

The present situation and enlightenment of shadow education in China and South Korea

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Abstract: *Shadow education in the stage of basic education is fairly popular in China and South Korea. It is also an important issue that the governments and all circles of society in China and South Korea pay high attention to. This paper analyzes the status quo of shadow education in China and South Korea, compares the extracurricular education in both countries, and provides reference for parents to treat shadow education rationally and the government to perfect and standardize after-school tutoring policies based on the status quo and policy experience of shadow education.*

Keywords: *China and South Korea, Shadow education, Education policy*

1. Introduction

China and South Korea are intensely influenced by Traditional Confucian culture. Despite some language barriers, people in the two countries are surprisingly analogous in their perception that "all inferior things are better than reading". Hitting the books became the best way for people to break out of class and have excellent expectations. In such a social consensus, the examination fever in both countries has become a solidified social phenomenon. Under the guidance of the college entrance examination, parents and children in China and South Korea are in a high-pressure state of continuous competition. In terms of academic performance, competition and catching up are not only the mainstream consciousness of children, but also the core words that parents pay high attention to. "Take the college entrance examination for example, China has thousands of troops and horses across a single-plank bridge; south Korea is a four-up, five-down nation (if you nap four hours a day, you make it to the list; if you sleep five minutes a day, you fall off the list)."

Examination results determine which university children go to, what type of higher education they receive, higher education determines where they go to work, and where they go to work determines their destiny. This has formed a logical loop that can break down language barriers and cultural barriers. The gaokao is what drives infants to success, and China and South Korea are no exception. Parents in China and South Korea are heavily motivated to enhance their grades, and extracurricular tutoring is thriving in both countries. Extracurricular tutoring is the supplement and expansion of mainstream school education system, which is premised on the existence of mainstream school education. Its scale, form and content change according to the change of mainstream education, so it is characterized as "shadow education" by scholars. Shadow schooling refers to the shadow cast by the mainstream school education, which is the supplementary education activities outside the regular school education to enhance students' academic performance. It is commonly called after-school tutoring in China. In South Korea, it is also called extracurricular learning, and private education occupies a large part of extracurricular tutoring. The shadow is a shadow because no matter how dazzling it is, it cannot exist independently from the noumenon. Shadow schooling goes hand in hand with public education and will even surpass public education in its development trend.

2. The Status Quo of Shadow Education in China

In recent years, the scale of students' participation in shadow education has been expanding. According to the 2017 China Education Finance Family Survey data, the overall participation rate of primary and secondary school students in extracurricular tutoring is 48.3%, and the average annual expenditure of students participating in extracurricular tutoring is 5,616 yuan. In 2019, the national after-school tutoring market revenue reached 475.1 billion yuan, and is expected to exceed 560 billion

yuan in 2021. 52.3 percent of families surveyed enroll their children in after-school tutoring classes. As in 1999, the implementation of China's higher education enrollment expansion policy, more ordinary families children have an opportunity to enter the university to accept higher education, the policy directly led to the more and more parents are willing to invest education for their children, and parents is a common psychology, the parents hard a it doesn't matter, as long as the children have a good future, spend more money, Invest in learning. As a result, China's shadow education market also began to rise. But it has also become the focus of a wide public controversy. One view is that 'shadow teaching provides additional learning opportunities for students from disadvantaged groups'; another view is that shadow education exacerbates educational inequality in Chinese society. The ongoing social controversy has also led to changes in China's education policies.

In China, students in compulsory education participate in shadow education on a large scale and pay high shadow education fees. "In his monograph, Xue Haiping estimated that the total expenditure of shadow education for compulsory education students in 2010, 2012, 2014 and 2016 was 48.099 billion yuan, 79.221 billion yuan, 108.377 billion yuan and 51.697 billion yuan respectively, based on the data of Chinese family tracking survey from 2010 to 2016. Accounting for 0.12%, 0.15%, 0.17% and 0.07% of GDP in that year." With the comprehensive completion of China's well-off society, rapid social and economic development and a substantial increase in per capita income, parents' investment in their children's schooling is substantially higher than before. According to the latest after-school tutoring market report, the market size of shadow schools in China has surpassed \$120 billion.

In China, parents pay a high tuition fee for their children to attend cram schools. With the gap in family economic status, parents' economic pressure is too tremendous, children's academic burden is too extreme, schooling inequality is increasingly severe, and students suffer from depression and even suicide regularly. There is a growing social outcry for reducing the burden. In response to a series of problems caused by extra-curricular tutoring, on February 22, 2018, China issued the Notice of the General Office of the Ministry of Education and four other departments on Effectively Decreasing the Extra-curricular Burden of Primary and Secondary Schools and Executing the Action of Transforming Extra-curricular Training Institutions to Governance. The main contents of the policy are as follows:

- (1) Tuition fees of more than three months shall not be charged at a time;
- (2) The tutoring time will not be later than 8:30pm;
- (3) Teaching in advance and beyond the outline is not allowed;
- (4) In-service school educators are not allowed to teach part-time in for-profit after-school tutoring institutions;
- (5) Exclusively observe extra-curricular training institutions without relevant licenses;
- (6) Generate a black and white list of extracurricular training institutions.

The problems the Chinese government hopes to settle with the policy are as follows:

- (1) Promote equity in education;
- (2) Decrease students' extracurricular learning burden;
- (3) Reduce additional schooling expenses for parents;
- (4) Regulate the shadow education market.

3. The Status Quo of Shadow Schooling in South Korea

South Korea leads the world in the trend of after-school tutoring. Regular and large-scale extracurricular tutoring has become a common phenomenon in the field of basic education. Compared with China, extracurricular tutoring, particularly private education, is more prominent in South Korea. In Korea, primary and middle school students go to a variety of private institutions to resume their studies after finishing school every day. Seth, M. J., described the study life of students in South Korea: "Cram schools are everywhere, and elementary, middle and high school students work late every day, including weekends and holidays."

When it comes to infant's research, parents recognize that the more they learn and the longer they spend, the better. The purpose of studying is to get into a university, particularly a first-class university. Students not only have to complete school work, but also have homework from after-school cram

schools. Day after day, they are not only under great physical fatigue, but also great mental pressure. As South Korea's education development, dean Han Zhonghe in 1995, in the review of the achievements of Korean recovery period of the development of education said burden of private education is on the increase in size over the government's education funds, it is indispensable to the Korean education development pillar, if there is no burden of private education investment, Han Guochu, secondary education popularization and the development of higher education are not possible.

According to the Korea Education Development Institute, private schooling expenses include tuition and miscellaneous fees paid by students' families to formal education institutions, tuition fees for tutors, materials, school supplies, meals, transportation, accommodation, school clothes, and group activities.

According to the New York Times, 75 percent of South Korean students are enrolled in one of the country's 100,000 private institutes, making private institutes on a corporate scale the backbone of the country's education system. South Korean families on average spend nearly 20 percent of their income on after-school tutoring for their children, according to an industry research report by Hyundai Research Institute, a South Korean think tank. According to a related report, 74% of South Korean students received after-school or private tutoring in 2010 alone. It costs \$2,600 a year per student. There are more private tutors in South Korea than teachers in schools, and the most famous make millions of dollars a year online and by running classes. For example, Andrew Kim is a well-known teacher at Megastudy, South Korea's largest cram school, who earned nearly \$4 million in 2010 alone through the Internet and cram schools.

South Korea also has a policy on shadow education. In 1980, president Kim Doo-hwan announced the July 30 Education Reform measure, banning all forms of private tutoring and private institutes under the slogan of realizing a just society in order to win voters' support. In 1981, the College Law was passed to prohibit all kinds of after-school tutoring institutions. Violators could be fined or even sentenced to one year in prison, and "after-school tutoring squads" were dispatched to investigate after-school tutoring activities. But the result: there are policies at the top and countermeasures at the bottom. Instead of effectively controlling the after-school tutoring market, a variety of pretence tutoring agencies have emerged endlessly. As a result, parents have to pay higher after-school tutoring fees due to increased training risks. The after-school tutoring team had to stop working.

As of 1988, more than 70 percent of high school sophomores and juniors in Gangnam-gu participated in private tutoring. South Korea's ban on remedial classes was eventually ruled unconstitutional by the Constitution in 2000 as "unduly infringing upon children's fundamental rights such as their right to education, right to express their character and freedom to choose their career". Thus, South Korea's shadow education and training industry has entered a stage of rapid development of barrier-free from the 21st century.

South Korea's shadow education with the education reform "7.30" one size fits all policy failures, represented by Lee Myung-bak education reformers, imposed tough "cram curfew", asked South Korea's and schools, institutions, etc., are not allowed to continue, after 10 o'clock in the evening have special night patrol and visitation, illegal organizations will be penalised, fine, until the suspension reorganization. However, parents and others simply ignore it, because only by improving their academic performance can their children's fate be changed. Today, South Korea's shadow education is still the world's largest, with families spending 2 percent of the country's GDP on tutoring. The source can not be controlled, the relevant measures to control education guidance institutions, ultimately useless.

4. The Enlightenment of Shadow Education in China and South Korea

How to make shadow education better serve society and students is a common problem for both countries. The main factors for South Korea to attach importance to and develop education are: eager for education and social demand, respect for teachers, large class size and poor educational conditions, rapidly increasing enrollment rate, large proportion of private schools, and large amount of private funds for education, etc. Although there is still a gap compared with developed countries, the educational conditions of primary and secondary schools in South Korea, including classrooms, teachers and unit costs, have been significantly improved. Since the second half of the 1990s, the share of public education expenditure in GDP has increased significantly and is close to the average level of OECD countries. However, private education expenditure is still much higher than that of developed countries and remains the world's largest.

South Korea's schooling has not escaped criticism for sacrificing quality for quantity, but the RESULTS of PISA tests conducted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development have in recent years ranked it among the top countries. There are many plausible points behind the craze of tutoring and tutoring in South Korea. First, students can preview knowledge from textbooks. Compared with orderly, uniform and one-way public education, this type of "private education" angle and method is sweeping, varied and flexible, which is easy for students to understand and master. Second, students learn more intensely and extensively through extracurricular tutoring, and spark students' desire to study and catch up with good students; third, there are fewer students and more teachers, who can timely uncover and correct students' errors, strengthen individual guidance, educate students according to their aptitude and enhance their academic performance.

At present, large extracurricular tutoring institutions in China principally exist in the form of groups. These educational institutions have super-large smart question banks, teaching and research cloud platforms, big data centers and many prominent teachers, etc. They have strong scientific and technological creativity and should not be reduced to nothing with the forced implementation of the double reduction policy. At the same time, the educational experience of these large-scale, standardized and highly reputed educational auxiliary institutions is particularly helpful to the comparatively weak public guidance institutions, which can provide corresponding intellectual support for the development of public education. Subsequently, while controlling shadow schooling, we should not make the error of one size fits all. In short, confronting shadow schooling, China and South Korea can start from the following points:

First, we should make a unified and reasonable plan for the tuition time and fees of in-school education and out-of-school tutoring, so as to make the two beneficial supplements and not excessively increase the financial burden of parents and children's learning burden;

Secondly, from the correct orientation of the relationship between in-school learning and shadow education, straighten out the relationship, so that the two complement each other and promote the development of national education;

Third, on the basis of extensive research, the government should appreciate social choice, satisfy students' development and make decisions.

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