

Investigation and Research on Minority Children's Extracurricular World—— Take Hohhot as an Example

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Abstract: *This paper makes a field investigation on the after-school arrangement of the children from migrant families of ethnic minorities and working-class families in Hohhot. The investigation shows that the arrangement of the after-school world of the migrant children of ethnic minorities presents a "parent-centered" mode, which makes the families of migrant children of ethnic minorities have "children who turn around their parents" and "parents who are too busy to be numb". However, the arrangement of children's after-school world in urban working-class families presents a "child-centered" model, which makes urban working-class families have "parents who turn around their children" and "children who develop morally, intellectually, physically and beautifully". With the effective implementation of the double reduction policy, the burden of schoolwork gradually fades in children's after-school life, and family education gradually becomes the key factor affecting children's after-school world arrangement. In terms of family education, children from migrant families of ethnic minorities and urban working-class families have heterogeneous family cultural capital, which strengthens the unequal social reproduction process through intergenerational mobility.*

Keywords: *Ethnic Minorities, Floating Children, After School, Family Cultural Capital*

1. Introduction

After-school life refers to the sum of students' time and activities outside the planned courses in school [1]. Also known as extracurricular time arrangement, it is an important part of children's learning and growth [2]. Over the past 20 years, after-school tutoring has developed rapidly in China, becoming the best choice for students to arrange their spare time. Academic circles generally define extracurricular tutoring as educational training activities that students' families purchase school education in addition to the school education and develop in parallel with the school education model [3]. At the stage of compulsory education, students competed to take part in extra-curricular tutoring, once expanding their academic competition from inside to outside. In May, 2021, the Central Committee for Comprehensive Deepening Reform deliberated and adopted the Opinions on Further Reducing Students' Homework Burden and Off-campus Training Burden in Compulsory Education, clearly pointing out that it is necessary to reduce students' homework burden and off-campus training burden. The implementation of this policy has greatly changed children's after-school life filled with extra-curricular tutoring.

Minority children are one of the tens of millions of children in our country. Because of their small number, they rarely get the attention of academic circles. However, with the development of economy, the number of floating population of ethnic minorities in our country is increasing. From 1982 to 2015, the number of floating population of ethnic minorities increased from 310,000 to 19.36 million. A steady stream of ethnic minorities enter the cities, and the children of the floating population of ethnic minorities become a group that really needs attention. Under the implementation of the policy of "double reduction", scientific and effective research on the after-school world of migrant children of ethnic minorities is conducive to taking into account the needs of different groups and promoting the sound development of ethnic minority populations and regions.

2. Literature Review

As Aristotle put it, leisure is the center of everything and the source of happiness, and it is an

important part of people's all-round development. Education for leisure is more lofty[4]. Therefore, after-school life has never been absent from the research on children's education by educational scholars and sociologists at home and abroad. The causes of children's various forms of after-school life have undoubtedly become the focus of the research on the after-school world.

Throughout the previous studies, it has been found that foreign children's schoolwork is not dominant in the time allocation of after-school life; In the form of extracurricular life, there are more outdoor activities than primary and middle school students in China; On the content of after-school life, there is less about learning, and more about interest and leisure. Most of the reasons for this state of after-school life are that the government promulgated relevant policies, laws and regulations, which effectively prevented the possibility of being deprived of after-school life[5].

Through literature review, it is found that Chinese scholars generally divide the reasons that affect the arrangement of children's after-school world into two categories. One category is family education. After a follow-up survey of China's education, Lin Xiaoshan found that the increase of family spending on out-of-school education can promote children's access to out-of-school education opportunities. [6]More economic input from the superior class (such as families with higher education level, higher professional status and better economic conditions) can buy more for their children.[7]

The other kind is "shadow education", which is also called extracurricular training activities. The concept began with the investigation of Japanese high school students' extracurricular tutoring activities by Stevenson, a foreign scholar [8]. Mark Berry emphasized that shadow education is a disciplinary extracurricular tutoring that does not include extracurricular training activities of art [9]. Southgate Darby's research shows that families with better family economic conditions are more likely to buy shadow education, and through additional accumulation of cultural capital, their offspring can maintain their fathers [10] In the Chinese context, capital is equally applicable to the analysis of after-school world arrangements. Some scholars have shown that families with different economic capital have unequal opportunities for their children to get extra-curricular tutoring [11]. Children with superior family economic background are more likely to get in touch with extra-curricular tutoring[12]. In 2021, the 19th meeting of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Deepening Reform deliberated and adopted the Opinions on Further Reducing Students' Homework Burden and Off-campus Training Burden in Compulsory Education. It is pointed out that the implementation of this policy will undoubtedly effectively curb the impulse of parents to buy activities outside school education in order to reduce the burden of students' homework and off-campus training [13].

The above conclusions about the influence of children's after-school world provide valuable reference for our research. However, academic circles are still busy with the after-school research of migrant children of ethnic minorities, and there are relatively few microscopic case studies. At present, as far as school education of ethnic minorities is concerned, the government has given the children of migrant families of ethnic minorities the same opportunity to attend school as those of urban children. School education tends to be equal. However, whether there are other reasons affecting the class mobility of migrant children of ethnic minorities in the extracurricular world outside schools should be further explored. The floating children of ethnic minorities are an important part of the floating children's problems in China. Under the implementation of the double reduction policy, it is of great significance to explore the extracurricular world of floating children of ethnic minorities to solve the problem of the solidification of floating children's class.

3. Heterogeneity of the After-School Life World

There are many Lanzhou ramen noodles in downtown Hohhot. Most of these noodle shop owners are from ethnic minorities in Lanzhou. Because the Lamian Noodles industry in Lanzhou is very saturated in Lanzhou, these ethnic minorities who live by traditional crafts are forced to make a living and choose to live in different places.

Ning's family came from a certain county in Lanzhou, and now they make a living by running a Lanzhou ramen restaurant in Hohhot. Ning was born in Hohhot. In reality, he belongs to Hohhot. A family of four, including his grandfather, has lived in Hohhot for ten years. So far, the whole family still lives by renting a house. On weekdays, Li Ningning seldom plays with her classmates because her parents are busy with business. In my spare time, I sometimes play with children who also shop around my home. Qiqi, who lives in a community in Hohhot, is a four-year student in a public primary school. According to the introduction of teachers in public primary schools, before the implementation of the

double reduction policy, students in the class will basically choose to make up extra-curricular classes. After the implementation of the "double reduction policy", this phenomenon has been greatly reduced. Instead, some parents of students choose to ask tutors for remedial education at the expense of one-on-one, even though children now go to junior high school by lottery.

3.1 Urban Children: The "Oldest Child" Parenting Style

Parents in cities pay attention to children's development. In their eyes, all activities are child-centered, and they arrange their spare time according to the mode of cultural literacy cultivation and mental health development that is most beneficial to children's development.

3.1.1 Parents Who "Turn Around Their Children"

"We spend all our time around the children, first look at their learning arrangements." "We will accompany them to make up classes, and we will watch them while they learn street dance. We will also learn it again, and tell them what the teacher reminded them after class." "Listening to the children learn piano, even I, a musical blind person, have learned the staff." "Our entertainment is to accompany them like this, and we will accompany them to do whatever they want." (Some parents in a primary school)

These life pictures seem to have become the common living arrangements of urban parents. During the investigation, we found that these parents arrange their own lives around the needs of their children, and these parents spend their leisure time with their children. At the same time, the children's spare time is arranged by parents. It seems that since kindergarten, parents have made plans for what kind of training courses their children will take or what kind of life path they will take.

3.1.2 Children with "All-Round Development of Morality, Intelligence, Body, Beauty and Labor"

"Children will go to some interest classes in their spare time. The child's interest classes are chosen by herself, and he can learn whatever others learn." "Nowadays, children have skills, and if they don't, they will fall behind others. When they work in the future, and others have a chance to show their talents, he has nothing to offer. What can he do?" "When he was a child, he signed up for more classes, and now all he has done is better." "Now, children are under great competitive pressure, and after learning a talent, they can still take the road of art test, and they can't be entangled in the same road." "I used to watch others dance hip-hop, but it's handsome. So I signed up for a hip-hop class for my children. First, hip-hop is really good-looking, and second, children can be active, which is also very good for his health. "

It is not difficult to see that the traditional culture class is no longer the only choice for urban children. Instead, it is a variety of musical instruments, physique, art, thinking logic classes, etc., for children to choose by themselves. Parents are more likely to pursue the all-round development of their children's morality, intelligence, physique, beauty and labor. Nowadays, parents are mostly born in 1980s and 1990s, and they are a group of people who have grown up in the new era. They are more open-minded and tend to let their children learn more fashionable things.

3.2 Migrant Children of Ethnic Minorities: "Parents are the Biggest" Parenting Style

Parents of migrant children of ethnic minorities may pay more attention to maintaining their families' livelihood, and they pay more time and physical labor to maintain their families' livelihood. Therefore, it is impossible for them to be all-inclusive and fully accompany them in taking care of their children. For the children of these families, the arrangement of their spare time may follow the rhythm of their parents.

3.2.1 Children Who "Revolve Around Their Parents"

"Children usually don't do anything. When we do business, he stays in the shop and doesn't make any noise." "For people like us who run restaurants, we are usually not busy when everyone goes to work. If the child's father stays to take care of the shop, I will have time to take him to a nearby park." "The child doesn't make up classes very well, so he stay with us. He can keep up with school lessons. When he can't keep up with his studies, we can find some make-up classes for him in time""He doesn't like anything .I think he was very interested in turning the magic cube two days ago." I don't know there are LEGO classes, and I don't know where to report hip-hop classes. "

Most of these floating families of minority children choose to move because of their livelihood, and

their purpose is to earn money. As far as children's after-school life is concerned, they seem to think that as long as the cultural class does not fall, we can't completely put the selfish title on their heads. In their eyes, learning is to pass the cultural class, and their training of children also emphasizes the cultivation of culture. Compared with the cultivation of children's skills, it is much less.

3.2.2 Parents Who Are "Too busy to be Numb"

"Well, the hotel is now a part of the store, and there are online orders. You can't be idle for a moment. When you get back from work, it's night, so take your children to bed." "I've also thought about taking him to some interest classes, but I just don't have time. This store can't go away at all, and even the children can't be picked up after school."

In the families of migrant children of ethnic minorities, parents' time cost is too high, so that they don't leave too much time for their children to communicate with each other. What's more, they don't have time to spend on their children, and they are already overwhelmed by their busy lives every day to think about something longer-term, which also includes the education of their children in their leisure time.

4. Analysis of Differences in the After-School World of Migrant Children of Ethnic Minorities

4.1 Parents' Educational Level: "My Children Can't Be Worse Than Me"

After investigating migrant children and urban children, Zhang Yunyun and others found that the educational level of parents can directly predict the academic achievement of migrant children [14], Parents' educational level is also influencing children's spare time arrangement in a subtle way.

"We are all in elementary school, and our children's homework is much more difficult than ours. We can't help them at all, so we don't care." "My children are not poor children in the class now, so I haven't made plans to make up classes yet." "My children don't fall behind, so long as they have the opportunity to go to a university. It's guaranteed." "He'd better go to a university, have a stable job, and have old-age insurance in the future." "The child didn't sign up for any remedial classes, and his homework is OK now". (Some parents of Lanzhou Ramen Restaurant said)

"We went to junior college, which was already very good in our time. My current job is compiled, but now this kind of compiled work requires higher academic qualifications. Children can't be left behind if they want to learn from primary school. Although they all go to school by regional scribing now, they have to take their own exams in high school. This foundation has to be laid well, that is to say, they have to cultivate the habit of learning from an early age." "My father and I both graduated from university. Now, the central enterprises have very fixed working hours. When there is nothing to do on Saturday, we will also take him to the bookstore and find him a place to read his own books. We will also read books next to us. Now the bookstore is so good, there is a place to sit, there are drinks and snacks to buy, and children are willing to come when they have food and drink." "I graduated from university, and my father is a graduate student. We really realized the importance of learning English in the process of learning all the way. English is a basic skill, and we can use it whenever we learn it well. There is no loss in making up lessons. Although she is young, now is the time to remember things. ""I am a teacher, but my husband is in business, and he is still too tired to do business. At least, he will be stable and not tired after studying "(parents in several cities said).

It is not difficult to find that after the implementation of the policy of "double reduction", the phenomenon of making up classes has been greatly reduced. Compared with the upsurge of making up culture classes, parents' purchase preference has shifted from traditional culture classes to interest classes, and more attention has been paid to cultivating children's musical instrument ability and logical ability.

4.2 Parents' Educational Expectation: "Hope for a Successful Son and a Successful Daughter"

The popular Chinese saying "hope for a successful son and a successful daughter" expresses the earnest expectations of Chinese parents for their children. Studies have shown that children's own educational expectations will be influenced by their parents' educational expectations [15]. It is also found that family background and parents' expectations will affect children's individual college expectations.[16] And educational expectations are inevitably shaping the shape of children's after-school world.

"I still prefer that he can go to school. As long as he can learn, we will provide for him. We are uneducated, and it's good to have the opportunity to go to a university. It's easier in the future, unlike our whole hard money" (some parents of a Lanzhou Ramen restaurant said)

"Our children have been attending all kinds of training classes since childhood. When they were very young, they began to take Lego classes, paying attention to cultivating some three-dimensional thinking ability. Later, when they were in elementary school, they began to learn Guzheng. Usually, when they are free, their father would take him to learn swimming and skiing in winter. When they have time during the holidays, they would take him on vacation and live. The child's mother said that now the family has only one baby, but it is precious. We should not only pay attention to the cultivation of his intelligence, but also pay attention to the healthy development of his psychology. Nowadays, the social competition is too fierce, and the degree of mechanization directly requires children to develop knowledge-based talents. We can't make fun of children's future. (a middle-class parent in a city)

The expectation of these parents shown by these micro-pictures is only a partial epitome of Chinese parents' expectation. Education acquisition is the experience gained by the previous generation of parents in the academic bonus. Parents with good family capital are more inclined to cultivate their children in an all-round way and spend more money to let their children receive more and better education. Parents with superior family capital are more likely to infinitely enlarge the dividends received by their own development, so that their children can receive education again in this bonus. Children's after-school life choices seem to be under the control of parents, but in fact they are arranged by parents with their own family capital.

5. Summary and Discussion

Bourdieu first put forward the theory of cultural reproduction in 1986. Bourdieu thinks that the cultural capital owned by families of different classes is unequal, so families with different capital endowments will pass on different cultural capital to their off spring [17]. Bourdieu once expounded that cultural capital can be obtained by family Confucianism and school education [18], in other words, family and school are important fields for reproduction of two cultures. Since the end of the 20th century, "shadow education" (extra-curricular tutoring) has become another reproduction mechanism of cultural capital besides families and schools [19]. Education and Training Center has become another important field for the reproduction of children's world culture after school. However, with the implementation of the "double reduction" policy in 2021, the role of "shadow education" in the process of cultural regeneration has gradually faded, but this does not mean that the educational gap between children is gradually closing. On the contrary, the heterogeneous cultural capital between families is influencing the arrangement of children's after-school world through intergenerational transmission.

In this paper, a field survey has been conducted on the after-school world of migrant children of ethnic minorities and urban working-class family children. The survey shows that the arrangement of the after-school world of migrant children of ethnic minorities presents a "parent-centered" mode, which leads to the emergence of "children who are around their parents" and "parents who are too busy to be numb" in migrant children's families of ethnic minorities, while the arrangement of the after-school world of urban working-class families presents a "child-centered" mode. This model makes urban working-class families have "parents who turn around their children" and "children who develop morally, intellectually, physically and beautifully". The research proves that the cultural capital of family heterogeneity is still influencing the arrangement of children's after-school world in the form of intergenerational transmission.

However, different from the traditional family economic capital, another manifestation of family capital: parents' educational expectations, educational level and study habits are subtly shaping children's after-school world arrangement and carrying out cultural reproduction. The new advantages of this kind of family capital are inevitably affecting the class mobility of migrant children of ethnic minorities. While we are thinking about how to narrow the educational gap between children through the equality of educational resources, it is worth further exploring how to strengthen the education thinking training of parents of children from migrant families of ethnic minorities.

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