

Repositório ISCTE-IUL

Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2022-05-17

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Gouveia, C. (2021). A vision of Macau's football through the symbolic legacy of the Portuguese presence. *International Journal of the History of Sport*. 38 (17), 1753-1773

Further information on publisher's website:

[10.1080/09523367.2021.1988931](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1988931)

Publisher's copyright statement:

This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Gouveia, C. (2021). A vision of Macau's football through the symbolic legacy of the Portuguese presence. *International Journal of the History of Sport*. 38 (17), 1753-1773, which has been published in final form at <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1988931>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with the Publisher's Terms and Conditions for self-archiving.

Use policy

Creative Commons CC BY 4.0

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in the Repository
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

A Vision of Macau's Football through the Symbolic Legacy of the Portuguese Presence

Célia Gouveia

Center for Research and Sociology Studies (CIES-IUL), ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon, Portugal

ORCID <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5721-8922>

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the sociocultural background, and the nature of the cultural legacy of the Portuguese, in the diffusion and promotion of football in Macau. The paper seeks to examine why men's football in Macau's remains poorly developed at domestic, regional and international levels. Many factors could explain this lack of development, ranging from the limited degree of organizational specialization inherited from the Portuguese administration, problems regarding implementing rules and tournament organization, the lack of sports facilities, and the tension between the national governing body and the national team athletes. Nevertheless, there has also been some important progress, such as the recruitment of young footballers and the inclusion of local Portuguese talented players. These developments are discussed in a multidisciplinary approach, based on academic literature and harnessing comprehensive documentary analysis derived from official documents and website information of sports associations.

Keywords: Football; Macau; culture; legacy; society

Introduction

Although Macau was not a colony defined as such by the United Nations, the transfer of its administration to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1999 symbolized the end of the Portuguese imperial cycle.¹ Macau had been occupied and governed by the Portuguese under various systems of government for 443 years, almost half of the last millennium.

Since the arrival of the Portuguese colonizers and up to the present day, Macau's resident population has been, composed of a mosaic of multicontinental, multiracial populations and has manifest considerable religious heterogeneity, largely as a product of its occupation by, and engagement with, Portugal.²

Historically, several factors characterize Macau. As Garcia Leandro, one of the last governors of the Portuguese administration of Macau, argues, Macau's social and ethnic integration was unique.³ This was a function of the fact that, firstly, Portugal's sovereignty over Macau had never been completely clarified, and secondly, that the persistently low population of Portuguese origin – comprised predominantly of missionaries, merchants and soldiers – intermingled over time with the primarily Chinese population.⁴ Thus Macau's sociocultural make-up displays the characteristics of a place where cross-cultural interaction occurred over an extended period across historical, colonial/cultural hybrid and economic dimensions.⁵

By the end of 1999, when Macau's sovereignty was returned to the PRC, there was an interplaying cultural space characterised by elements of European, African, Indian, Southeast Asian, and Chinese cultures. This plethora of identities endowed Macau with a common symbolic and historical space in which the community continues to experience a common and lingering sense of belonging to its cultural roots despite the territorial return to mainland China.⁶ The dimension of the Portuguese presence in the region is closely tied to colonial history and culture, exhibiting complex multilayered identities which have partly been structured and framed by the colonial relationship with the Portuguese.⁷ The Portuguese left a set of patterns of human activity and symbolic structures involving customs, laws, dress, architectural style, social standards, religious beliefs and sports traditions as intangible cultural heritage, and these include football as a cultural practice. This currently allows Macau to occupy a role as strategic actor bridging between eastern and western worlds.⁸ In order to consider the future of football in Macau, we must first seek to understand the past, which in turn implies the revisiting of Macau's cultural and sports legacy and its sports actors.

Some studies on cultural heritage tend to consider heritage as a cultural resource (i.e. a form of cultural capital) and thus evaluate its benefits to a region.⁹ Notwithstanding the utility of cultural capital as an explanatory heuristic, each place varies as to its sociocultural values

and associated sport systems. Therefore, it would be naive to assume that cultural capital exerts a similar influence in different contexts, despite football being one of the most popular games worldwide.¹⁰ This argument has led historical accounts of the adoption and development of football to focus on how it has adapted to distinctive local interests and contexts around the globe.

Football is also Portugal's most important and widespread form of popular culture; it plays a key role in national cultural identity and traditions, revealing harmonies and cleavages, and contributes to the omnipresent immaterial cultural heritage.¹¹ Football is a cultural phenomenon which is expressed in practical configurations of meaning, therefore, to talk about football and culture is to refer to an experience constructed and undergone by all persons in society, even by those who do not directly practice, support or follow the manifestations of football matches.¹²

Despite arousing a range of responses, passions and tensions, harmony and cleavages, myths and narratives, football, as a symbolic domain, produces social identities, that perform a role on organizing the 'collective memory'.¹³ Since the beginning of the twentieth century Macau has been proud of its historical connection to football, both as a symbolic cultural process and as a commonplace practice. Alongside other former Portuguese colonies, football has been interpreted as a sign of the importance of a cultural heritage; and thus there has been a recognition that sport is important in social integration.¹⁴ As Vamplew notes, the process of symbolic inheritance is important in ways that communities celebrate their histories and forge bonds, establishing connections between past, current, and future generations.¹⁵

This study is thus underpinned by a cross-disciplinary cultural-historical approach, positioning football as a form of popular culture whose players, events and places are part of the collective memory, and the development of the political and cultural context that defined the framework of Macau's football, past and present.

The discussion of these aspects obviously brings out the complexity enveloping football as a multidimensional phenomenon, raising many different issues. Thus, the purpose of this study is twofold. First, it provides an overview of the implementation and influence of football in Macau during the Portuguese administration; second, it reviews the different approaches adopted by the Macau Special Administrative Region (MSAR) concerning football at domestic and international levels by framing a political approach to the position of sports within societal structures.

The study presents an exploratory document, attempting to fill a significant gap in the historical literature concerning the relationship between cultural legacy and football in a

territory with a European influence. The data analyzed consist of relevant academic literature, the reports and publications of official sporting bodies, online historical publication archives, opinion-maker publications and newspaper coverage, in particular, the sporting press, reflecting the fact, Taylor observes, that the world of sports and newspapers have always been closely intertwined.¹⁶

Cultural Background in Macau Sports

Macau's political system has evolved through an ongoing Sino-Portuguese relationship over the past 450 years.¹⁷ Nevertheless, as in many other regions of the world, sport as organized practice was influenced by the British Empire, however its promotion in Macau is a product of the involvement of the Portuguese military, some of whom already practiced sport in Portugal, thus configuring a competitive environment.

From the 1870s–1880s the popularity of sports activity grew within Macanese society.¹⁸ The promotion and early organization of sport under the Portuguese government was often interpreted in terms of the concept of 'physical culture' popularized during the period of the 'Estado Novo' regime led by António de Oliveira Salazar.¹⁹ This was a concept of 'physical culture' as an instrument of moral and political persuasion by Salazar's government.²⁰

In this concept of physical culture, sport should serve to educate, civilize, develop the values promoted by the State, an approach which was opposed to the professionalization of any sport.²¹ The Portuguese's colonial sports policy fitted in the Elias and Dunning argument, where the authors claimed that the development of sport is a variant of a European civilizational process, with lasting effects on the formation of 'habitus' or national 'character'.²²

In colonial Macau, as in other colonial headquarters with military cantonments, sports, and football in particular, played a leading role in the diffusion and embracing of community. Underlying sporting performance was the narrative of 'civilizing through football'.²³ This means that the spreading of sports was closely related to the acculturation process and the geography of colonial interests.

With the Chinese communist victory in the mainland in 1949, Salazar's government was forced to reinforce the Portuguese military presence in Macau in the early 1950s.²⁴ As a result, the Macau garrison numbered close to five thousand military personnel, although it was widely recognized that Macau was militarily indefensible.²⁵ However, this military reinforcement was important as a political strategy to enhance the international dimension of the 'Estado Novo'.²⁶

Despite Macau being a small and sparsely populated territory, this increased military staff had a strong sociocultural impact; while they strengthened power relations towards local and

regional communities, many military personnel also ended up intermarrying and starting families within the local community, constructing strong roots. This miscegenation process produced a Macanese community, which was heir to Portuguese and Chinese cultures.²⁷

The nature of Portuguese colonization is said to have been unique. Despite the often adverse conditions of the local destinations for the colonizer, the official State ideology stressed that there were no superior or inferior cultures, and that inter-marriage was to be the rule. Perhaps for this reason, some nineteenth century literature argued that the Portuguese colonial weaknesses in policy enforcement stemmed from the miscegenation process.²⁸

Endorsing this argument, the historian Jeff Hill notes that sports were important cultural spaces where racial based causal laws, hierarchies and logic were (re)constructed, played-out and resisted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁹ Put simply, sports can be a vehicle, in many ways, for the construction of individual, group and national identities, as the recreation of the game by the military officers and soldiers can be understood as a direct exercise in colonial hegemony.³⁰

The intrinsic properties of a sport do not seem to account for the rapidity or the slowness of its diffusion.³¹ According to Azevedo, among the sports introduced in Macau, football became the sport most widely accepted by active youngsters.³² Despite some criticisms, football flourished, with the development of football clubs such as the Military Group, the Macau Football Club, The Ghosts, and South China, primarily during the first two decades of football in Macau, when these clubs regularly competed against one other. Accordingly, the aims of the clubs had less to do with the imposition of an alien order on a colonized population, and more with the consolidation of a miscegenated, or intercultural, community.³³

During the twentieth century, while sports associations developed in general in Macau, the actual sports were ephemeral projects, with their genesis embedding strong associative dynamics that emerged from sociability, and recreation in increasingly extensive units.³⁴ These sporting associations achieved their greatest success in the 1930s when, according to Azevedo, Macau football experienced its 'golden period' with excellent performances.³⁵

During the twentieth century new forms of association developed in Macau, although these were ephemeral projects, their genesis was already embedding the dynamics of modern sport created during the European enlightenment.³⁶ The role of associativity in promoting social cohesion was assisted by the strong dynamic that emerged from the voluntary clubs and increasingly sociability in extensive units.³⁷

These associativity processes achieved their greatest success in the 1930s when, according to Azevedo, Macau football experienced its 'golden period' in terms of excellent

performances.³⁸ As early as 1931, in one of the first football matches, a team from Macau played against Guangdong. This game symbolized progress largely thanks to the close cooperation with neighbouring Guangdong on mainland China and Hong Kong.

Originating in 1937, the Hong Kong-Macau Interport Tournament has been played between Macau and Hong Kong on a yearly basis with brief suspensions during World War II and in the 1960s; and continues to be played up to the present day. Over the past 74 editions, Macau's team has triumphed on 12 occasions, and emerged as joint winners on four occasions.³⁹

At this stage, the stability of relationships between clubs, managers and athletes justified strengthening the development an organized system of a pyramid of leagues, promoted by the Macau Football Association (MFA) formed in 1939.⁴⁰ Historically the MFA was recognized as a subsidiary of the Portuguese Football Federation (FPF) and tasked to develop, promote, manage and regulate football in Macau. Accordingly, it followed the same political philosophy of sports as in other former Portuguese colonies or colonial contexts.⁴¹

As the Portuguese professional league was only established in 1935, led by the governance structure of the FPF, and the MFA four years later, in practice, this meant that from the colonizer's perspective, football played an important role in the political rhetoric, based on considerable propaganda about the respectful relationship between Portuguese and other peoples in their colonies, affirmed by the demagogic expression: 'unity of the nation'.⁴²

Following decades of political and economic stability which contributed to the flourishing of Macau's football, the following years, in particular 1942 to 1946, were marked by a decline as a consequence of World War II. During this period, the Portuguese colony was left as a neutral enclave surrounded by Japanese-held territory. Thus, the only possible competitions were between domestic clubs or between refugee team representations from China and Hong Kong in solidarity or charity matches.⁴³

Associativity, Clubs and Players

As Szymanski has argued, the fundamental unit of modern sport is the club, and thus clubs formed part of the expansion of associative activity that occurred in the Portuguese colonies in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ The development of Macau's football clubs benefitted from the associative dynamics that emerged in the Portuguese colonies in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁵ The institutional framework of the Portuguese presence found in the associative dynamics a way to make up for the absence of a social and sports framework policy and the need to maintain military preparedness.⁴⁶ In this way, despite being informal, the sports associativity provided settlers with an efficient system of contacts to

networks that often-reproduced the popular, mythical and rituals traditions of the metropolitan clubs.⁴⁷

Following this trend, the first sports clubs began to emerge in Macau in the early 1930s, comprising informal but representative teams that challenged each other. Among them was the charismatic ‘Tenebroso Sport Group’, conceived by Manuel de Jesus, at the time Deputy Chief of the Public Security Police.⁴⁸ And likewise, the ‘Police Sports Group’ (composed of Portuguese and Chinese) and several military sports groups such as ‘Field Artillery’ or ‘Field Infantry’ billeted in the San Francisco military barrack. There was also the ‘Kong Caio’ and ‘San Kiu’ clubs, Chinese recreational groups coming from the neighbourhood of San Lazaro. The growth trend continued, with the ‘Argonauta Sports Group’, ‘Melco Sports Group’ and ‘Leng Yee Sports Club’ having emerged in 1950.⁴⁹

However, the success of these historic clubs was short-lived, some disappeared, others merged, others changed their organization system to adapt to new times. These events clearly reflected the weak institutional recognition or legal rights of these clubs within the development of Macau’s sports.⁵⁰

Alongside these developments, some sports clubs became delegations, or local representatives of Portugal’s main football clubs, in a gesture of cultural revivalism.⁵¹ One of the first to emerge, Sporting Clube de Macau (SCM), created in November 1926, was affiliation number 25 of Sporting Clube de Portugal (SCP), and one of the most dynamic subsidiaries of the SCP in the East. The SCM teams were very active up to the 1940s. However, due to the effects of Pacific war on Macau, the club ceased to be an active branch of Portuguese culture, to becoming a ‘sleeping club’ for over 20 years. It was only reactivated in 1951, but it currently plays in Macau’s main football league, the ‘Elite League’.

In the early 1970s, football teams from the main Portuguese clubs often visited the empire’s colonies. The competitive levels were very different, so the uneven score typically notched up substantial victories for the teams from the metropole.

The following decades marked this expansion, with the advent of Benfica of Macau in 1951, under affiliation number 232 of Sport Lisboa Benfica (SLB). The enthusiasm for the House of Sport Lisboa e Benfica in Macau simply known as Benfica de Macau was fuelled by the first visit of the Lisbon club in 1970 for a tournament, in which they played two matches. The first was on 21 August against the Macau Military team which was defeated by SLB (0-4) and the second, on 23 August against the Hong Kong national team, which was heavily defeated by SLB (0-7). In 1973, SLB returned to Macau. According to the press at the time, SLB played against a mixed team composed of players from Macau and Hong Kong, and won

overwhelmingly (11-0), with the scoreboard showing the superior strength of European football.⁵² Historically, these tournaments strengthened group cohesion through their ritual and symbolic nature, inculcating certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implied continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, visiting teams from the metropole attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.⁵³

Despite the glory days of Asian football in the 1930s, sports in Macau, and in particular, football showed scant progress until the 1950s. But even with the existing difficulties, a space for sports was forged by competitions between clubs (whose primary aim was to foster sports for all).⁵⁴

Notwithstanding Macau's changing political landscape, with its handover in 1999, some clubs have spread as a form of cultural resistance. Hence, Portuguese delegation clubs have continued, with the 'House of Football Club of Porto' having been created in 2006, under affiliation number 103 of Futebol Clube do Porto (FCP).

Another sports club was created in 2001 as a project carried out for the 'House of Portugal in Macau', a cultural institution representative of Portugal's intangible heritage. Its main football team currently competes in the 'Elite League', and the activity of these clubs is socially relevant due to their eclectic function. Another remarkable feature is that Macau's main clubs use the same names, colours, crests and even their kits are designed to be replicas of the kit of the main clubs in Portugal.⁵⁵ These examples reinforce the arguments of the authors Mangan and Hong who suggest that decolonization, in fact, bears witness to the strengthening rather than the weakening of cultural associations. Thus, the colonial past is visible in the postcolonial present.⁵⁶

The sports universe of reference, whose origin arises from the 'colonial encounter', is a participant element in everyday social practices. This is particularly evident in the mobilization of players and coaches from Macau to Portugal and vice versa, a phenomenon which, once again, emulated what happened in all other Portuguese colonies, especially in Africa.⁵⁷

One of the most notable was the legendary Pacheco, a Macanese player of Sports Group of Police. When the effects of the war were felt in the colony, and the league was completely paralyzed, Pacheco seized the opportunity to enter the ranks of Sporting Clube de Portugal. From 1950 to 1959, covering 156 matches, he won four National Champion titles and became an international player for the Portuguese national team, later returning to Macau.

Another Macanese who left the colony for the metropolis to become a SCP player, in 1955, was Augusto Rocha, nicknamed Lou Fu Chai. This talented player grew through 'Bolinha', but quickly became an influential striker of SCM. 'Bolinha' became very popular in

Macau due to the fact that there were few standard-sized footballs fields given the region's small size. When Rocha arrived in Portugal, he barely spoke Portuguese, but this did not prevent him from playing an important role in the Portuguese National Team. In 1968, Rocha retired from Portuguese football and returned to Macau in 1979.⁵⁸

There was also traffic of Portuguese players from the metropole who played in Macau's national team and clubs. For example, Alexandre Batista, one of the most influential SCP and national team members, played in the World Cup 1966 and subsequently swapped Lisbon for Macau. These examples highlight the cultural flux, ideas, skills and sports interests that helped football to become woven into this multicultural space.

Portuguese Legacy and Regional Differentiation

Having achieved its greatest success throughout the 1930s, the 'golden period' of Macau's football, the MFA was one of the last football associations to be established in Asia. Although it was created in 1939, it only became an affiliate member of International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) and the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) in 1978.⁵⁹ Simplifying, comparison requires generalization. Yet, paradoxically, it also requires being attuned to other examples. What was happening elsewhere? Some Asian countries, especially those under British colonial rule, showed notable improvement, in terms of better sports performance and more developed sporting organization.⁶⁰

Some scholars attribute this difference to the unique characteristics of the Portuguese colonialism, and the interface with Macanese history, being very distinct from the British colonization that transformed colonial recreation into a tool of cultural imperialism.⁶¹ The literature reflects how sport in general, and football in particular, are cultural practices, the diffusion of which can be viewed as parallel to the complex processes of acculturation within a nation, and thus, are phenomena which to contribute to an understanding of social relations.⁶²

It is important to emphasize that during the period of the British empire, the colonial settlements evolved sporting structures that mirrored the metropole governance system.⁶³ The diffusion of the sporting club played a role as a source of prestige conferring distinction, thus the major clubs were founded by the elite.⁶⁴ Other imperial elements and actors, such as military officers, soldiers, businessmen and merchant stakeholders might also have had an early influence in the process of introducing football in the region to reinforce their position as intermediaries with European society.⁶⁵ Thus, the introduction of football was closely integrated with the colonial projects of the British and with the evangelical objectives of English Christian groups in the later part of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

Among the territories under British colonization, the Singapore Football Association (SFA) introduced the first competition to be organized in Asia, from 1892. However, the competition was under the jurisdiction of a set of rules that had been drafted in London by the Football Association (FA).⁶⁷ The SFA is the oldest football association in Asia. In 1904, it initiated its first football league with 12 teams from military and European clubs and School Old Boys' teams. From 1904 to 1913 the league was restricted to European and Eurasian members.⁶⁸ Later, the SFA became a member affiliated to FIFA and AFC in 1954.

As was the case in other former British colonies, Hong Kong's football was originally dominated by the expatriate community.⁶⁹ The British residents of Hong-Kong organized games from the 1890s onwards, which then spread from Hong Kong to mainland places sites.⁷⁰ The Hong Kong Football Association (HKFA) was founded in 1914 and joined FIFA and AFC in 1954. The Football Association of Malaysia (FAM) was established in 1933 and become a member of FIFA and AFC in 1954.⁷¹

Collectively, the British colonies created a set of uniform rules in their governance.⁷² On the one hand, the practical implementation of an educational project in sport in Macau under the influence of the Catholic missionary schools would be different from the Christian schools projects imposed in the British eastern empire. On the one hand, as with British colonization, in the territories under Portuguese administration, the military were the main driving force behind football. From its earliest beginnings, football enjoyed the support of the military officers largely due to the 'games ethos' extolled throughout the empires, yet, for soldiers the game could be understood as a vehicle for keeping fit for active duty, dispelling boredom, and for fostering good relations both within and beyond their barracks.⁷³

This military status explains their enthusiasm for playing football. On 19 March 1952, a military team from Macau played against a military team from Hong Kong, with a contemporary newspaper reporting the presence of the main authorities of Macau and a large audience in the stands watching the match, highlighting the demonstrated physical and competitive balance between the military teams that resulted in goalless draw.⁷⁴

Moreover, the two empires followed different paths in sports organization and diffusion. The Portuguese colonization promoted the diffusion of sports through acculturation processes. This means that the Portuguese cultural influence in Macau was never an impediment to the development of the ordinary Chinese way of life, maintaining the genuineness of customs, traditions and beliefs.⁷⁵ Likewise, the sport brought in by colonists became a 'familiarized', accepted element which was configured in terms of the local matrix, by the subaltern agents' influence as a way to fill gaps left by the colonizing authorities.

For this reason, in Macau, a large part of the population did not live according to the standard Portuguese civil law.⁷⁶ Indeed, the established relations provided an exceptional regime for Macau's Chinese community, respecting the sophistication of the legacy of Chinese civilisational influences.⁷⁷

Thus, Chinese culture did not need the most important and widely spread game of European popular culture to establish emotional bonds with the community. Indeed the Chinese community used to play a traditional football-related pastime 'Bolinha'. According to Azevedo 'Bolinha' is nothing more than miniature football, much practiced on mainland China, especially in Canton province'.⁷⁸ This culturally specific manner of playing football with only seven players quickly captivated practitioners and spectators in Macau, including the Portuguese community.

As Garcia Leandro points out, Portuguese colonization did not 'destroy one culture to impose another', and preservation was a concern of the Portuguese administration.⁷⁹ But from another perspective, as noted by Cleland et al., the variety of social actors in the social worlds shaping football means there were many networks moulding social relationships.⁸⁰ These arguments promote the claim that during the colonization of Macau, the diffusion and promotion of the sport was not about control or power.

The Transition of Macau's Football: From the Colonial to Postcolonial Period

The promulgation of the Macau Organic Statute (MOS) by the Portuguese parliament, in 1976, was considered a turning point in Macau's administration, endowing greater political autonomy (establishing a Governor and Legislative Assembly), and an opportunity in sports organization.⁸¹ In practical matters, many structural changes were introduced giving the enclave unprecedented legislative, administrative, economic and financial autonomy from Lisbon, and providing a new direction to Macau.⁸²

During this period of reforms, the action of the Portuguese administration focussed on establishing political and economic action, above all, to correct structural legacies in terms of the development of basic infrastructures such as electricity distribution, transport and telecommunications. Measures in respect of sport continued to be relegated to a secondary level.

Nevertheless, Macau's sports policy was enhanced after the MOS reforms. Prior to this point, all sports were politically and administratively dependent on Portugal. According to the former director of the Macau Sports Institute, Manuel Silvério, argued that at that time, even if

Macau had talented sportspersons, they were sent to Portugal where they were integrated into the national teams.⁸³

Nevertheless, the Portuguese administration understood that there were reasons to organize sports and cultural events as a catalyst of cultural resource development (i.e. developing cultural capital) drawing on local talent, and as a resource for celebration of the official Day of Portugal, in June 1977. According to Paul Connerton, these official occasions produce and provide shape for a communal will - a wish to repeat the past consciously, and to find significance in celebrated recurrence.⁸⁴

Football is always, invariably a social event: it makes sense only when it is shared, even as a foreign policy development instrument. Thus, Portugal launched some diplomatic initiatives in a process of re-establishing relations with the PRC which were reinforced by sporting activity.⁸⁵ In 1978, SCP visited China, in the first trip of a Portuguese football team to mainland China. The tour took place from 27 June to 10 July, with the first match held on 30 June in the Beijing Workers' Stadium.⁸⁶ The Portuguese team also participated in games in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and in Macau. Curiously, when the Macau team played against SCP, its coach was the Macanese former SCP player Pacheco, and the Portuguese Alexandre Batista was the captain of the Macau team.

As a result of the promulgation of the Macau Organic Statute and with the aim of providing the Territory of Macau with an autonomous operating structure to act in the sphere of sport, in 1979 the Provincial Council of Physical Education was abolished. This had been the government body that supervised and supported sport activities up to then, with all members of this Council working full-time and its presidents usually being military personnel.⁸⁷

Macau's international debut campaign came in 1980 with the AFC Asian Cup Qualifier, when it beat the Philippines (2-1), but was eliminated after defeats against the Republic of Korea and China, at the group stage.⁸⁸ This was not an auspicious start for one of the smallest of FIFA's 211 Member Associations.

Subsequently, it was only in 1986 that a government action plan included some lines for sports intervention. This plan led to the establishment in 1987 of the Macau Sports Institute, the Sports Council and then the Sports Development Fund, followed by the long sought-after Macau Olympic Committee (MOC) and membership of the Olympic Council of Asia in 1989.⁸⁹

In February 1990, Portugal's parliament approved revisions to Macau's constitution, the Organic Statute, drafted by the territory's Legislative Assembly, giving Macau more political autonomy in enacting its own laws.⁹⁰ Shortly after, in 1990, the MOC was represented by a contingent of over hundred people in the Beijing Asian Games.⁹¹

Overall, the cultural significance of sport can be defined by the level of the facilities, environment and social dimension of activity. Thus the Portuguese administration developed an Olympic master plan, incorporating its current Olympic Swimming Pool and the construction of the Macau Stadium and the sports complex at D. Bosco College. However, the most striking building was the multipurpose stadium located on the island of Taipa, inaugurated in 1997, called 'Estádio Campo Desportivo'.⁹² This enabled the MFA to extend its realm and created opportunities for emancipated and flourishing regional and international football.⁹³

On the path to internationalization, the Macau National Football Team has competed at all World Cup Qualifiers since 1982, except in 1990. Aspiring to success, the main focus was the 1994 FIFA World Cup qualification, with the team exploring new ways to improve the quality of its game and performances, despite the difficulties of a qualification in the East Asian Football Federation (EAFF). The Asian zone (AFC) with a total of thirty teams divided into six groups entered the competition despite being allocated only two places in the FIFA World Cups finals.⁹⁴

Macau was part of Group E of the first qualifying round, and was eliminated being placed in fourth and last place in this group, losing all 6 games, conceding 46 goals, and scoring only 1.⁹⁵ It was only in 1998 that the Macau National Team would achieve its first victory in a World Cup qualifying match, beating Nepal by (2-1).⁹⁶ The team played the first qualifying round – in Group 4, with Japan, Oman, and Nepal, and was eliminated being placed third in the group, with four points (1 win; 1 draw; 4 defeats).⁹⁷

Despite the national team's engagement in World Cup qualification, Macau's internationalization has been a postponed project. While the achievements of Macau football at the official level during the colonial period do not result in winning any trophies, its best position in the FIFA men's world ranking to date, was attained in 1997, under the Portuguese administration.⁹⁸

Notwithstanding the new administrative practices, the passion for football remains, and the game continues to be played by a segment of the Portuguese descendants, mainly born in Macau, and there is popular support for teams based on rivalry between clubs of the local Elite League. Moreover, friendly tournaments are regularly maintained, boosted by the contribution of former players from Macau who have played for the main Portuguese clubs and returned to Macau to finish their football careers, as a player, coach or manager.

Macau's Veterans Football Association was founded precisely to consolidate this legacy, where friendly tournaments, such as the 'Sovereignty Tournament', have become central events in the territory's narrative, in the celebrations of the anniversary of the transfer of administration

of the territory from Portugal to China.⁹⁹ This tournament regularly features a guest team from Portugal, a legacy that endures over time. In practice, this means that the football legacy has taken root, both through physical objects, artefacts, values or symbols, and as an important legacy of material and immaterial culture.

The Macau Special Administrative Region: Tradition and Opportunities in a Globalising World

Macau ended its history of some four and a half centuries of Portuguese colonial social order on 20 December 1999 and began a new era as the MSAR of the PRC, following in the footsteps of Hong Kong.¹⁰⁰

Although Macau's political development was characterized by leadership finesse, lack of democratic reforms and a relatively weak civil society, there were expectations that sport, especially football was entering a new era. Some signals of this are evident. A high-profile tournament was introduced – the Return Cup, a competition staged in the Macau Olympic Complex between a Macau XI and a China XI. World class stars such as Dunga, Franco Baresi and Jurgen Klinsmann were invited to join the Macau team, and though it was defeated (4-0), the match drew unprecedented attention on the part of local communities.¹⁰¹

Despite the temporal coincidence between Macau's post-colonial handover and the process of consolidation of sports supervisory bodies and improvement of administrative efficiency, the football dimension has not been emphasized. Under the slogan 'One Country Two Systems', the sports policy of the MSAR has concentrated efforts on developing sports facilities to promote mass sports and train international elite athletes.¹⁰² The 'Estádio Campo Desportivo' complex was renovated and renamed the 'Olympic Complex Stadium' in 2005, mainly to increase its capacity.

Hosting international sporting events is regarded by many countries and governments as an opportunity to promote social development and enhance international influence.¹⁰³ This point of view was shared by the MSAR government, which has hosted these events extravagantly, in order to improve its image and reputation on the international stage, but also to demonstrate its willingness to foster patriotism, national identity and social cohesion of the local youth in integrating more closely with China.¹⁰⁴ In this new approach, Macau has been leveraged by China to fortify links with the Portuguese-speaking world, as well as cultural legacies with past colonial masters, and as such Macau has been drawn into Chinese diplomatic

policy implementation as an arm of China's soft power, notably through sport and cultural showcasing.¹⁰⁵

During the 2000s, the political elites have turned the sports sector into a political power arena. In 2005, Macau hosted the East Asian games (although Macau had been granted the right to organize the Games in 1996, before the handover); and it organized the 2006 Lusophony Games; and the Asian Indoor Games in 2007. Macau has also organized many annual international sports events (Macau Grand Prix, Volleyball World Grand Prix, Macau Marathon, Macau Golf Open, Macau International Kart Grand Prix, Macau's International Dragon Boat Races).¹⁰⁶

Given the MSAR government's involvement in various major sporting events, it is questionable whether the sports policy makers were actually interested in promoting football. This raises the question of what is the sports policy of the MSAR government, particularly concerning football? When the EAFF was created in 2002, the President of the Macau Football Association, Victor Cheung Lup Kwan, said that the establishment of the EAFF would play an important role in the development of football in Macau. In fact, since 2003 the EAFF has organized a wide range of competitions every two years to determine the East Asian football championship, raising its standard in the region to the world's top level and playing a leading role in Asia.¹⁰⁷

However, so far, the 'Olympic Complex Stadium' has only had full stands in a friendly football match between the Portuguese National Team and Chinese National Team, which the Portuguese won (2-0). The Portuguese National Team was hosted in Macau, to conduct a 13-day training camp, before the start of the 2002 World Cup in South Korea and Japan.

The above suggests significant discontinuities in development and promotion within the football sphere. Despite the growth of football across the world and the keenness of President Xi Jinping to modernize football development on mainland China, Macau's governments have adopted a relatively noninterventionist policy toward its development.¹⁰⁸

In the 2010 South Africa World Cup Qualifiers, Macau was the first Asian team eliminated, being withdrawn on October 15, 2007, after two first-round defeats by Thailand (6-1 and 7-1).¹⁰⁹ The second victory in Macau's history in qualifying for a World Cup only occurred in 2019. Macau won against Sri Lanka (1-0), curiously the solitary goal that gave Macau victory over Sri Lanka was scored by defender Filipe Duarte, a player who did all his training as a youth in Portugal.¹¹⁰ From their thirty-one qualifier games played, Macau has accumulated three wins, twenty-seven defeats and a single draw in March 1997, (1-1) against Nepal.¹¹¹

The argument that Macau's football development is handicapped due to its small population size, does not stand up to scrutiny when comparing Macau's population (638,108 inhabitants) and FIFA ranking (182nd) to those neighbouring countries with a similar population size, such as the Solomon Islands (638,206 inhabitants), but higher ranking (143rd).¹¹² These figures reflect the fact that despite the growing massive attraction of football in Asia, this sport in Macau remains confined to the contours of amateurism.

The controversial management of the Macau Football Association was evinced in June 2019 when it decided not to send the national football team to play in the 2022 World Cup qualifying match with Sri Lanka on the grounds of safety. Some players were angry with this decision, taken without consultation beforehand. A total of 48 players in the Macau Football League signed their names in protest against the Association's decision.¹¹³ Eventually, FIFA decided that Macau would record a defeat by Sri Lanka (0-3) and would be financially penalized (under Articles 5 and 56 of the Regulations).¹¹⁴ The Macau government analyzed the incident but respected the decision of the Association, which would pay for the FIFA fine.

The question remains, of whether the MFA will be able to shake off its amateurish performance on and off the pitch, and will begin to perform by professional standards? Judging from the regular defeats suffered by the National Football team of Macau and its FIFA ranking position, it is a long way from meeting such standards.

In a 2019 interview, MFA's own president, Chong Coc Veng, argued that football in Macau is underdeveloped and cited the lack of sports facilities as the main obstacle to future professionalization of football in Macau.¹¹⁵ In fact, some sports facilities are shared with other sports, but this should not continue to serve as an excuse for the underdevelopment of football. Many primary and secondary school children love playing football, but the inter-schools football competitions are disconnected with the recruitment of youngsters interested in playing in football clubs of the Divisions or Elite League. In short, the symbolic legacy of the Portuguese presence was a necessary condition in the traditional formation of football clubs but is not sufficient to meet the new demands of globalized football.

The Absence of Strategy: A Long Way to the Achievement of Professionalization in Administration and in Sporting Performance

Despite the recommendations of the EAFF, the steps taken by football in Asia have been insufficient. There is a 'dramatic discrepancy' between Asian nations in terms of quality, performance and programming. It is important to consider, in light of the absence of reforms, whether the MFA will be able to redefine goals according to 'The Future is Asia' as proposed

by AFC objectives to broker the expansion of the game, or ‘Dream Asia’ that aims to use the power of football as a platform for social development?¹¹⁶

Globalization has facilitated commercialization, communication and cooperation between Asian and Western countries. In this regard, Macau needs to think about niche areas of economic diversification, in which the professionalization of football should be subject to discussion.¹¹⁷ Therefore, as Sonny Lo notes, establishing governmental think tanks of all stakeholders (the principal among which would be the MFA) would help to produce and present a solid and consolidated action plan, supported by the key stakeholders and those responsible for delivery, to achieve the desired development.¹¹⁸

Lo points out that, in order to promote a real development of football, a strategic action plan must cover the guidelines to foster skills development of all parties involved in the process (including establishing a full training programme for MFA staff, club leaders and match organization staff, coaches of the main and youth teams, etc). Such an approach would help to identify what is missing within the football system, such as skilled people in the areas of planning and organization of football competitions to create better environments around football venues and a really competitive league to boost the public interest and promote spectator participation.¹¹⁹ In this regard, Pingxiang et al., point out that the governing bodies should keep in mind that modernization of governance in a society is not inconsistent with developing cultural legacy.¹²⁰ In sum, the broader interests of the football policy should indicate where Macau will position itself on the changing regional scene and determine the degree of closeness to the West or, alternatively, to regional powers.

Concluding: Between Colonization and Modernity

As we have seen, among many forms of popular culture football events remind us that this apparently simple game has an unequalled capacity to incorporate symbolic capital, and is sufficiently expressive to resist the loss of valued elements of Macau’s history, in particular retaining key elements of the symbolic representation of the Portuguese colonial legacy. In this paper we have sought to provide evidence and a narrative that emphasizes that Portuguese heritage continues to play a significant role in the ongoing development of football in Macau. In this respect we have emphasized four key elements:

- i. the experience of many tournaments, disputed since the 1930s, lived through in concert and competition with others and, with a legacy in terms of the memory left by those competitions;
- ii. the creation and history of the clubs based on associative governance;

- iii. the visual symbols, produced and reinforced, when Macau's main football clubs mimic the names, colours, crests and kits of Portugal's main clubs; and
- iv. the exchange of athletes, coaches and managers. The legacy derived from these experiences and events are then stored in the group's collective memory.

Currently, from a nostalgic perspective, these bonds are part of a lively social memory, permanently updated through the mobilization of players and coaches from Macau to Portugal and *vice versa*, and can be seen as a symptom of the importance of Portugal's cultural colonial heritage.

It is fair to say that the former British colonies namely Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia benefitted from further development, implementing rules and tournament organization, and the current regional differentiation does not show a substantial cleavage in their position in terms of world ranking or even Asia.

For as long as Macau was a colony, its true potential as a football power remained intermittent. However, after returning to the Chinese motherland, the situation has not changed, with Macau having fluctuated between poor and less poor performance in the FIFA ranking. Indeed, it is evident that no significant change in MFA governance or active government assistance has taken place in the last twenty years that could have led to a better development of football in Macau.

In view of the amateurish approach adopted by the MFA, most prominently in the controversial management in 2019 of the 2022 World Cup qualifying match with Sri Lanka, Macau's football continues to be seen as a simple form of cultural recreation, a position pointing back to the socio-political environment of the time of the Portuguese administration of the territory. In this regard, Weinberg points out that the strides taken by football in Asia were not as long as anticipated, especially due to the 'dramatic discrepancy' between Asian nations in terms of the quality of performance, the huge national difference between football programmes. The author added that the history of the AFC reaffirms the thesis that football across the globe shares the history of its origin, its development and the operation of various confederations.¹²¹

So, the rhetoric surrounding the legacy of the symbolic representation of football lingering in the wake of the colonial period, should be, if not a definitive catalyst, then certainly part of the thrust for laying down a realistic policy to reignite youth interest and participation, reorganize and reform of the management of national football association. Such proposals should formulate and implement long-term plans for football development, nurture local

coaches, and provide substantial tax incentives for business and private sector organizations to invest in the formation and growth of local football clubs.

On a final note, the sustainable development of Macau's professional football requires, at a faster pace, the construction of professional, and business-like regulation and governance. Despite the resilience of traditional pastimes such as 'Bolinha', many would argue that professionalization of the football system is a necessary if not sufficient condition of Macau realizing its potential in terms of performance on and off the field. That potential is strongly influenced by its Portuguese heritage but modernization and professionalisation of policy and practice in relation to football management, as well as drawing on cultural heritage and collective memory will be required if Macau is to enhance its position in Asian football, and to occupy a more significant position in Asia's football hierarchy.

Notes

-
- ¹ Pedro Vieira, *Todos os Portos a Que Cheguei: Vasco Rocha Vieira* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2010).
 - ² Geoffrey C. Gunn, *History Without Borders: The Making of an Asian World Region, 1000-1800* (Hong-Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).
 - ³ Garcia Leandro, *Macau nos anos da Revolução Portuguesa 1974-1979* (Lisboa: Gradiva, 2011).
 - ⁴ Ibid.
 - ⁵ Wai-man Lam, 'Promoting Hybridity: The Politics of the New Macau Identity', *The China Quarterly* 203 (2010): 656–74.
 - ⁶ Jonathan Porter, *Macau: The Imaginary City* (London: Routledge, 2018).
 - ⁷ Glos Ho and Alan Bairner, 'One Country, Two Systems, Three Flags: Imagining Olympic Nationalism in Hong Kong and Macao', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48, no.3 (2012): 349–65.
 - ⁸ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London: Penguin Books, 1966).
 - ⁹ Göran Bostedt and Tommy Lundgren, 'Accounting for Cultural Heritage – A Theoretical and Empirical Exploration with Focus on Swedish Reindeer Husbandry', *Ecological Economics* 69, no. 3 (2010): 651–57.
 - ¹⁰ Cheng Yong Tan and Dian Liu, 'What Is the Influence of Cultural Capital on Student Reading Achievement in Confucian as Compared to Non-Confucian Heritage Societies?', *A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 48, no. 6 (2017): 896–914.
 - ¹¹ Ben Weinberg, *Asia, and the Future of Football: The Role of the Asian Football Confederation* (London: Routledge, 2015).

-
- ¹² Wolfram Pyta, 'Introduction: Football Memory in a European Perspective', in *European Football and Collective Memory*, ed. Wolfram Pyta and Nils Havemann (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–17.
- ¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- ¹⁴ Jamie Cleland and others, *Collective Action and Football Fandom: A Relational Sociological* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Nuno Domingos, 'Urban Football Narratives and the Colonial Process in Lourenço Marques', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 15 (2011): 2159–75.
- ¹⁵ Wray Vamplew, 'History of Sport', in *Social Sciences and Sport*, ed. Joseph Maguire (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2014), 9–33.
- ¹⁶ Matthew Taylor, 'History and Football', in *Routledge Handbook of Football Studies*, ed. John Hughson, Kevin Moore, Ramón Spaaij and Joseph Maguire (London: Routledge, 2016), 7–17.
- ¹⁷ Richard L. Edmonds and Herbert Yee, 'Macau: From Portuguese Autonomous Territory to Chinese Special Administrative Region', *The China Quarterly* 160 (1999): 801–17.
- ¹⁸ Cândido C. Azevedo, 'A Emergência do Sport em Macau, na transição do século XIX para o século XX', *Administração* 25, no. 98 (2012): 1165–72.
- ¹⁹ 'Estado Novo' was the authoritarian, autocratic and corporatist political state regime that was enforced in Portugal for 41 uninterrupted years, from the approval of the 1933 Constitution until its overthrow by the Revolution of 25 April 1974, See Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, 'Portugal', in Norrie MacQueen, *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, ed. Norrie MacQueen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 162–78.
- ²⁰ Salazar was head of Government of Portugal between 1933 until 1968. See Jaime Nogueira Pinto, *António de Oliveira Salazar: O outro retrato* (Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2010).
- ²¹ Ricardo Serrado, *O Jogo do Salazar* (Alfragide, Portugal: Casa das Letras, 2009).
- ²² Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *A Busca da Excitação* (Lisboa: Difel, 1992).
- ²³ Nick Aplin, 'The Slow Contagion of Scottish Example: Association Football in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Singapore', *Soccer & Society* 14, no.5 (2013): 588–602.
- ²⁴ Leandro, 'Macau nos anos da Revolução Portuguesa', 67.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ António Ferro, *Sociedade de Recreio* (Lisboa: SNI 1950), 16.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Maria E. Mata, 'Interracial Marriage in the Last Portuguese Colonial Empire', *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–23.
- ²⁹ Jeff Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

-
- ³⁰ Mike Cronin and David Mayall, ‘Sport and Ethnicity: Some Introductory Remarks’, *Immigrants & Minorities* 17, no. 1 (1998): 1–13.
- ³¹ Allen Guttmann, ‘Sports Diffusion: A Response to Maguire and the Americanization Commentaries’, *Sociology of Sport Journal* 8, no. 2 (1991): 185–90.
- ³² Cândido C. Azevedo, *O Lúdico a História do Oriente Português* (Macau: Instituto Politécnico de Macau, 2010).
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Azevedo, ‘A Emergência do Sport em Macau, na transição do século XIX para o século XX’, 1168–70.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Stefan Szymanski, ‘A Theory of the Evolution of Modern Sport’, *Journal of Sport History* 35, no.1 (2008): 1–32.
- ³⁷ Azevedo, ‘A Emergência do Sport em Macau, na transição do século XIX para o século XX’, 1168–70.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Nenotavaiconça, ‘III ‘Interport’ de Futebol’ (March 9, 2014), <https://nenotavaiconça.wordpress.com/2013/03/09/3-o-interport-de-futebol-polícia-1950/> (accessed September 8, 2020); FIFA ‘Tiny Macau Eye Big Gains from Down-to-Earth Development’ (May 21, 2020), <https://www.fifa.com/news/tiny-macau-eyes-big-gains-from-down-to-earth-development> (accessed July 24, 2021).
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Nuno Domingos, ‘Football and Colonialism, Domination and Appropriation: The Mozambican Case’, *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 4 (2007): 478–94.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Azevedo, ‘O Lúdico a História do Oriente Português’, 108.
- ⁴⁴ Szymanski, ‘A Theory of the Evolution of Modern Sport’, 1.
- ⁴⁵ Domingos, ‘Urban football narratives and the colonial process in Lourenço Marques’, 2162.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid, 2163.
- ⁴⁷ Domingos, ‘Football and Colonialism, Domination and Appropriation’, 480.
- ⁴⁸ Cecília Jorge, ‘Um Piolho com memória de elefante’, *Revista Macau* II série 2, no. 31 (1994), 42–46.
- ⁴⁹ João O. Botas, comment on ‘O Tenebroso’, The Macau Antigo Blog, comment posted June 3, 2011, <https://macauantigo.blogspot.com/search?q=Futebol> (accessed September 20, 2020).
- ⁵⁰ Jorge, ‘um Piolho com memória de elefante’.

-
- ⁵¹ Daniel Melo, Longe da vista, perto do coração: o associativismo regionalista no império português (Lisboa: Comunicação ao VIII Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais, 2004), 16–18.
- ⁵² João O. Botas, comment on ‘SLB em Macau na digressão do Verão de 1970’, The Macau Antigo Blog, comment posted May 14, 2017, <http://macauantigo.blogspot.com/search/%20label/desporto> (accessed September 23, 2020).
- ⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Tradition’, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.
- ⁵⁴ Younghan Cho, *Football in Asia: History, Culture and Business* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Sean Brawley and Nick Guoth, *Australia’s Asian Sporting Context, 1920s – 30s* (London: Routledge, 2013).
- ⁵⁵ The ‘House of Portugal in Macau’ association emerged in 2001, focusing on projects and initiatives that go beyond the simple Portuguese universe, but rather, the symbiosis of cultures that is today, Macau, including sports, and football in particular.
- ⁵⁶ J. A. Mangan and Fan Hong, *Sport in Asian Society: Past and Present* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002).
- ⁵⁷ Domingos, ‘Football and Colonialism’.
- ⁵⁸ João O. Botas, comment on ‘Sporting, seleção, futebol, macaenses,’ *The Macau Antigo Blog*, comment posted May 20, 2009, <https://macauantigo.blogspot.com/search?q=Futebol> (accessed September, 20 2020).
- ⁵⁹ The Global Game: Tiny Macau Eye Big Gains from Down-to-Earth Development’, FIFA.com (May 21, 2020), <https://www.fifa.com/news/tiny-macau-eyes-big-gains-fro-m-down-to-earth-development> (accessed September 4, 2020).
- ⁶⁰ James Mills, ‘Football in Goa: Sport, Politics and the Portuguese in India’, *Soccer & Society* 2, no. 2 (2001): 75–88.
- ⁶¹ Nick Aplin, ‘The Slow Contagion of Scottish Example: Association Football in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Singapore’, *Soccer & Society* 14, no. 5 (2013): 588–602; Richard Cashman, *History and Legacy* (Sydney: Walla Walla Press, 2011).
- ⁶² Allen Guttman, ‘Sports Diffusion: A Response to Maguire and the Americanization Commentaries’, *Sociology of Sport Journal* 8, no. 2 (1991): 185–90.
- ⁶³ W. David McIntyre, *Winding Up the British Empire in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- ⁶⁴ McIntyre, ‘Winding Up the British Empire’
- ⁶⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe 1870:1914’, in *The Invention of Tradition* ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 263–308.
- ⁶⁶ JA Mangan, ‘Soccer as Moral Training: Missionary Intentions and Imperial legacies’, in *Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora*, ed. Paul Dimeo and James Mills (New York: Routledge, 2001): 41–56.

-
- ⁶⁷ Lim Peng Han and Mohd Salleh Aman, 'The Diffusion and Transmission of Football in the Straits Settlements and Malay States, 1874–1899: Early Inter-Settlement Games and Inter-State Competition Among European Clubs and Teams', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 35, no. 12–13 (2018): 1335–55.
- ⁶⁸ Lim Peng Han, 'The Singapore Football League, 1904–1941: Towards the Institutionalization of Football in the Colonial Port City of Singapore', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35, no. 12-13 (2018): 1217–37.
- ⁶⁹ Chun Wing Lee, 'From Shamateurism to Pioneer of Asia's Professional Football: The Introduction of Professional Football in Hong Kong', *Soccer & Society* 14, no. 5 (2013): 603–14.
- ⁷⁰ John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, 'The East Asian Football Federation/Asian Football Confederation', in *Routledge Handbook of Football Studies*, ed. John Hughson, Kevin Moore, Ramón Spaaij, and Joseph Maguire (London: Routledge, 2016), 412–22.
- ⁷¹ Lee, 'From shamateurism to pioneer of Asia's professional football', 603–14.
- ⁷² Stefan Szymanski, 'Professional Asian Football Leagues and the Global Market', *Asian Economic Policy Review* 11 (2016): 16–38.
- ⁷³ Dale Blair and Rob Hess, *Australian Rules Football During the First World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- ⁷⁴ Nenotavaiconta, 'Indústrias Tradicionais – Panchões (II)Notícia, 19 de março de 1988 – I Festival de Artes de Macau', March 19, 2016, [notícia de 19 de março de 1952 – futebol entre militares de macau e hong kong | nenotavaiconta \(wordpress.com\)](https://nenotavaiconta.wordpress.com/2016/03/19/noticia-de-19-de-marco-de-1952-futebol-entre-militares-de-macau-e-hong-kong/) (accessed September 12, 2020).
- ⁷⁵ Leandro, 'Macau nos anos da Revolução Portuguesa', 210; Anabela Nunes Monteiro, *Macau e a presença portuguesa seiscentista no Mar da China: Interesses e estratégias de sobrevivência* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011).
- ⁷⁶ Luís Cunha, 'Macau Between Republics: Neither War nor Peace (1914-1918)', *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 15, no. 1 (2007): 105–28.
- ⁷⁷ Maria Eugenia Mata, 'Interracial Marriage in the Last Portuguese Colonial Empire', *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–23.
- ⁷⁸ Azevedo, 'O Lúdico a História do Oriente Português'.
- ⁷⁹ Leandro, 'Macau nos anos da Revolução Portuguesa', 78.
- ⁸⁰ Cleland and others, 'Collective Action and Football Fandom', 8.
- ⁸¹ Edmond and Yee, 'Macau', 801–17; Richard Louis Edmonds, 'Macau and Greater China'. *The China Quarterly*, no. 136 (1993): 878–906.
- ⁸² Brian Bridges and Marcus P. Chu, *The Sports Development of Hong Kong and Macau: New Challenges after the Handovers* (London: Routledge, 2019).
- ⁸³ Manuel Silvério, 'Já é altura de haver interligação entre desporto escolar e associativo', *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, January 27, 2021, <https://jtm.com.mo/local/ja-e-altura-de-haver-interligacao-entre-desporto-escolar->

[associativo/?fbclid=IwAR1eQitlRZfqZHVJe%20Hv9DRRvp8VPPR7exmDW7QLCEtdIf8ioADUZh](https://www.facebook.com/associativo/?fbclid=IwAR1eQitlRZfqZHVJe%20Hv9DRRvp8VPPR7exmDW7QLCEtdIf8ioADUZh) (accessed July 24, 2021).

- ⁸⁴ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- ⁸⁵ Scarlett Cornelissen, ‘Scripting the Nation: Sport, Mega-Events, Foreign Policy and State-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa’, *Sport in Society* 11, no. 4 (2008): 481–93; Stuart Murray and Geoffrey Allen Pigman, ‘Mapping the Relationship between International Sport and Diplomacy’, *Sport in Society* 17, no. 9 (2014): 1098–18.
- ⁸⁶ *Record*, ‘Despedida com chave de ouro’. Year. XXIX, no. 3101. July 9, 1978, 7.
- ⁸⁷ Silvério, <https://jtm.com.mo/local/ja-e-altura-de-haver-interligacao-entre-desportoescolar-associativo> 88
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ Decree-Law no. 28/87/M (May 18, 1987), Official Press (6):57, <https://bo.io.gov.mo/bo/i/87/20/decllei28.asp> 90
- ⁹⁰ Herbert S. Yee and Sonny S. H. Lo, ‘Macau in Transition: The Politics of Decolonization’, *Asian Survey* 31, no. 10 (1991): 905–19.
- ⁹¹ Silvério, ‘Já é altura de haver interligação entre desporto escolar e associativo’.
- ⁹² González-Varas, Ignacio, *Conservación de bienes culturales, Teoría, história, principios y normas* (Madrid: Manuales Arte Cátedra, 2005).
- ⁹³ ‘The Global Game: Tiny Macau Eye Big Gains from Down-to-Earth Development’, FIFA.com, May 21, 2020, <https://www.fifa.com/news/tiny-macau-eyes-big-gains-fromdown-to-earth-development> (accessed September 6, 2020). 94.
- ⁹⁴ Horne and Manzenreiter, ‘The East Asian Football Federation/Asian Football Confederation’, 413.
- ⁹⁵ ‘World Cup 1994 Asian Qualifiers (AFC)’, Athlet.org, <https://athlet.org/football/world-cup/1994/qualifiers/afc> (accessed September 20, 2020).
- ⁹⁶ 2020). 96. ‘Futebol de Macau focado num desenvolvimento realista’, Ponto Final, May 25, 2020, <https://pontofinalmacau.wordpress.com/2020/05/25/futebol-de-macau-focado-num-desenvolvimento-realista/> (accessed September 21, 2020).
- ⁹⁷ World Cup 1998 Asian Qualifiers (AFC)’, Athlet.org, <https://athlet.org/football/world-cup/1998/qualifiers/afc> (accessed September 20, 2020).
- ⁹⁸ ‘FIFA, Men’s Ranking’, FIFA.com, December 20, 2019, <https://www.fifa.com/fifaworldranking/associations/association/MAC/men/> (accessed September 20, 2020).
- ⁹⁹ Rodrigo Matos, ‘Veteranos de Macau ficam em último no torneio que celebra a instituição da RAEM’, Ponto Final (December 19, 2016), <https://pontofinalmacau.wordpress.com/2016/12/19/veteranos-de-macau-ficam-em-ultimo-no-torneio-que-celebra-a-instituicao-da-raem/> (accessed September 23, 2020).

-
- 100 Eilo Wing-yat Yu and Ming K. Chan, *China's Macao Transformed: Challenge and Development in the 21st Century* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2014).
- 101 FIFA 'Tiny Macau Eye Big Gains from Down-to-Earth Development', May 21, 2020, <https://www.fifa.com/news/tiny-macau-eyes-big-gains-from-down-to-earth-development> (accessed July 24, 2021).
- 102 Eilo Wing-yat Yu and Leo Hou-Ieong Lei, 'Sports–Politics Puzzle in China's Macau', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 33, no. 11 (2016): 1268–83.
- 103 John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, 'Introduction', in *Sports Mega-Events*, ed. John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 1–24.
- 104 Bridges and Chu, *The Sports Development of Hong Kong and Macau*.
- 105 Jonathan Grix and Donna Lee, 'Soft Power, Sports Mega-Events and Emerging States: The Lure of the Politics of Attraction', *Global Society* 27, no. 4 (2013): 521–36.
- 106 Yu and Lei, 'Sports–Politics Puzzle in China's Macau', 1270.
- 107 EAFF-East Asian Football Federation, <https://eaff.com/about/> (accessed July 25, 2021).
- 108 Sonny Lo Shiu-Hing, 'The Modernization of Football Development in Macau and Hong', *Macau Business.com* (July 4, 2019), <https://www.macaubusiness.com/opinion-the-modernization-of-football-development-in-macau-and-hong-kong/> (accessed September 4, 2020); Sonny Lo Shiu-Hing, 'Macau's New Challenges', *MacauBusiness.com* (November 16, 2019), <https://www.macaubusiness.com/opinion-macaus-newchallenges/> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- 109 IFA, 'Statistical Kit: Overview of the Participating Member Associations', *FIFA.com* (June 28, 2011), <https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/c91tgtfetbsmneex1vbc.pdf> (accessed July 24, 2021).
- 110 Reuters, 'World Cup Qualifier in Sri Lanka Cancelled after Macau Refuse to Travel', December 09, 2019, <https://www.euronews.com/2019/06/10/world-cup-qualifier-in-sri-lanka-cancelled-after-macau-refuse-to-travel> (accessed September 10, 2020).
- 111 FIFA, <https://img.fifa.com/image/upload/c91tgtfetbsmneex1vbc.pdf>
- 112 The Department of Economic and Social Affairs to the United Nations, <https://population.un.org/wpp/> (accessed September 4, 2020).
- 113 Sonny Lo Shiu Hing, 'How Can Football Be Modernized in Hong Kong, Macau and Taipei?', *Macau Business.com*, June 19, 2021, <https://www.macaubusiness.com/opinion-how-can-football-be-modernized-in-hong-kong-macau-and-taipei/> (accessed July 24, 2021).
- 114 'FIFA Disciplinary Committee sanctions Macau Football Association', *FIFA.com*, June 27, 2019, <https://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/fifa-disciplinary-committee-sanctions-macau-football-association> (accessed July 16, 2021).
- 115 Chong Coc Veng, 'Zhuhai e Hengqin serão parceiros nossos para resolver a questão dos campos', *Ponto Final*, November, 1, 2019, <https://pontofinalmacau.wordpress.com/2019/11/01/zhuhai-e-hengqin-serao-arceiros-nossos-para-resolver-a-questao-dos->

[campos/?fbclid=IwAR3_HSqoZtkRbcj3haXHDc8GLO8BSYABwnt0Xp5Q0prVNqS3pIdutIwWRs](https://www.campos/?fbclid=IwAR3_HSqoZtkRbcj3haXHDc8GLO8BSYABwnt0Xp5Q0prVNqS3pIdutIwWRs) (accessed September 4, 2020).

- ¹¹⁶ Ben Weinberg, “‘The Future Is Asia’? The Role of the Asian Football Confederation in the Governance and Development of Football in Asia”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 4 (2012): 535–52.
- ¹¹⁷ Fan Hong and Zheng Guohua, ‘Soccer and Society in Modern Asia’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34, no. 17–18 (2017): 1805–06.
- ¹¹⁸ Sonny Lo, <https://www.macaubusiness.com/opinion-macaus-newchallenges/>.
- ¹¹⁹ Sonny Lo, <https://www.macaubusiness.com/opinion-the-modernization-of-footballdevelopment-in-macau-and-hong-kong/>
- ¹²⁰ Pingxiang He, Guohua Zheng, and Zhengwe Gong, ‘Survival of Folk Sports–Related Cultural Heritage in China’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 37, no. 12 (2021): 1159–71.
- ¹²¹ Weinberg, ‘Asia and the future of football’

To cite this article: Célia Gouveia (2021). A Vision of Macau’s Football through the Symbolic Legacy of the Portuguese Presence, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, DOI: 10.1080/09523367.2021.1988931 To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2021.1988931>