From Charity to Philanthropy: Study on Association-Running Schools in Non-Tertiary Education Fields in Macau

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Abstract

Macau was under colonial rule by Portugal for a long time. Due to the colonial government’s lack of attention paid to education and Macau’s unique dual social structure, the Chinese community in Macau gradually formed the phenomenon of providing education by associations. This paper focuses on the phenomenon of non-tertiary education association-running schools in Macau and divides the history of association-running schools in non-tertiary education in Macau for more than 100 years into three stages, namely: the period of charitable schools (1890s-1960s); the period of transformation (1960s-1980s); the period of philanthropic Schools (1980s-); This paper argues that with the development of economy and society, the non-tertiary education community in Macau has realized the transformation from charity to philanthropy. At the same time, With the implementation of 15-year free education in Macau, the structure of non-tertiary education subjects has become stable. For associations trying to enter the field of non-tertiary education, the likely direction is to develop special education, professional education, and characteristics education.

Keywords: Charity; Philanthropy; Non-Tertiary Education; Macau

1. Introduction

An association refers to an organization "of two or more persons, whereby they place in common their knowledge or activity with a purpose other than that of sharing profits." (Littlefield, 1902). As a non-profit organization, associations have the functions of mutual aid and charity; running schools is a common activity of such organizations. In the literature, we can find an introduction to the guild an early form of association to running schools (Gao, 2009; Watson, 1914). Association-running schools can be roughly divided into two categories. One is to provide primary education for poor children as a charitable activity, generally for a specific community’s, members or potential members,
and the scale is also small; the other is to serve as a platform for skill improvement, focusing on providing vocational education and skills training related to the industry. For example, many business schools in France were run by Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

This article focuses on the school-running activities of Macau associations in non-tertiary education traditionally, this is a kind of charitable school-running activity. The peculiarity of Association-Running schools in Macau is that not only do the associations run a large number of schools; moreover, some of these schools are also very influential, far exceeding the level of ordinary charitable schools. For example, the Kiang Wu Primary School, established by the Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association, was recognized as the most prestigious Chinese-language school in Macau in the 1920s (Lau, 1999). Why did Macau have such a unique phenomenon of association-running schools? How did it evolve? This article attempts to explain and analyze this.

2. Literature Review

Non-tertiary education in Macau has been classified into two types: formal and continuing education. Formal education includes kindergartens, primary schooling, and secondary schooling. Continuing education comprises various educational activities other than formal education, including family education, recurrent education, community education, vocational training, and other educational activities. In this article, non-tertiary education mainly refers to formal education and, to a large extent, can also be equated with what people call basic education.

During the Macau Portuguese government period, the government ignored education development for a long time. Therefore, official schools only accounted for a small proportion, and private schools accounted for the vast majority. They are run mainly by two types of groups — churches and Chinese associations (Bray & Hui, 1989). These two types of groups represent the religious and secular fields, respectively. The associations studied in this paper are mainly in the secular field, composed of Chinese.

Although association-run schools have played an essential role in the history of Macau, no one has conducted particular research on it yet, and it has only been mentioned in some related studies. A History of Education in Macau, written by Macau educator Lau Sin Peng is probably the most detailed record of association-running schools. She believes there have been three booms in hosting charitable schools in the history of Macau, and the associations have played an essential role in it. The three booms in hosting charitable schools are: (1) before and after the Revolution of 1911; (2) during the Second Sino-Japanese War; and (3) from the 1950s to the 1960s. At the same time, she also highlighted some of the schools established and operated by the associations, such as Kiang Wu primary school and Seong Fan Evening Secondary School (Lau, 1999). In his book An Introduction to Macau’s Education, Feng Zengjun (1999) made statistics on basic education schools from the perspective of the school-running subject. In the 1990/1991 school year, there were a total of 26 schools run by Chinese associations and private. In their book, A study on Macau Fishermen in the 20th Century, Zhu Dexin et al. (2002) investigated the history of Macau fishers’ associations in running schools. In addition, in Lou Shenghua’s book, he introduced the situation of the Confucian School run by the Macau Confucian Association (Lou, 2004).

In general, although the previous studies have paid attention to the phenomenon of association-running schools in Macau and have combed the relevant history to a certain extent, which has important historical value. There is a lack of special investigation on it. This article attempts to conduct a particular analysis of the phenomenon of Macau association-running schools.

3. Reasons for the Rise of Association-Running Schools in Macau

Schools run by associations are often charitable. Such schools are likely to be small in scale and informal. Therefore, most of these schools have been neglected over the long course of history. Among the existing schools in Macau, the earliest ones can be traced back to the charitable school,
founded by Kiang Wu Hospital (later registered as Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association) in 1892. Later, in 1906, the school was officially named Kiang Wu Charitable School (Gu, 1992), which opened the thriving associations-run schools for more than 100 years. Why do associations-run schools rise in Macau? The reasons are as follows.

3.1 Under the dual social structure, the Western church-running schools have played an exemplary role in running schools for Chinese associations

Macau has a unique history. Since the foundation of Macau in the 1550s, it has been a settlement rented by the Portuguese from the Ming and Qing governments for nearly three hundred years (1550s-1840s) and self-government by the Senate Council. The Portuguese government has limited influence on local affairs in Macau. Therefore, private education has held a significant position in Macau for a long time, and the church dominated this kind of private education. During this period, Macau was a critical transit point for Christian missionaries to missionary countries in Asia as an important node of the early world route. Therefore, churches and missionaries established many schools in Macau—a typical form of religious charity.

In the 1840s, Portugal gradually realized the colonial administration of Macau. Then, it took nearly 30 years to occupy seven villages and three islands in Macau, making Macau a community where Chinese and foreigners lived together under Portuguese rule.

However, due to the language differences, Macau, under Portuguese rule, has long been a dual social structure—that is, two societies coexist: Portuguese society and Chinese society. The two societies operate largely independently. Although church schools also accept Chinese children (Tang, 2016), Chinese families were reluctant to send their children to schools run by Portuguese (Westerners) (Feng, 1999). Therefore, Chinese children needed to seek new educational opportunities. Moreover, the occidental church charitable school provided a certain example of the education supply of Macau Chinese.

3.2 The insufficient supply of public educational services under the colonial system is the fundamental reason for the rise of association-run schools

In the 1840s, Portugal realized the colonial control of Macau. It established a colonial system, which also essentially blocked the connection between the Chinese in Macau and the education system in mainland China. At the same time, the Macau Portuguese government did not provide additional opportunities for the education of Chinese children.

Indeed, the Macau Portuguese government has not paid much attention to education for a long time, and the supply of public education is seriously insufficient. Mainly reflected in: (1) there are few official schools, (2) the operation cycle of official schools is short.

For example, in 1847, the Macau Senate Council established a Senate Council Official School, but the school only lasted 11 years. In order to save money, the government merged it into St. Joseph College in 1858 (Tang, 2016). Under such circumstances, according to the People’s Echo in 1861, “the state of public education in Macau is extremely unsatisfactory, and there is not a single satisfactory school.” (Tang, 2016) Even “until 1893, the public education in Macau was still in a state of chaos and low quality.” (Tang, 2016) In fact, until the eve of the handover in 1991, there were only a few official schools serving Portuguese children in public education in Macau (Zhang, 2005).

On the one hand, the Macau Portuguese government, which was the ruler, provided insufficient education. On the other hand, the Chinese were reluctant to send their children to church schools. In this context, it was objectively necessary for the Chinese to create new paths for their children to go to school.
3.3 China's charitable school tradition is the Cultural origin of association-running schools

The traditional Chinese culture has a convention of running a charitable school. The so-called charitable school is a kind of free educational institution established for poor children, usually founded by religious organizations, civil organizations, or wealthy individuals. This tradition continues in Macau. The most direct manifestation is that these schools often use this traditional name - charitable school.

Portugal's colonial administration of Macau was almost synchronized with the foundation of Hong Kong. Affected by the foundation of Hong Kong, Macau's original transit trade plummeted. During the process of economic transformation, new industries were operated by the Chinese (Wong, 2017). It provides an economic foundation for the association and mutual aid of the Chinese in Macau. The charitable Associations — Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association and Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society, which still play an essential role in Macau, were established during this period. After founding these associations, one of the main tasks is to run schools for charity. For example, the Kiang Wu Hospital (Charitable Association) was established in 1871, its charitable school was established in 1892, the Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society was established in 1892, and its charitable school was built in 1924. Despite the changing times, the schools established by the two associations have continued to this day and established a lasting connection between the associations and education in Macau.

In general, the phenomenon of association-run schools in Macau was formed for special historical reasons. The fundamental reason was the insufficient public education supply under the Macau Portuguese government. At the same time, the unique dual social structure in Macau leads to a great psychological distance between Chinese and Western church schools. The tradition of charitable Schools in China and the developed association in Macau provide a new form of education for the Chinese — association-running schools. It has also led to the two significant characteristics of non-tertiary education in Macau: (1) the education supply is dominated by private education, supplemented by official education; (2) private education is provided in two ways. One is the church school, mainly attended by Westerners, and the other is the association school, which is the primary channel for Chinese children to receive an education.

4. The Historical Evolution of Association-Running Schools in Macau

We can divide the history of the Macau association-running school into three stages since 1892.

4.1 The first stage: the period of charitable schools (1890s-1960s)

According to Lau Sin Peng, at this stage, there have been three booms in hosting charitable schools in Macau, and associations are the main school-running subject. Therefore, we refer to this stage as the charitable school period of association-running schools in Macau. Three booms in hosting charitable schools appeared: (1) before and after the Revolution of 1911, (2) during the Second Sino-Japanese War period, and (3) during the early years of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Three booms in hosting charitable schools were influenced by the situation in mainland China at that time. Around the Revolution of 1911, the trend of saving the nation through education arose in mainland China. As an international city, Macau was deeply influenced by this trend. Thinkers (such as Zheng Guanying) and educators (such as Chen Zibao) who traveled between the mainland and Macau earnestly practiced what one advocates, thus the first boom in hosting charitable schools. During the Second Sino-Japanese War, many mainland residents took refuge in Macau, and the population of Macau increased significantly. At this time, many charitable schools have been set up. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, a national campaign to eliminate illiteracy was carried out. Influenced by this, the third boom in hosting charitable schools took place in Macau. An interesting phenomenon is that, the trade unions that supported the Communist Party in ideology
played an important role during the third boom. In 1950, the Macau Federation of Trade Unions invited various major societies to form a permanent organization—Macau Promotes Association for Workers’ Education (1950-1967), to promote the education of workers’ children (Lau, 1999). Therefore, schools founded by various trade unions accounted for a large proportion of charitable schools in this period.

While the associations were the critical subjects of running schools, and became increasingly important in the process of the three booms in hosting charitable schools. During the two previous periods of booms in hosting charitable schools, the subjects of the school-running were relatively diversified. In addition to associations, many charitable schools were founded by individuals or even commercial enterprises (Lau, 1999). In the 1950s, when the third boom in hosting charitable schools was held, most of the subjects of running schools were associations. The main reason lies in the cost of running a school, and it is difficult for individuals to bear it for a long time. Nevertheless, the association gathers the power of the mass, and its financial ability is more potent than that of the individual’s (Lau, 1999).

At this stage, the main characteristics of association-run schools are: (1) they are mainly for the children of the poor, and they are often free — although children from wealthy families also attend some high-quality charitable schools. According to Lau Sin Peng, the Kiang Wu Primary School in the 1920s was Macau’s leading Chinese language education. Many children from aristocratic families also rushing to enroll (Lau, 1999); (2) these schools are generally small in scale. According to the official statistics of the Macau Portuguese government, in 1932, there were 97 schools in Macau, with an average of only 82 students in each school (Lau, 1999). Another example is the Fishermen’s Children School, established by the Fishermen’s Welfare Association in the 1960s, which had only three classrooms (Zhu et al., 2002); (3) the duration of these schools is short. A History of Education in Macau, written by Lau Sin Peng, has brought down many charitable schools in Macau’s history (Lau, 1999). Most of these schools have not been in operation for a long time, and few of them can survive to this day; (4) the reasons above will inevitably lead to a low level of education and Formalization. The main subjects in most schools are literacy and numeracy.

In the 1950s, there was a significant change in the association-running schools in Macau; that is, the schools no longer used the name “charitable school.” For example, the schools run by trade unions were generally called workers’ children schools or directly called primary schools (Lau, 1999). In 1965, the last school called the charitable school in Macau — Tung Sin Tong Charitable School — was renamed Tung Sin Tong Primary School (Lau, 1999). From then on, the term “charitable school” no longer appears in the list of schools in Macau. The change of the school’s name also indicates the transition period of association-running schools in Macau.

4.2 The second stage: the period of transformation (1960s-1980s)

The disappearance of "charitable schools" in the name of Macau schools reflects the changes in Macau's social and economic environment. (1) in terms of economy, in 1962, the Tourism and Entertainment Company of Macau Limited obtained the gaming franchise, and the modern gaming industry began to develop, driving the development of tourism, transportation, construction, and other industries (Dong, 2003); (2) in terms of politics, in 1974, a democratic revolution occurred in Portugal, and democratization was announced. The subsequent series of laws designed a relatively democratized political system in Macau. It has further boosted the economic development of Macau and brought new pressure to the association-running schools in Macau.

The development of the economy made Chinese parents have higher requirements for the education quality of their children. First, Chinese parents put forward higher requirements for the level of formalization of education—they wanted more standardized and higher levels of education, including continuous education, including kindergarten, primary school, and secondary school. Some charitable schools that used to teach literacy and numeracy tried switching to more formal primary and secondary schools. For example, the school run by Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society was
established in 1924 as Tung Sin Tong pauper charitable school. In 1951, the school expanded to a complete primary school, and in 1965, according to the actual situation, the school was renamed Tung Sin Tong Primary School. Second, Chinese parents had higher requirements for the quality of education, and free education was no longer their first goal. Instead, they paid more attention to other factors such as teachers, buildings, and facilities of the schools their children attended (Lau, 1999). However, the traditional charitable school run by associations often has poor conditions (Feng, 1999). Under the new circumstances, they either stopped or merged. In order to better adapt to competition, surviving schools have gradually begun to charge fees as a financial basis for improving teaching quality.

Second, economic development has also squeezed out the resources of association-running schools. For example, Lau Sin Peng mentioned in his book that with the rise of Macau’s construction industry in the 1960s, those larger school buildings first became the prey of real estate developers, which made it difficult for some relatively robust private schools to maintain (Lau, 1999).

During this period, with the changes in the social environment, Macau’s association schools entered a period of integration, elimination, and transformation. Those association schools that have not been eliminated have mainly experienced the following changes. (1) Improve the degree of formalization and attempts to move towards coherent formal education from kindergarten to primary and even secondary schools; (2) strive to improve the teaching level and the quality of teaching; (3) Charge a certain tuition fee to compensate for the lack of teaching funds — although some schools continue to offer free education, the proportion is not significant. In general, the cost of running a school has shifted from being borne by the operators to the parents.

4.3 The third stage: The period of philanthropic Schools (1980s-)

With the democratization of Portugal and the promotion of political democratization in Macau, the Macau Portuguese government has begun to attach importance to support for private education, such as giving tax incentives to non-profit private schools and giving education allowances to schools and teachers (Guo & Wang, 2020). After the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration was signed in 1987, education in Macau received further attention. In order to maintain its influence in Macau and Asia, the Macau Portuguese government is committed to promoting the legal construction of education in Macau.

In August 1991, the Macau Education System (Law No. 11/91/M) was officially promulgated, it is a general outline of the education system in Macau. The law stipulates that basic education is the right of all and will gradually be made free (Article 6), and the government will ensure a public education network (Article 31). On this basis, the government has issued a series of supporting policies. According to statistics, from 1991 to 1997, the total number of laws and regulations about education enacted and implemented by the Macau Portuguese government reached 50. Macau proposed the idea of free education in 1983 (Lou, 2004). On June 26, 1995, Decree No. 29/95/M was issued by the Governor of Macau, General Vasco Joaquim Rocha Vieira, announcing that free education limited only to Portuguese was extended to all residents (including holders of temporary residence permits). Since 1997, Macau has implemented 10-year free education. The government directly allocates funds to “public education network” (or free education system) schools to subsidize students’ tuition fees (Cheng, 2013). After the handover, Macau’s economy developed rapidly. In 2007, Macau began to implement 15-year free education.

Free education implementation has solved the problem of basic financial security for association schools in the non-tertiary education field in Macau. At the same time, the government is also increasing land supply to solve the problem of lack of land resources for schools. Against such a background, in the 1980s-1990s, a wave of association-running schools arose again in Macau to serve members or establish social influence. Some influential associations either built new schools (in 1995, the Chao Zhao Natives Association Macau opened Pui Va Middle School) or expanded the size of their schools (for example, in 1992, Tung Sin Tong Primary School further completed the setting of the senior middle school curriculum. It became Tung Sin Tong Middle School — a through-train
School covering kindergarten, primary, and middle school for 15 years), further expanding the influence of association-running schools in Macau.

During this period, the association-running schools had the following characteristics: (1) with the government’s improvement of education legislation, association schools have laws to follow and become more formalized. Many schools have developed on a vertical scale and established through-train schools; (2) although private schools are still the main type of non-tertiary education in Macau, as the government has invested many resources into education and many private schools have joined the free education system (according to the data of the Macau Education and Youth Development Bureau, in the 2020/2021 school year, 59 of the total 67 private schools in Macau joined the free education system, accounting for 88.1%), basic education in Macau is now dominated by the government; (3) the 1980s-1990s was the last association-running school’s boom in Macau. In this duration, the early entrants have obtained stable resources and established a relatively high entry threshold. The new basic education supply system in Macau has become stable.

Of course, the most important thing is that, compared with the early days, Macau’s association-running schools have transformed from "charity" to "philanthropy." In the West, the term "charity" is generally defined as "simple benevolence to the poor" (Fink, 1975), while the term "philanthropy" refers to "voluntary action for the public good." (Daly, 2012) This point is well explained in Macau’s Law No. 9/2006, Fundamental Law of Non-Tertiary Education System; article 32 states that "the activities undertaken by educational institutions are activities of public interest."

5. The Current Situation and Future of Macau Association-Running Schools

5.1 The current situation of Macau association-running schools

Since the Macau handover, due to the rapid economic development of the Macau Special Administrative Region, the government attaches great importance to education. The basic education supply structure of Macau has tended to be stable. In recent years, there have been few new school-running subjects have emerged.

In the 2020/2021 school year, there were 78 schools in non-tertiary education in Macau, including 11 official and 67 private schools (Statistics and Census Service, 2021). According to the author’s statistics, 28 are run by associations, accounting for 41.8% of private schools. These schools can be divided into two categories. The first category is founded by an association; there are 17 schools in total (see Table 1), and Individuals or other organizations are founding the other category; for management needs, a particular association was set up as the school-running subject, for example, an individual founded Fukien School was founded, while the school-running subject is the Association of Macau Fukien School now.

Table 1: Schools Founded and Operating by Associations in Macau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Established Time</th>
<th>Founder</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Keang Peng School</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kao Yip Middle School</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Macao Confucian Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tung Sin Tong Middle School</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Seong Fan Evening Secondary School</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>The Macao Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lou Hau High School, Macau</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Macao Federation of Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Qingzhou Primary School</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>The Macao Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fuluen School</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>The Women’s General Association of Macau</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Choi Nong Chi Tai School</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Macao Farmers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fong Chong School of Taipa</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Education Promotion Association for Taipa Inhabitants, Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Established Time</td>
<td>Founder</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fong Chong School of Patane</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Fong Chon Mutual Aid Association of Patane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hoi Fai School</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Fisherman's Mutual Help Association, Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kai Chi School</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>The Macau Association for Intellectual Development Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fong Chong School of Macao</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Macau Federation of Kai-fong Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pui Va Middle School</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Chao Zhao Natives Association Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>The affiliated school if the University of Macau</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Association for Affiliated Schools of the University of Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Macau Kung Luen Vocational &amp; Technical Middle School</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Macao Federation of Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Millennium Secondary School</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Millennium Association of Education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (1) Keang Peng School can be traced back to Keang Wu Charitable School (founded by Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association) in 1892. In 1949, the school merged with the Civilian Primary School (founded by Xu Xiang in 1924) to form the Keang Wu Civilian Joint Primary School. It was renamed Keang Peng School in 1992. (2) Kao Yip Middle School can be traced back to the Confucian School in 1910 (founded by Macau Confucian Association). In 1975, it merged with the Chinese Private Bank Primary School (founded by the Macau Association of Chinese Private Bank in 1949) to form the present school. (3) Fong Chong School of Patane was managed by the Fong Chon Mutual Aid Association of Patane when it was established in 1968; in 2005, it was transferred to Patane Tu-Tei-Mio Charity Association.

These schools founded and run by Associations have the following characteristics.

1. From the perspective of the education stage, among the 17 schools founded by associations, 11 schools have achieved a through-train school-running system in three stages: early childhood education, primary education, and secondary education, accounting for 64.7% of the total, which is generally related to the 15-year free education currently implemented in Macau.

2. From the perspective of the trait of the school-running subject, it is mainly founded by large-scale associations. Many associations have "loving the motherland and loving Macau" traditions—such as the Macau Chamber of Commerce, Macau Federation of Trade Unions, Macau Federation of Kai-Fong Associations, and the Women's General Association of Macau—founded schools. In addition, the most influential Chinese charitable organizations in Macau, Kiang Wu Hospital Charitable Association and Macau Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society, also run schools. It reflects the development of associations in Macau society to a large extent. Facing the torrent of the times, it is those associations with profound strength that can continue to provide high-quality educational services (and other social services); By providing more services to society, these associations have also further expanded their influence in society. Considering these significant associations often compete for seats in Macau Legislative Assembly, the schools they run will undoubtedly help them win votes.

3. From the perspective of the management system, private schools in Macau have gradually been incorporated into the government management system. According to the experience of significant countries, education always starts in the form of private education. With the attention and intervention of the state to education, and even the implementation of compulsory education, private education is often relegated to a secondary position (Xu & Hu, 2021). As mentioned earlier in this article, although non-tertiary education in Macau is still dominated by private education, these schools are largely "officialized" because the government mainly provides school-running resources. In other words, for these schools, the founders, such as associations, are just "housekeepers," and the government is the real "boss."
5.2 The future development of Association-Running Schools in Macau

This article argues that, with the handover, Macau has achieved "the people of Macau governing Macau" with a high degree of autonomy, the rapid development of Macau's economy, and the Macau government's continued investment in education. Therefore, traditional charity education is no longer needed. Macau's association schools are gradually integrated into the education system, unified by the government, and become part of the public education service. As the enrollment rate of non-tertiary education in Macau has remained high for a long time, the supply of school education in non-tertiary education fields is saturated. It means that in the non-tertiary education fields in Macau, it is less likely that new associations will run schools.

However, this does not mean there is no space for new association-run schools in the non-tertiary education field. As scholars have pointed out, While official education may dominate the non-tertiary education field, private education will grow modestly to meet the needs of parents who want more or a different education than the official one (Randal, 2005). The possible future direction of Macau association-running Schools is: (1) for the associations that have been running schools, they should strive to improve the quality of running schools to gain more recognition from society; (2) for associations trying to enter the field of non-tertiary education, perhaps they should pay attention to the needs of niche and professional needs, and try to play a positive role in special education, professional education, and characteristics education.

6. Conclusion

According to the sorting out of the history of association-running schools in Macau, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. After Portugal's colonial administration of Macau, the public supply of education was seriously insufficient, providing space for developing private education. Due to the socio-economic environment at that time, these private educations often appeared in the form of charitable education. At the same time, because the Portuguese and Chinese ethnic groups formed a dual society under the Portuguese rule of Macau, different ethnic groups have formed different private education supply channels. The education of the Portuguese ethnic group is generally provided by the church and missionaries, while the Chinese ethnic group has education provided mainly by associations and wealthy businessmen. Chinese charitable education began to take shape in the early 19th century in Macau.

2. Since association-running schools have more robust vitality than individuals, with development over time, association-running schools have become the main form of Chinese-language charitable education. By the 1950s, most Chinese-language private schools were founded and operated by associations.

3. Since the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration, the Macau Portuguese government has strengthened its emphasis on education and increased its investment in education. Funds were no longer a scarce resource in running a school. The traditional charity education aimed at helping the poor and the weak have withdrawn from the historical stage, and the school running by associations has entered the stage of philanthropy.

4. With the implementation of 15-year free education in Macau, the structure of non-tertiary education subjects has become stable; for associations trying to enter the field of non-tertiary education, the likely direction is to develop special education, professional education, and characteristics education.
References


