

## Index

- Abusive constitutionalism, 9–10. *See also*  
 Hybrid constitutionalism
- Alibaba Group, 231
- Álvares, Jorge, 73
- do Amara, João Maria Ferreira, 74
- Amparo procedure, 106–7
- Ao Man Long, 149–50, 195, 197
- Argentina, hybrid constitutionalism on local  
 level in, 4
- Aristotle, 25
- Asian comparative constitutional law, 26–27
- “Asset specificity,” 42
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 55
- Attitudinal model of judicial decisionmaking,  
 20–21
- Au Kam Sun, 82
- Australia  
 CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
 common law in, 202–3  
 comparative constitutional law and, 25  
 constitutional review in, 102  
 non-permanent judges on CFA from,  
 114  
 Portugal compared, 208  
 state supreme courts, 26
- Austria, constitutional review in, 204
- Authoritarian constitutionalism, 9–10. *See also*  
 Hybrid constitutionalism
- Azerbaijan, patterns of liberal democracy in,  
 3
- Bacelar Gouveia, Jorge, 210
- Ban Ki-moon, 188
- Basic Law (Hong Kong)  
 generally, 12–13
- overview, 65–66, 103–4  
 authoritarian nature of, 29–30, 103–4  
 autonomy under, 84–85  
 CFA under, 16, 109 (*See also* Court of Final  
 Appeal (CFA) (Hong Kong))  
 checks and balances under, 136–37  
 Chief Executive under, 85–87, 89, 96–97  
 civil liberties under, 84–85  
 constitutional review under, 97–100, 101–3  
 (*See also* Court of Final Appeal (CFA)  
 (Hong Kong))  
 Consultative Committee, 81–82  
 democratization and, 66  
 design on, 29–30  
 Drafting Committee, 80–82  
 enforcement authority, 96–98, 104  
 excluded provisions, 151  
 executive orders under, 83  
 failure to amend, 191–92  
 legal model of judicial decisionmaking  
 and, 21  
 Legislative Interpretations and, 100–2,  
 221–22, 230–31  
 Lei Básica compared, 19, 220  
 living constitution doctrine and, 240  
 maintenance of prior laws, 96  
 non-excluded provisions, 151  
 property rights under, 142–43  
 treaties under, 83
- Battle of Sai Tso Wan (1522), 73
- Battle of Tuen Mun (1521), 73
- Belarus  
 patterns of liberal democracy in, 3  
 persistence of hybrid constitutionalism  
 in, 5–6

- Belgium  
civil law in, 203  
ICCPR and, 149
- Blackstone, William, 206
- Bokhary, Kemal, 190–91
- Brazil  
constitutional review in, 1  
hybrid constitutionalism on local level in, 4
- Cameroon, patterns of liberal democracy in, 3
- Canada  
CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
common law in, 202–3  
comparative constitutional law and, 25  
constitutional review in, 102  
non-permanent judges on CFA from, 238
- Catholic Church, 182
- Cayman Islands, citation of decisions of CFA in, 201
- CFA. *See* Court of Final Appeal (CFA) (Hong Kong)
- Chainrai, Bina, 237–38
- Chan, Anson, 177
- Chan, Sonia, 237
- Chan Kin-man, 190
- Chan Kuong Seng, 214
- Chao, Jason, 236
- Checks and balances, 136–37
- Chen, Albert, 135
- “Chilling effect” of actions against judiciary, 44
- China  
authoritarianism in, 226–28  
Central Policy Unit, 176  
China Central Television (CCTV), 231–32  
Chinese Association of Hong Kong and Macao Studies, 176  
Communist Party, 80–81, 185–86  
comparative constitutional law and, 27–29  
Constitution, 30, 71, 82, 97, 98, 137–38, 227  
constitutional law in, 26–27  
Cultural Revolution, 69  
lack of constitutional court in, 43  
Legislation Law of 2000, 138  
Liaison Office, 229  
National Flag Law, 125  
National People’s Congress  
constitutional review and, 96–97, 99–100  
Constitution and, 71  
Lei Básica and, 83  
ratification of laws by, 218–19  
selection of members, 91  
term limits and, 227  
TUI versus, 128
- One Belt-One Road Initiative, 227–28
- People’s Political Consultative Conference, 176
- Portugal, diplomatic relations with, 76
- Special Administrative Regions (*See* Hong Kong; Macau)
- Standing Committee of National People’s Congress  
Basic Law and, 80–81, 82  
CFA versus, 121–25, 133–35, 154, 155, 168–69, 173  
Chief Executives and, 86  
constitutional review in, 16  
enforcement authority, 96–97, 99–102, 103, 104  
Hong Kong Election Committee and, 184–85  
Hong Kong Nomination Committee and, 187  
interpretive authority, 220  
interpretive methodology, 132  
judicial petitions, 150–54  
Legislative Affairs Commission, 134–35  
as legislative body, 133  
Legislative Interpretations, 100–2, 123–24, 133, 135, 205, 221–22, 230–31  
Macau Election Committee and, 199  
referrals by, 150–54  
TUI versus, 154, 155–56, 168–69, 173  
State Council White Paper, 186–87, 227  
Supreme People’s Court, 16, 220  
Tiananmen Square incident, 182, 198, 211, 234
- Chou, Bill, 236
- Chui, Fernando, 193, 199, 234, 235–36
- Chu Kin, 117, 119–20, 128, 130
- Civil law  
common law versus, 202–6  
constitutional review in, 204–5  
historical background, 203  
legal origins hypothesis and, 202–6  
Macau, civil law tradition in, 201  
“philosopher-king” concept in, 203
- Common law  
civil law versus, 202–6  
constitutional review in, 204–5  
historical background, 202–3  
Hong Kong, common law tradition in, 201  
legal origins hypothesis and, 202–6  
“philosopher-king” concept in, 203

- Comparative constitutional law, 25–26, 240
- Competitive authoritarianism, 3–4. *See also*  
Hybrid constitutionalism
- Constitutional courts  
as “investments,” 42  
transaction costs, effect on control of, 49
- Constitutionalism  
defined, 29  
transaction costs of, 41
- Constitutional review  
attitudinal model of judicial  
decisionmaking, 20–21  
centralized model, 1  
in CFA (*See* Court of Final Appeal (CFA)  
(Hong Kong))  
in civil law, 204–5  
in common law, 204–5  
counter-majoritarian nature of, 240  
decentralized model, 1  
evolution of, 1–2  
high-energy constitutional review  
overview, 22, 108–9, 240  
in CFA, 170, 216  
transaction cost theory and, 33, 63  
in Hong Kong (*See* Court of Final Appeal  
(CFA) (Hong Kong))  
in hybrid constitutionalism, 6–10  
legal model of judicial decisionmaking, 21  
low-energy constitutional review, 108–9, 170,  
215, 216, 237  
in Macau (*See* Tribunal de Última Instância  
(TUI) (Macau))  
no guarantee of liberal democracy, 3  
respect of countries and, 2  
strategic model of judicial decisionmaking  
and, 22–23 (*See also* Strategic model of  
judicial decisionmaking)  
strong-form review, 99–100  
in TUI (*See* Tribunal de Última Instância  
(TUI) (Macau))  
weak-form review, 16, 102–3, 154
- Corpus Juris Civilis*, 203
- Costa Pinto, Antonio, 65–66
- Court of Final Appeal (CFA) (Hong Kong)  
overview, 66  
appointments to, 111–12  
attitudinal model of judicial  
decisionmaking and, 20–21  
authoritarian nature of, 30  
checks and balances in, 136–37  
Chief Justice, 112–13  
conflict regarding creation of, 109–10  
constitutional review in  
overview, 16–20, 30, 154–55  
abstract review, 139–40  
activism, 16–17, 105–6, 221  
criminal cases, 111  
enforcement authority, 97–100, 101–3  
high-energy constitutional review, 170, 216  
interpretive methodology, 132–37  
judicial petitions, 150–54  
jurisdiction, 121–27, 173  
list of cases, 162–67  
predominant provision test, 151, 153  
procedure, 110–11  
proportionality standard, 140–45, 150  
referrals to, 150–54  
standards of review, 140–45, 150  
Standing Committee of National People’s  
Congress versus, 121–25, 133–35, 154,  
155, 168–69, 173  
TUI compared, 108–9, 120–21, 169–70,  
220–21  
weak-form review, 154  
divergence from TUI, 16–20, 24–25, 31  
enforcement authority, 104  
establishment of, 16  
final adjudication power, 111, 220  
flag desecration and, 124–25  
foreign and international law in, 135–36  
foreign state immunity and, 151–53  
freedom of expression and, 124–25  
fundamental rights versus socio-economic  
policies, 144–45  
homosexuality and, 139, 142  
invalidation decrees, 126–27  
Judicial Officers Recommendation  
Commission, 111–12  
jurisdiction, 97–98, 110, 121–27  
legal model of judicial decisionmaking  
and, 21  
Legislative Interpretations and, 123–24,  
135, 205  
list of judges, 156–60  
marriage and, 127, 135–36  
non-permanent judges, 114–15, 205–6, 238  
property rights and, 142–43  
public processions and, 141–42  
qualifications of judges, 113–14  
remedial interpretations, 126–27  
right of abode of children of permanent  
residents and, 121–24, 133–35

- Selection Committee, 86
- separation of powers and, 127
- social security and, 143–44
- surveillance and, 126–27
- transaction cost theory and (*See also* Transaction cost theory)
  - overview, 24–25, 30–31
  - high transaction costs in, 170, 216
- Democratically disguised dictatorship, 3–4
  - See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- Deng Xiaoping, 71, 80–81, 88, 90, 136, 226–27
- Dicey, Albert Venn, 206
- Disapplication doctrine, 129–32
- Divided government, 37
- Dixon, Rosalind, 1
- Dualism, 83
- Dündar, Can, 59–60
- The Economist*, 4
- Egypt
  - Constitutional Court, 42–43
  - patterns of liberal democracy in, 3
- Electoral authoritarianism, 3–4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- Elizabeth II (UK), 177
- Elkins, Zachary, 64
- Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 9, 56, 58, 59–60, 62–63
- European Central Bank, 209–10
- European Convention on Human Rights, 207–8
- European Court of Human Rights, 138, 150
- European Court of Justice, 150
- European Union, 209–10
- Ex ante actions against judiciary, 43, 45, 174
- Ex post actions against judiciary, 43, 44–46, 174
- Falklands War, 71
- Falun Gong, 182
- Ferejohn, John, 32
- Fiji
  - citation of decisions of CFA in, 201
  - non-permanent judges on CFA from, 114
- First Anglo-Chinese War, 10, 66
- First Convention of Peking, 10–11, 67
- First Opium War, 74
- “Fishball Revolution,” 232–33
- Four Asian Tigers, 26–27
- Fox, Hazel, 152
- France
  - civil law in, 204
  - comparative constitutional law and, 25
  - constitutional review in, 204
  - Napoleonic Code of 1804, 203
  - Portugal compared, 208
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 43
- Germany
  - comparative constitutional law and, 25
  - constitutional review in, 204
  - Länder, constitutional courts in, 26
  - Portugal compared, 208
- Gibson, James L., 22
- Ginsburg, Tom, 1, 19–20
- Gittings, Danny, 206
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 43
- Graber, Mark A., 37
- “Gray zone,” 3–4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- Gui, Michael, 231–32
- Gül, Abdullah, 58
- Gül, Erdem, 59–60
- Gulen, Fethullah, 60
- Hale, Lady, 238
- Helmke, Gretchen, 10
- High-energy constitutional review
  - overview, 22, 108–9, 240
  - in CFA, 170, 216
  - transaction cost theory and, 33, 63
- High transaction costs, 170, 175–76, 181, 216, 239
- Hirschl, Ran, 23, 33
- Ho, Edmund, 76, 193–94, 196
- Ho Chio Meng, 148
- Hong Kong
  - Administrative Officers (AO) Party, 69, 176–77
  - Airport Authority, 229
  - as “Asian Tiger,” 26–27
  - authoritarianism in, 229–30
  - autonomy in, 84–85, 232–33
  - Bar Association, 185
  - Bar Council, 111–12
  - Basic Law (*See* Basic Law (Hong Kong))
  - Bill of Rights Ordinance, 210–12
  - capitalism in, 13–14
  - checks and balances in, 136–37
  - Chief Executive
    - overview, 12, 71–72, 171
    - appointment of, 89
    - CFA and, 111–12

- Hong Kong (cont.)
- elections, 172, 220
  - enforcement authority, 104
  - high transaction costs and, 175–76, 181
  - implementation of laws by, 96–97
  - Legislative Interpretations and, 123–24
  - Macau compared, 194
  - political corporatism and, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66
  - powers of, 85–87
  - Selection Committee, 86
  - vetting of candidates, 187
  - vulnerability of, 216
  - Civic Party, 184
  - civil liberties in, 84–85, 210–12
  - common law tradition in, 201
  - comparative constitutional law and, 27–29
  - Comprehensive Social Security Assistance, 143–44
  - constitutional review in, 97–100, 101–3, 210–12 (*See also* Court of Final Appeal (CFA) (Hong Kong))
  - Consultative Committee on Economic and Trade Co-operation between Hong Kong and the Mainland, 229
  - Copyright (Amendment) Bill 2016, 183
  - Court of Final Appeal (CFA) (*See* Court of Final Appeal (CFA) (Hong Kong))
  - Court of Final Appeal Ordinance, 109–10
  - Crimes Ordinance, 139
  - Cultural Revolution, impact of, 69
  - Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB), 179
  - Economic Development Commission, 229
  - Economic Synergy (party), 180
  - Election Committee, 90–93, 94–95, 180–81, 184–85
  - elections in, 88–90
  - Electoral Affairs Commission, 229–30
  - Electoral Legislation (Miscellaneous Amendments) Bill 2011, 111
  - Establishment Coalition
    - overview, 81
    - business elites in, 180
    - factions within, 176–79, 180–81
    - fragility of, 200, 223
    - high transaction costs and, 175–76
    - Macau compared, 30
    - political corporatism in, 14–15, 180
    - poor legislative record, 182–83
    - realignment of, 228–29
    - splits in, 216
    - as unified government, 66, 173
  - Executive Council, 29–30, 65–66, 67
  - as “executive-led” system, 136
  - executive orders, 83
  - Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), 179
  - Financial Services Development Council, 229
  - “Fishball Revolution,” 232–33
  - foreign relations, 152
  - freedom of press in, 231–32
  - future trends in, 233–34
  - Governor, 67, 171
  - historical background, 10–12, 66–73
  - hybrid constitutionalism in
    - generally, 9–10, 13–14
    - deliberate design, 14–15, 168–69
    - Macau compared, 219–20
  - ICCPR in, 136, 140–41
  - Immigration Department, 122
  - Immigration (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance, 122–24
  - Immigration (Amendment) (No. 3) Ordinance, 122–24
  - Independent Police Complaints Council, 229
  - Judicial Officers Recommendation Commission, 111–12
  - Justice Department, 178
  - Law Society Council, 111–12, 185
  - League of Social Democrats, 184
  - legal origins hypothesis and, 201–2
  - legal-political comparison with Macau, 11
  - Legal Practitioners Ordinance, 111
  - Legislative Council
    - overview, 171–73
    - Basic Law, failure to amend, 191–92
    - CFA and, 111–12
    - composition of, 172
    - Election Committee and, 95–96
    - elections, 220
    - enforcement authority, 104
    - factions within, 179
    - Finance Committee, 195
    - legislative record, 224
    - Letters Patent, 68–69
    - members of, 92
    - political corporatism and, 15, 29–30
    - poor legislative record, 182–83
    - separation of powers and, 127
    - subconstitutional measures in, 221

- Legislative Council (Amendment) Bill  
2011, 185
- Legislative Council Ordinance, 111, 127
- Legislative Council (Amendment)  
Ordinance 2012, 185
- Legislative Interpretations, 100–2, 123–24,  
135, 205, 230–31
- legitimacy in, 192
- Letters Patent, 67–69, 210–11, 212
- Liberal Party, 179, 180, 191
- maintenance of prior laws, 96
- Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill  
2016, 183
- “most similar cases” analysis and, 19–20,  
219–20
- National Flag and National Emblem  
Ordinance, 125
- national security legislation in, 224
- as natural laboratory to study hybrid  
constitutionalism, 219–20
- Nomination Committee, 187
- Occupy Central with Love and Peace  
Movement, 186–87
- Pan-Democratic Opposition, 24, 179, 181,  
182, 184–85, 190, 191–92, 223, 230–31, 233
- political corporatism in, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66,  
69, 89–96, 180
- political discord in, 24–25
- Political Officials Accountability System  
(POAS), 177
- protests in, 184–90
- Provisional Legislative Council, 122–23
- Public Order Ordinance, 141–42
- Quasi-Referendum, 184–85
- Regional Flag and Regional Emblem  
Ordinance, 125
- Rehabilitation of Offences Ordinance, 146
- Royal Instructions, 68
- Science and Technology Parks  
Corporation, 229
- Selection Committee, 86
- separation of powers in, 127, 228
- socio-economic comparison with Macau, 11
- Solicitors Disciplinary Tribunal, 111
- as Special Administrative Region, 71–73
- Special Administrative Region Preparatory  
Committee, 133, 135
- Town Planning Board, 142–43
- Trade Development Council, 229
- transaction cost theory and (*See also*  
Transaction cost theory)
- overview, 24–25, 223–24
- high transaction costs, 175–76, 181, 216, 239
- implications of, 199–200
- Macau compared, 225, 226
- predictiveness of jurisprudence from,  
190–91
- Umbrella Revolution, 186, 187–90, 192,  
224–25, 229–30, 232–33, 234
- unified government in, 173
- University of Hong Kong, 186–87
- Hongkong-Zhuhai-Macau Bridge, 219
- Ho Yin, 193
- HSBC, 69
- Hu Jintao, 226–27, 228
- Hungary, Constitutional Court, 7–8
- Hybrid constitutionalism
- overview, 238–39
- aggrandizement of power in, 8–9
- “chilling effect” of actions against judiciary  
in, 44
- constitutional review in, 6–10
- in democracy-authoritarianism  
continuum, 4–5
- ex ante actions against judiciary in, 43,  
45, 174
- ex post actions against judiciary in, 43,  
44–46, 174
- façade of liberal constitutionalism in, 6, 42–43
- flexibility of, 6
- growth of, 218–19
- in Hong Kong
- generally, 9–10, 13–14
- deliberate design, 14–15, 168–69
- Macau compared, 219–20
- indecisiveness in, 240
- independence of judiciary in, 6–10
- influence of constitutions in, 64–65
- inherent fragmentation in, 48
- in Macau
- generally, 13–14
- deliberate design, 14–15, 168–69
- Hong Kong compared, 219–20
- multiparty elections in, 6
- natural laboratories to study, 219–20
- persistence of, 5–6
- rise of, 3–5
- strategic model of judicial decisionmaking  
and, 37–38, 41–42
- transaction cost theory (*See* Transaction cost  
theory)
- uniqueness of, 5–6

- Hybrid regimes, 3–4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- ICCPR. *See* International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
- Ideological homogeneity versus heterogeneity, 47–48
- Illiberal democracies, 4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- India  
common law in, 202–3  
constitutional law in, 26–27  
hybrid constitutionalism on local level in, 4
- Indonesia, constitutional law in, 26–27
- Inherent fragmentation, 48
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)  
in Hong Kong, 136, 140–41  
reservations to, 149  
TUI and, 18, 107, 125, 138, 147–50
- International Monetary Fund, 209–10
- “Investments,” constitutional courts as, 42
- Ip, Eric C., 71, 240
- Israel, comparative constitutional law and, 25
- Italy  
civil law in, 203  
constitutional review in, 204  
ICCPR and, 149
- Jardines, 69
- Jhaveri, Swati, 16–17
- Jiang Zemin, 83, 227
- Judicial activism, 22
- “Judicial holdup problem,” 43
- Judicialization of politics, 1–2
- Judicial petitions, 150–54
- Judicial support networks, 49
- Justinian (Rome), 203
- Kelsen, Hans, 83
- Klabbers, Jan, 83
- Kumar, Vikas, 64
- Lam, Carrie, 181, 233, 238
- Lau, Kevin, 231
- Lau Siu-kai, 176, 178, 181
- Lee, Martin, 81, 82
- Legal model of judicial decisionmaking, 21
- Legal origins hypothesis  
overview, 30–31, 171, 201–2, 217  
civil law and, 202–6  
common law and, 202–6  
failure of, 202, 225–26, 240  
Hong Kong and, 201–2  
Macau and, 201–2
- Lei Básica (Macau)  
generally, 13  
overview, 65–66, 103–4  
authoritarian nature of, 29–30, 103–4  
autonomy under, 84–85  
Basic Law compared, 19, 220  
Chief Executive under, 85–87, 96–97  
civil liberties under, 84–85  
constitutional review under, 97–100, 101–3  
(*See also* Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau))  
Consultative Committee, 82–83  
design on, 29–30  
Drafting Committee, 82–83  
enforcement authority, 96–98, 104  
equality under, 147  
executive orders under, 83  
legal model of judicial decisionmaking and, 21  
Legislative Interpretations and, 100–2, 221–22  
maintenance of prior laws, 96  
treaties under, 83  
TUI under, 16, 18, 109 (*See also* Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau))
- Leung, Andrew, 230
- Leung, Baggio, 230
- Leung, C.Y., 180–81, 183, 186, 189, 192, 228–29, 230, 233
- Leung, Elsie, 178–79
- Leung Ka-lau, 183
- Leung Kwok Hung, 141–42
- Li, Andrew, 113, 114, 134, 135–36, 140, 178
- Liberal autocracies, 4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism
- Libya, lack of constitutional court in, 43
- de Lima, Viriato Manuel Pinheiro, 119–20, 131, 214
- Liu Yiu-chu, 98–99
- Living constitution doctrine, 240
- Low-energy constitutional review, 108–9, 170, 215, 216, 237
- Low transaction costs, 170, 196, 216–17, 239
- Luxembourg, civil law in, 203
- Ma, Geoffrey, 139–40, 228  
Macau

- Antitobacco Law 2011, 196
- Anti-Welfare Package demonstrations, 234–35
- Associação Comercial de Macau (ACM), 192–93
- autonomy in, 84–85
- capitalism in, 13–14
- Chief Executive  
overview, 171  
elections, 172  
enforcement authority, 104  
Hong Kong compared, 194  
implementation of laws by, 96–97  
Legislative Assembly, lack of conflict with, 194–95  
political corporatism and, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66  
powers of, 85–87  
regulations, authority to promulgate, 138  
Selection Committee, 86  
strength of, 194, 216  
TUI and, 119
- civil law tradition in, 201
- civil liberties in, 84–85, 212
- Civil Referendum, 235–36
- Código Civil (Civil Code), 129, 212–13
- Código do Procedimento Administrativo (Code of Administrative Procedure), 139, 145
- Código do Processo Administrativo Contencioso (Administrative Litigation Code), 132
- comparative constitutional law and, 27–29
- constitutional review in, 97–100, 101–3, 212–15 (*See also* Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau))
- Consultative Council, 75
- Decree Laws, 212–14
- Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude (Education and Youth Affairs Bureau), 146–47
- Election Committee, 90–95, 199
- elections in, 88–90
- Establishment Coalition  
“casino faction,” 236–37  
cohesiveness of, 194–95, 200, 223, 237  
factions within, 192–93, 194–95, 234  
Hong Kong compared, 30  
lack of splits in, 216  
political corporatism in, 14–15, 95  
as unified government, 66, 173
- Estatuto Orgânico de Macau (Organic Statute of Macau), 75–76, 115, 212
- Executive Council, 29–30, 65–66
- executive orders, 83
- Federation of Trade Unions (F<sup>TU</sup>), 192–93
- gaming in, 28, 77, 236–37
- General Union of Neighbors Association of Macau (GUNA), 192–93
- Governor, 75–76, 171
- historical background, 10–12, 73–79
- hybrid constitutionalism in  
generally, 13–14  
deliberate design, 14–15, 168–69  
Hong Kong compared, 219–20
- Illegal Immigrant Law, 212–13
- Instituto para os Assuntos Cívicos e Municipais (Civil and Municipal Affairs Bureau), 107, 130
- Jiangmen Communal Society, 197
- Judicial Council, 115–16
- Labor Relations Law 2008, 196
- lack of viable opposition in, 195–96
- Land Law 2014, 196
- legal origins hypothesis and, 201–2
- legal-political comparison with  
Hong Kong, 11
- Legislative Assembly  
overview, 171–73  
appointments to, 220  
Chief Executive, lack of conflict with, 194–95  
composition of, 173  
Election Committee and, 95–96  
enforcement authority, 104  
Governor and, 76  
legislative record, 196, 224  
members of, 75–76, 90–96  
subconstitutional measures in, 221  
TUI and, 119
- Legislative Council, 15, 29–30
- Legislative Interpretations, 100–2
- Lei Básica (*See* Lei Básica (Macau))
- Lei de Bases da Organização Judiciária (Fundamental Law on Judicial Organization), 109–10, 117, 139, 148, 237
- Lei relativa á defesa da segurança do Estado (National Security Law), 198–99, 224
- Macau Science, 234
- Macau Lawyers’ Association, 237
- Macau Polytechnic Institute, 147
- maintenance of prior laws, 96



- Macau (cont.)  
 “most similar cases” analysis and, 19–20, 219–20  
 as natural laboratory to study hybrid constitutionalism, 219–20  
 New Macau Association, 197, 234  
 political apathy in, 197–98  
 political corporatism in, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66, 89–96  
 political discord in, 24–25  
 Pro-Democracy Opposition, 24–25, 195, 196, 197, 234, 237  
 protests in, 196–97  
 Regime Jurídico de Enquadramento das Fontes Normativas Interna (Juridical Framework for the Formulation of Internal Norms), 215, 237  
 Selection Committee, 86  
 Senado, 74  
 Serviços de Saúde (Bureau of Health), 147  
 Sociedad de Turismo e Diversões, 77  
 socio-economic comparison with  
   Hong Kong, 11  
 as Special Administrative Region, 78–79  
 transaction cost theory and (*See also* Transaction cost theory)  
   overview, 24–25, 223–24  
   Hong Kong compared, 225, 226  
   implications of, 199–200  
   low transaction costs, 196, 216–17, 239  
   predictiveness of jurisprudence from, 198–99  
 Tribunal de Segunda Instância, 116, 138, 212–14, 226  
 Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (*See* Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau))  
 Tribunal Superior de Justiça, 115–16, 117, 212  
 unified government in, 173  
 United Citizens Association, 197, 236  
 University of Macau, 147  
 Wealth Partaking Scheme, 197  
 Welfare Package for Designated, Incumbent and Former Chief Executives and Principal Officers Bill, 234–35  
 in World War II, 74–75
- Malaysia  
 CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
 constitutional law in, 26–27  
 hybrid constitutionalism in, 9–10  
 persistence of hybrid constitutionalism in, 5–6
- Maldives, Supreme Court, 8  
 Maritime Silk Route, 73–74  
 Mascarenhas, Dom Francisco, 74  
 Mason, Anthony, 127, 169  
 McLachlin, Beverly, 238  
 Menderes, Adnan, 56  
 Mexico, hybrid constitutionalism on local level in, 4  
*Ming Pao*, 231  
 Mixed constitutionalism, 9–10. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism  
 Mongolia, “most similar cases” analysis in, 19–20  
 Monism, 83  
 Montez Melancia, Carlos, 82  
 “Most similar cases” analysis, 19–20, 170, 215–16, 219–20
- Nasheed, Mohamed, 8  
 Nasser, Gamal, 42–43  
 Netherlands  
   civil law in, 203  
   ICCPR and, 149  
 Neto Valente, Jorge, 237  
 New Zealand  
   CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
   common law in, 202–3  
   constitutional review in, 102  
   non-permanent judges on CFA from, 114  
 Ng, António, 82, 235  
 North Korea, lack of constitutional court in, 43
- “One Country, Two Systems,” 71, 88, 186–87  
 Orbán, Viktor, 7–8  
 Originalism, 150
- Pakistan, constitutional law in, 26–27  
 Parliamentary sovereignty, 206  
 Partlett, William, 71  
 Patten, Chris, 113, 177, 193  
 Philippines, constitutional law in, 26–27  
 Poland, civil law in, 203  
 Polatkan, Hasan, 56  
 Political corporatism  
   defined, 65–66  
   in Hong Kong, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66, 69, 89–96, 180  
   in Macau, 14–15, 29–30, 65–66, 89–96  
 Political opportunism, 48–49  
*Politics* (Aristotle), 25  
 Portugal

- Assembleia da República, 209  
austerity in, 209–10  
Australia compared, 208  
Carnation Revolution, 2, 75, 115, 212, 225–26  
China, diplomatic relations with, 76  
civil law in, 203  
Constitution, 75, 115, 117, 208–9, 210, 212  
constitutional review in, 204, 208–10  
Estado Novo, 75  
France compared, 208  
Germany compared, 208  
Macau, historical background, 10–12, 73–79  
(*See also* Macau)  
Official Secrets Act 1993, 209  
Supreme Administrative Court, 210  
Supreme Court of Justice, 210  
Tribunal Constitucional, 115–16, 117, 208–10, 212, 221, 225–26  
US compared, 208  
Predominant provision test, 151, 153  
Proportionality standard  
  in CFA, 140–45, 150  
  in Prussia, 150  
  in TUI, 145–50  
Protocol of Lisbon, 74  
Prussia, proportionality standard in, 150. *See also* Germany
- Qian Qishen, 122
- Referrals, 150–54  
Regime cohesion  
  overview, 46–47  
  ideological homogeneity versus heterogeneity, effect of, 47–48  
  political opportunism, effect of, 48–49  
  in Singapore, 51  
Reporters without Borders, 231  
Ríos-Figueroa, Julio, 10  
Rocha Vieira, Vasco, 82  
Russia. *See also* Soviet Union  
  aggrandizement of power in, 8–9  
  Constitutional Court, 7, 8–9, 43  
  hybrid constitutionalism on local level in, 4  
  member republics, constitutional courts in, 26  
  patterns of liberal democracy in, 3  
  persistence of hybrid constitutionalism in, 5–6
- Sadat, Anwar, 42–43  
Sam Hou Fai, 119–20  
Sampaio, Jorge, 116  
Sautede, Éric, 236  
Scully-Hill, Anne, 16–17  
Second Convention of Peking, 10–11, 67  
Second Opium War, 67  
Semi-authoritarianism, 3–4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism  
Semi-democracy, 3–4. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism  
Separation of powers  
  in Hong Kong, 127, 228  
  transaction costs of, 41  
Sham constitutionalism, 9–10. *See also* Hybrid constitutionalism  
Shanghai-Hong Kong Stock Connect, 28  
Shapiro, Martin, 32  
Shenzhen-Hong Kong Stock Connect, 28  
Singapore  
  CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
  communitarianism in, 54–55  
  Constitution, 52–53  
  constitutional law in, 26–27  
  control of courts in, 52  
  Court of Appeal, 52–55  
  deference in, 54–55  
  historical background, 50–51  
  hybrid constitutionalism in, 9–10  
  patterns of liberal democracy in, 3  
  People's Action Party, 50–53, 175  
  persistence of hybrid constitutionalism in, 5–6  
  regime cohesion in, 51  
  threats against courts in, 52  
  transaction cost theory in, 50–55, 62, 63, 222–23  
  unified government in, 49–50  
Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984)  
  overview, 12, 65  
  autonomy under, 84  
  Basic Law and, 96–97, 103  
  CFR and, 109–10  
  credibility and, 80  
  transfer of sovereignty under, 71–73  
Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration (1987)  
  generally, 198  
  overview, 13, 65  
  autonomy under, 84  
  credibility and, 80  
  Lei Básica and, 96–97, 103

- Sino-Portuguese (cont.)  
 transfer of sovereignty under, 77–79  
 TUI and, 109–10
- Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Friendship and  
 Commerce, 74
- Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking, 74
- Song Man Lei, 119–20, 148
- Sou, Sulu, 235
- South Africa, comparative constitutional law  
 and, 25
- South China Morning Post*, 231
- South Korea  
 Constitutional Court, 43  
 constitutional law in, 26–27  
 constitutional review in, 1  
 “most similar cases” analysis in, 19–20
- de Souza, Lionel, 73
- Soviet Union. *See also* Russia  
 Constitutional Supervision Committee,  
 43  
 Leninism in, 43  
 perestroika in, 43
- Spain  
 civil law in, 203  
 constitutional review in, 204
- Special Administrative Regions. *See*  
 Hong Kong; Macau
- Sri Lanka  
 Freedom Party, 8  
 Supreme Court, 8
- Standards of review  
 in CFA, 140–45, 150  
 in Prussia, 150  
 in TUI, 145–50
- Stephenson, Matthew, 22
- Strategic model of judicial decisionmaking  
 generally, 20  
 assumptions underlying, 21–22  
 competitive versus non-competitive systems,  
 35–36  
 constitutional review and, 22–23  
 electoral competition, importance of, 36–37  
 “friction” and, 37–38  
 hybrid constitutionalism and, 37–38, 41–42  
 interbranch competition, importance of,  
 37  
 interdependence and, 33–35  
 political realities in, 35–36  
 transaction cost theory and, 23–24, 41–42
- Strong-form constitutional review, 99–100
- Switzerland  
 civil law in, 203  
 ICCPR and, 149
- Tai, Benny, 186, 190
- Taiwan  
 Constitutional Court, 43  
 constitutional law in, 26–27  
 “most similar cases” analysis in, 19–20  
 as proposed Special Administrative Region,  
 70–71  
 in United Nations, 70
- Tan, Kevin Y.L., 53
- Tang, Henry, 180–81
- Thailand, constitutional law in, 26–27
- Third wave of democratization, 2, 3–4
- Tien, James, 191
- Tonga, citation of decisions of CFA in, 201
- Transaction cost theory  
 generally, 20  
 overview, 29, 32–33, 61–63, 168–71, 215–17,  
 222–23, 239  
 “asset specificity” in, 42  
 CFA and  
 overview, 24–25, 30–31  
 high transaction costs in, 170, 216  
 “chilling effect” of actions against judiciary  
 in, 44  
 collective decisionmaking and, 174–75  
 constitutional courts as “investments,” 42  
 constitutionalism, transaction costs of, 41  
 control of constitutional courts, effect on, 49  
 conventional models versus, 173–74  
 economics, transaction costs in, 38–39,  
 40–41  
 ex ante actions against judiciary in, 43,  
 45, 174  
 ex post actions against judiciary in, 43,  
 44–46, 174  
 high-energy constitutional review and, 33, 63  
 high transaction costs, 170, 175–76, 181,  
 216, 239  
 Hong Kong and  
 overview, 24–25, 223–24  
 high transaction costs, 175–76, 181, 216, 239  
 implications of, 199–200  
 Macau compared, 225, 226  
 predictiveness of jurisprudence from,  
 190–91  
 “investments,” constitutional courts as, 42  
 “judicial holdup problem,” 43  
 low transaction costs, 170, 196, 216–17, 239

- Macau and  
 overview, 24–25, 223–24  
 Hong Kong compared, 225, 226  
 implications of, 199–200  
 low transaction costs, 196, 216–17, 239  
 predictiveness of jurisprudence from, 198–99  
 “most similar cases” analysis, 170, 215–16  
 political transaction costs defined, 222  
 politics, transaction costs in, 39–41  
 predictiveness of jurisprudence from, 49–50, 190–91, 198–99  
 regime cohesion, effect of  
 overview, 46–47  
 ideological homogeneity versus heterogeneity, 47–48  
 political opportunism, 48–49  
 in Singapore, 51  
 separation of powers, transaction costs of, 41  
 in Singapore, 50–55, 62, 63, 222–23  
 strategic model of judicial decisionmaking and, 23–24, 41–42  
 transaction costs defined, 38  
 TUI and  
 overview, 24–25, 30–31  
 low transaction costs in, 170, 216–17  
 in Turkey, 55–61, 62–63, 222–23  
 Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Portugal and China, 11  
 Treaty of Nanking, 10, 66  
 Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau)  
 overview, 66  
 amparo procedure, 106–7  
 appointments to, 118–19  
 attitudinal model of judicial decisionmaking and, 20–21  
 authoritarian nature of, 30  
 Chinese Constitution and, 137–38  
 constitutional review in  
 overview, 16–20, 30, 155–56  
 abstract review, 139  
 CFA compared, 108–9, 120–21, 169–70, 220–21  
 criminal cases, 147–50  
 disapplication doctrine, 129–32  
 enforcement authority, 97–100, 101–3  
 interpretive methodology, 137–38  
 jurisdiction, 121–27, 173  
 lack of activism, 16–17, 106–7, 117, 127–29  
 low-energy constitutional review, 170, 215, 216, 237  
 National People’s Congress versus, 128  
 philosophy of, 129–32  
 procedure, 116–17  
 proportionality standard, 145–50  
 standards of review, 145–50  
 Standing Committee of National People’s Congress versus, 154, 155–56, 168–69, 173  
 weak-form review, 154  
 corruption and, 149–50  
 Decree Laws and, 213–14  
 divergence from CFA, 16–20, 24–25, 31  
 enforcement authority, 104  
 equality and, 146–47  
 establishment of, 16, 116–17  
 final adjudication power, 220  
 ICCPR and, 18, 107, 125, 138, 147–50  
 jurisdiction, 97–98, 121–27  
 legal model of judicial decisionmaking and, 21  
 list of judges, 161  
 number of judges, 118  
 nurse salaries and, 147  
 President, 117–18  
 public processions and, 130–31  
 qualifications of judges, 117–18  
 residential permits and, 146  
 teacher service hours and, 146–47  
 transaction cost theory and (*See also* Transaction cost theory)  
 overview, 24–25, 30–31  
 low transaction costs, 170, 216–17  
 Trinidad and Tobago, citation of decisions of CFA in, 201  
 Tsang, Donald, 178, 184, 191–92  
 Tsang, John, 181  
 Tsang Hin-Chi, 122  
 TUI. *See* Tribunal de Última Instância (TUI) (Macau)  
 Tung, C.H., 113, 176–78, 191, 193  
 Turkey  
 aggrandizement of power in, 9  
 attempted coup in, 59–60  
 Constitution, 55, 58–59  
 Constitutional Court, 9, 56, 57–61  
 hegemonic preservation in, 56  
 historical background, 55–56  
 Islamic Justice and Development Party, 56–57, 58–61

- Turkey (cont.)  
 Kemalism in, 55–61, 62–63  
 laïcité policy in, 55  
 National Assembly, 56  
 Peace at Home Council, 59–60  
 Penal Code, 58  
 persistence of hybrid constitutionalism  
 in, 5–6  
 repression in, 56–57  
 Republican People's Party, 55, 59, 60  
 transaction cost theory in, 55–61, 62–63,  
 222–23  
 unified government in, 49–50
- Umbrella Revolution, 186, 187–90, 192, 224–25,  
 229–30, 232–33, 234
- Unified government, 37, 46–47, 49–50, 173
- United Kingdom  
 British Overseas Territories, supreme courts  
 in, 26  
 CFA, citation of decisions of, 201  
 Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865, 68  
 common law in, 202–3, 204  
 comparative constitutional law and, 25  
 constitutional review in, 102, 206–8  
 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994,  
 206–7  
 Hong Kong, historical background, 10–12,  
 66–73 (*See also* Hong Kong)  
 Human Rights Act 1998, 207–8,  
 225–26  
 non-permanent judges on CFA from,  
 114, 238  
 Orders of Council, 83  
 parliamentary sovereignty in, 206  
 Prevention of Terrorism Acts, 206–7  
 Privy Council, 114, 211  
 Public Order Act 1936, 206–7  
 Supreme Court, 209
- United Nations  
 Charter, 70  
 Educational, Scientific and Cultural  
 Organization (UNESCO), 198  
 Human Rights Committee, 107, 149
- United States  
 attitudinal model of judicial  
 decisionmaking in, 20–21  
 common law in, 202–3, 204  
 comparative constitutional law and, 25  
 constitutional review in, 22  
 decentralization in, 37  
 divided government in, 37  
 originalism in, 150  
 Portugal compared, 208  
 state supreme courts, 26
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 208
- Uzbekistan, patterns of liberal democracy in, 3
- Vanberg, Georg, 35
- Venezuela, persistence of hybrid  
 constitutionalism in, 5–6
- Victoria (UK), 66–67
- Wah, Szeto, 81, 82
- Weak-form constitutional review, 16, 102–3, 154
- Webb, Philippa, 152
- Wilson, David, 211
- Wong, Joshua, 186
- Wong Yan Lung, 178
- World Press Freedom Index, 231
- Wu Jianfan, 13, 97
- Xiao Weiyun, 99
- Xi Jinping, 189, 226–28, 237
- Yameen, Abdulla, 8
- Yau, Regine, 230
- Yavuz, M. Hakan, 57–58
- Ye Jianying, 70–71
- Yeltsin, Boris, 7
- Yep, Ray, 232
- Yew, Lee Kuan, 50
- Young, Simon N.M., 109–10
- Yuen, Rimsky, 230
- Zhang Xiaoming, 169–70, 228
- Zimbabwe, patterns of liberal democracy in, 3
- Zorlu, Fatin Rüştü, 56