an accepted way of life and thinking for citizens. In regions with underdeveloped democracy, the degree of citizens' political participation is relatively low with an aloof sense and oblivion of political participation. Therefore, the priority to enhancing the consciousness of political participation of residents is to cultivate the political culture that encourages participation, incessantly improve the level of civic education and quality of citizenship and foster a good and healthy consciousness of political participation in order to prompt residents to consciously participate in political life and safeguard their rights and obligations.

The good and healthy consciousness of political participation of residents includes the basic characteristics of active participation, conscious participation, rational participation, orderly participation and obligatory participation, showing that the political participation of residents is needed for upholding social justice, realizing social and public interests and fulfilling social responsibility. The political participation of residents is motivated by both the need to safeguard individual rights and citizens' sense of social responsibility. As a member of the society, one has the rights and obligations to select and supervise administrators of the society, even turning oneself into an administrator of the society. Therefore, the political participation of residents should proceed with neither the free-ride mentality nor passive political participation. The political participation of residents is not the participation that aims to protect private interests and personal gains, but the political participation that seeks to integrate civic and social interests. The political participation of residents is not the participation that allows one to do whatever one pleases but the political participation that is restricted and regulated within the established rules and procedures. Only by doing so can the orderly, harmonious and rational political participation of residents be ensured while avoiding the occurrence of situations that intensify social contradictions and exacerbate social conflicts.

The residents can incessantly improve their capabilities and quality of political participation only on the foundation of establishing and strengthening healthy and good consciousness of political participation of residents, ultimately establishing a stable foundation for enhancing the effectiveness of political participation of residents. Indeed, under the current framework of the Macao Basic Law, Macao has no institutional framework that can facilitate the selection of the

Chief Executive and formation of the Legislative Council through "dual universal suffrage." Members of the Legislative Council is still selected through appointment to a certain proportion, which to some extent will dampen some residents' enthusiasm in political participation, breeding a sense of powerlessness and political alienation during the residents' participation in politics. However, electoral politics are not the only channel of political participation of residents. In addition to political elections, residents have pluralistic channels to participate in various political and government activities to supervise the government's policy implementation and provide relevant suggestions and advice.

3.2 Diversifying the channels of political participation of residents

The enhancement of the consciousness of political participation of residents is not only the responsibility of residents, but also that of the society of Macao. In other words, the enhancement of the consciousness of political participation of residents not only requires the nurturing and strengthening of healthy consciousness of political participation, but also needs the assistance of and reliance on the building and broadening of pluralistic channels of political participation. This is because if there are no adequate and smooth channels of political participation, the enhancement of the consciousness of political participation of residents will lose the room and platform for growth and development, just like castles in the air. "To analyze from a theoretical perspective, there are many factors that can directly cause political instability, such as the existence of rampant political corruption, unfair distribution of wealth in the society, strong societal expectations that have been thwarted, the conflict between old and new political cultures and the lack of channels of political participation. The channels of political participation must correspond with the growing demands for political participation from members of the society. However, the relative insufficiency of channels of political participation is the social and political issue that can exist in any society. When there are unsound channels of political participation, members of the society will experience the senses of 'frustration' and 'repression,' feeling disenchanting with the political system and the institutions. As a result, they may bring damage to the political stability in the society by participating in politics through unlawful and illegitimate methods."¹⁰

Currently, there are more pluralistic channels of political participation of residents in the society of Macao, along with a more orderly mechanism of expressing interests and a civil society that is developing gradually. In recent years, the rapid development of associations in Macao has enhanced the capability to exercise social autonomy to a certain level. Macao residents have participated in the process of policy formulation and implementation of the SAR Government through various forms while building up their ability to exercise political participation through the actual practice of participating in politics and enhancing their consciousness of political participation. The townspeople can directly take to the streets voicing their demands; directly submit relevant comments and suggestions to the government departments concerned; indirectly express their interests to the SAR Government by joining associations and organizations; and monitor the government's policy implementation through the media. Among them, platforms such as *Macao Square* and *Macao Forum* have provided a good mechanism of political participation of the grass roots, providing a public space and arena for the townspeople's freedom and civil discussion of political issues. It can be said that Macao has pluralistic and smooth channels of political participation, which have provided favorable conditions and foundation to enhance the consciousness of political participation of Macao residents.

In order to enhance the consciousness of political participation of residents, the channels of political participation in the society of Macao should be further broadened and unimpeded. By doing so, the residents' sense of accomplishment when participating in politics can be enhanced and proactive consciousness of political participation can be formed. Based on the current situation in Macao, there are two aspects of political participation that deserve further deepening and improvement. One aspect is the channel of online political participation. As the landmark means of disseminating information after man's entry into the Information Age, the Internet has promoted the widest extent of information exchange in the society of mankind. To the general public, the government's informatization has greatly satisfied the people's rights to know and participate. John Naisbitt has scientifically predicted that the Information Age will usher in a new era of participatory democracy. The current popularity and development of the Internet has opened up a broad space for democratic participation, enabling people to get rid of geographical borders and freely express their views, interests and demands. "Online participation" will become one of the main methods of political activities in the Internet era as the Internet's openness has made possible the sharing of information among government departments. The public can get a good grasp of government information of all aspects via the Internet and conduct feedback and supervision while realizing the interaction and communication with the administrative systems. The rise of the Internet has also provided an advanced technological means of democratic participation and opened up new channels of democratic participation. With the help of the Internet, people can also publish critiques and discussions regarding political affairs through online forums. Similarly, the residents can strengthen their political communication with the government through electronic elections, electronic voting and electronic polls. Thus, the rise of the Internet has greatly expanded the channels of political participation of residents. Compared to the institutionalized channels, online political participation has transcended the limits of time and space, penetrated the information-dissemination barriers of the traditional media, cultivated democratic consciousness of independent citizenship and equal participation and allowed citizens to participate in the political process in a more extensive, timely and convenient fashion. It can aggregate the netizens' opinions immediately and disseminate them directly and swiftly to the government with the wide-ranging influence. Therefore, online political participation has become an important way for information disseminators to influence the government behavior while increasingly attracting people's attention as well. Therefore, it is necessary for Macao residents to increase the force of online political participation in order to enhance the effectiveness and impact of political participation and discussions online.

The other one refers to the mass media's channels of political participation and discussions. The role of the mass media in modern society has become increasingly prominent. The agenda-setting theory of communication studies holds that the mass media can influence public opinion through their focus on or omission of certain issues – the media have played the role of guiding public opinion, social and cultural life, ideology, and so on besides disseminating news and information and providing entertainment. In actual political life, the mass media have also played the role of watchdog over the government through its functions of guiding public opinion. "One of the best features of democratic news reporting is to make the political process transparent."¹¹ With the urge for full disclosure of government affairs and transparent administration, people can often read in the newspapers the frequent media coverage of the government's internal affairs, thus partially altering the opaque state of administrative management. It can be said that the

development of the mass media has reached the level sufficient enough to influence social progress. In the United States, the news media reports can sometimes influence the direction of the government's actions. "If the press makes a big fuss about the issue of marijuana, the government would probably encounter difficulties dealing with other issues, such as malnutrition and poverty."

¹² Various signs have indicated that the mass media have become a powerful external force to curb the government. In the West, people have even given the mass media the title of the "fourth branch of government." Karl Marx had also aptly described public opinion supervision through the media as "another court – the court of public opinion of the society," which is an indispensable form of supervision in the democratic supervision mechanism of the entire society. Currently, the mass media in Macao still have some room for improvement in terms of promoting public dialogue and monitoring the government. One can expect that under the circumstance of the rising credibility of the mass media, the consciousness of political participation of Macao residents will achieve greater enhancement, enabling free and equal discussions of public issues through the public space created by the mass media, strengthening the mutual understanding between different interest groups and reducing social conflicts and contradictions while overseeing the operation of public power to ensure the realization of public interests.

3.3 Improving the systems and mechanisms of political participation

The government also has an inescapable responsibility for raising the consciousness of political participation of residents, with the need to establish relevant laws and mechanisms in order to ensure the orderly and lawful political participation of citizens. If the enhancement of the consciousness of political participation of residents is unilaterally emphasized at the expense of the institution-building for the political participation of residents, it can lead to the excessive, disorderly and irrational participation which may run counter to the cultivation of healthy and sound political participation.

First of all, the government needs to provide the corresponding systems and mechanisms and use the laws to regulate and adjust the relationship between different interest groups during the political participation of residents, so as to maintain the situation in which the political participation of residents proceeds in an orderly, regulated and rational way. During the development process of political participation of residents, a lot of unconventional rules have emerged for the political participation of residents due to the incessant introduction of new means and technology for political participation – such as online political participation and discussions. In light of this, the government needs to use the legal system to regulate the intrinsic relationship and operating rules of the political participation of residents. It should also incessantly satisfy and adapt to the pluralistic needs of the development of political participation of residents in order to promote the orderly and healthy development of the political participation of residents. In addition, the government needs to regulate the activities of associations and organizations to ensure an organizational foundation with healthy development for the political participation of residents. This is because only the regulated, orderly and organized participation can be considered as effective, mature and healthy political participation.

Secondly, the government should pay attention to the demands of citizen participation and take the initiative to understand the views of residents. It should also guide the residents to participate in political affairs in a rational and orderly fashion in order to solidify the democratic process into the residents' habit of participating in democratic politics and prevent the political participation of

residents from becoming mere formality. The government may consider the method that organically combines theoretical education and practical activities, hold all kinds of seminars, lectures and conferences and invite experts and scholars to deliver briefings on policies and regulations as well as lectures on political participation and discussions, and so on. It can also strengthen the residents' understanding and grasp of all kinds of government policies and regulations, enhance the cultivation of consciousness of rights of residents and clarify the relationship among power, obligations and responsibilities of the political participation of residents through various forms of learning and training activities.

Last but not least, the government should accelerate and enrich the building of a government in the sunshine. The open and transparent procedures and mechanisms are the fundamental link for the political participation of residents while the full disclosure of government affairs is the prerequisite for the political participation of residents. Therefore, the government should further provide the residents with enough informational support and establish a sound feedback mechanism of information to allow the residents to fully understand relevant laws, regulations and policies and shorten the process in which the residents recognize and accept the political process. During the communication and feedback of information between the government and residents, mutual understanding and trust should be increased; enthusiasm and consciousness of the political participation of residents should be strengthened; and effectiveness of political participation of residents should be enhanced.

IV. Conclusion

The democratic consciousness of political participation of residents requires a process of constant cultivation and enhancement as well as a long-term process of indoctrination and internalization. The enhancement of the level of political participation of residents is the responsibility of the society as a whole and also the result of interaction between the government and citizens. The enhancement of political participation of Macao residents not only requires the residents to incessantly strengthen their own rational, orderly, proactive, conscious and healthy consciousness of political participation, but also requires the institution-building and efforts of the society and government. Therefore, nurturing and raising the level of political participation of Macao residents can be resorted to three main channels: first of all, nurturing and strengthening of the healthy consciousness of political participation of residents; secondly, the formation of pluralistic and smooth channels of political participation of residents; and thirdly, regulation and improvement of the relevant institutions and mechanisms of political participation of residents.

Notes:

¹ Yang Niansong. (1998). On the Farmers' Political Participation and Political Stability during the Chinese Reform Process. *Socialism Studies*. Volume 5. 44-46.

² Huntington, S. P. and J. M. Nelson (1989). *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* (Chinese version translated by Wang Xiaoshou, Wu Zhihua and Shuo Jiquan). Beijing: Huaxia Publishing House. 5.

- ³ Greenstein, F. I. and N. W. Polsby (1996). *The Handbook of Political Science (Book II)* (Chinese version translated by Hu Junfang, Zhu Qianwei and Zhou Qi). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 29.
- ⁴ Wang Puqu (2006). *Foundations of Politics (2nd Edition)*. Beijing: Peking University Press. 166-168.
- ⁵ Lu Yaohuai (2012). Citizens' Political Participation – Autonomy and Privacy. *Jiangsu Social Sciences*. Volume 5. 104-109.
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- ⁷ Yu Keping. (2005). *Politics and Political Science*. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press. 48.
- ⁸ Kuo Chiu-Yeoung. (2000). The Political Participation in Developing Countries - S. Huntington's Participation Theory. *Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy*. Volume 12, Issue 3. 387-432.
- ⁹ Pan Guanjin (2013). The View of Value and Political Consciousness of the Youth in Macao. In Wu Zhiliang and Hao Yufan (Eds.). *Report on the Economic and Social Development of Macao (2012-2013)*. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press. 72-94.
- ¹⁰ Lin Yuan (2008) Probe into the Adjustment of the Political Participation Model in Macao. *Administração*. Volume 21, Issue 4. 861-972.
- ¹¹ Cited from Elihu Katz's *Mass Media and Participatory Democracy*. In Takashi Inoguchi (Ed.). *The Changing Nature of Democracy*. Jilin: Jilin People's Publishing House. 109.
- ¹² Hilsman, R. (1995). *To Govern America* (Chinese translated version). Beijing: The Commercial Press. 383.