

Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities under Double Reduction Policy Faced by Teachers in Urban Primary School of China

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Abstract: The double reduction policy has had a great impact on the education sector since its promulgation. This paper analyze and discuss the double reduction policy, it can be found that the double reduction policy still has a lot of room for optimization. This article analyze the policy background of the double reduction policy and the development of teachers' load reduction, and discusses the challenges and opportunities faced by teachers in the context of the "double reduction" policy, with a view to safeguarding teachers' rights and interests, alleviating teachers' work pressure, and promoting teachers' professional development, which is also the proper way to promote the "double reduction" policy. This is also a necessary step in the implementation of the "double reduction" policy.

Keywords: Double Reduction Policy, Teachers' Load, Teachers' Work Pressure

1. Introduction

In July 2021, the General Office of the Communist Party of China Central Committee of and the General Office of the State Council have jointly issued a set of guidelines to ease the burden of excessive homework and off-campus tutoring for students undergoing compulsory education. It carries out the "double reduction" as a major livelihood project. The policy sets out new requirements for schools and teachers in the quality of after-school services, classroom teaching, and teachers' participation in after-school services. "Double reduction" policy fundamentally focuses on strengthening the primary role of school education, allowing students to have more spare time after school and reducing their burden, which will benefit for the achievement of school education goals, but it will also inevitably bring an increased workload for teachers. However, the voices of the teacher group almost have been lost among various interpretations and analyses of the "double reduction" proposal,

From the end of 2018 to 2020, teachers had strong feelings about the topic of lightening their burden. As various policies got issued, teachers were looking forward the policy would really achieve its goal. However, the "double reduction" policy landed in 2021, which includes "flexible commuting" and "enhanced after-school services", made many "exhausted" teachers somewhat a little confused.

This paper attempts to analyse the background of double reduction policy and the development of reducing teachers' workload, and discusses the challenges and opportunities faced by teachers under such background, with a view to safeguarding teachers' rights and interests, alleviating teachers' work pressure, and promoting their professional development, which also agrees with and promotes "double reduction" policy.

2. Literature Review

To put "double reduction" policy into practice, teachers are charged with important tasks. Teachers are required to provide after-school services and improve the quality of teaching in addition to their previous duties. Students have fewer burdens, but the burden on teachers seems to increase. In fact, teachers with excessive workload will also lead to serious teaching problems. The fact that teacher lacks energy is a major factor affecting the sustainability of the "double reduction" policy. With the

implementation of the policy, teachers need to quickly improve classroom teaching and reduce after-school homework to relieve the burden on students, as well as providing after-school services. High-quality teaching not only requires teachers' intelligence and enthusiasm, but also costs a lot of time. Under the strictest burden-reduction policy ever, the problem of teachers' workload and the protection of their rights and interests has become increasingly prominent. Without performance measures to protect teachers' work achievements nor sufficient social resources to introduce after-school services to relieve teacher's pressures, issues like job burnout, low motivation and reduction of teaching efficacy will occur. Job burnout and reduction of teaching efficacy are not only harmful to teachers' psychological and mental health, but also decrease their teaching quality which will further hinder student's learning and growth.

Meanwhile, with digital time coming, there is new expectation for teachers' role and more opportunities for teacher to change their professional role. Various technology and complex evaluation mechanisms complicate educational contexts, leading teachers' teaching and learning behaviors based on their original roles and their own personal characteristics got misinterpreted or over-interpreted. Under "double reduction" policy, teachers in primary and secondary schools are also exploring education methods, facing new challenges in professional ethics, and their workload seems to be a new factor affecting the stability of their professional roles.

Therefore, lightening the burden on teachers under double reduction policy is a topic need to be explored in depth.

Before the issue of the policy, study of reducing teachers' workload was little, mostly written by in-service teachers and published on local journals. In 2000, Shandong Education published a series of articles focusing on teacher's load-reduction, but only some teachers in primary and secondary school identified with the topic. On September 6, 2012, Guangming Daily published a paper entitled Promotion of Teachers Should Go with Burden Reduction, which introduced the topic to a new platform, but it has not become a hot topic yet.

After the double reduction policy is put into practice, some scholars pay attention to the increasing burden on teachers and other problems caused by it, such as job burnout and the decline of job satisfaction. However, most of the existing studies use qualitative methods to analyze the source and causes of the burden on teachers and put forward reasonable countermeasures.

Yu Ya et al.[1] analysed the current situation of teachers in primary and secondary school under double reduction policy. They found that there are blocking factors like educational instrumentalism, the deviation from the aspiration of imparting knowledge and educating people, and the multiple constraints on teachers' professional roles. They pointed out that the main reasons why it is difficult to "reduce the burden" on teachers include: firstly, the personnel structure of some primary and secondary schools is unreasonable. Secondly, it is difficult for education department to avoid external administrative pressure. Thirdly, a modern school system and a new governance mechanism have not yet been created. The current heavy workload of teachers in primary and secondary schools is caused by the imperfect teacher policy system, the high expectations of society for teachers, the excessive non-teaching activities in schools and the low professional qualifications of teachers.

Zeng Xin et al.[2] studied teacher's resistance to job sharing under the double reduction policy. He found that with compulsory work shift, teachers are less motivated than before. Learning from Japan and Korea, he argues that it is necessary to hear teachers' voices, gather more of their subjective wishes, and improve their welfare.

Zhang Yuping[3] researched to maintain teachers' well-being in the context of double reduction. She believes that maintaining teachers' well-being serves as a guarantee to improve teaching quality and implement the policy, and summarizes that it should be viewed from three perspectives: (1) teacher should build a positive mind; (2) schools should build a cultural and curriculum system to promote teachers' well-being; (3) parents should do a good job of adding to education, treating teachers as human beings rather than "deified" or "objectified". (3) parents must help in educating children,, bear in mind that teacher is a person rather a god, and they should enrich their role to improve the effectiveness of family education.

Yu Chuan et al.[4] created a risk management framework for teachers' workload based on risk management strategy. By identifying and analysing the explicit risks (1. Longer working hours and increased workload; 2. Increased instability of teachers' work due to job sharing system; 3. Weakened teachers' autonomy) and the implicit risks (1. Re-engagement of teachers in educational institutions intensifies competitive pressure; 2. Decrease of the attraction of this job; 3. Obscure boundary between work and life, with prominent contradiction between teacher's work, family and life). It puts forward a

tripartite risk resolution strategy with risk control at school level as the basic core, risk dispersion at family level as the basic guarantee, and risk dispersion at social level as the necessary supplement.

Some articles use empirical research methods to study the burden on teachers. For example, Zhang Xiaojun carried out a field survey on the 40-day working hours of a teacher in primary school and explored how to reduce their workload and increase their energy. Zhu Xihong analysed the problematic characteristics of rural teachers' workload based on a study conducted in 35 counties in 18 provinces across China. Based on the investigation and research in 18 provinces and 35 counties in China, Zhu Xihong analyzed teachers' workload in rural areas.

Through qualitative research, according to the principles of rich knowledge, sensitivity, diversity and uniqueness, Huang Luyao[5] interviewed teachers with the help of acquaintances, and summarized three main aspects affecting female teachers' job burnout in primary school: (1) emotional exhaustion (balance between family and career); (2) Dehumanization (conflict between self cognition and social expectation); (3) Reduced sense of achievement (participation in labour is not proportional to the return on work).

Zhang Xiaoyu et al.[6] argued that the "double reduction" policy puts forward new and higher requirements for teachers' professional development and team construction, and also increases teachers' work pressure and professional risks. It is urgent to further empower teachers from theoretical and practical aspects. By learning from researches at home and abroad, guided by the needs of team construction under the background of the 'double reduction' policy, it absorbs ideas put forward in draft for comments on the new teachers' law based on the rights of teachers written in China's Teacher's Law, and follows the applicable principles of simplifying the complex to construct a theoretical model of "empowerment" and "ability adding", which contains two dimensions: 'empowerment' and 'ability adding', and is further divided into eight parts: right of professional autonomy, professional development, participation in decision-making, education and punishment, ability of homework management, after-school service, home-school cooperation and technology application. It is concluded that the nature of such empowerment is to further expand teachers' professional rights, management rights and to improve teacher's sense of efficacy in this profession. Its function is conducive to expand teachers' basic power, innovate school management mode and stimulate teachers' consciousness of professional development.

Xu Cheng Yun and Lin Tong[7] conducted a questionnaire study on nearly 2,500 teachers and students in 15 primary schools (five primary schools in city, four primary schools in county or town and six primary schools in rural areas) in Jiangxi Province, and analyzed the work and living conditions of teachers after double reduction policy. According to the decrease of teachers' professional well-being, three suggestions are given: (1) improve after-school service mode (a. enrich the resources of after-school service teachers; b. to clarify (1) improve the overall model of after-school services (a. enrich the resources of after-school teachers; b. clarify the charging standard of after-school services; c. improve the operation mode of after-school services); (2) innovate a flexible working system; (3) improve the teaching and research system to support teachers' professional improvement (for school: a. school should coordinate to ensure the time for teachers to concentrate on teaching and research; b. scientifically lead to improve the effectiveness of teaching and research; c. focus on motivation to stimulate teacher. for local area: a. combine online and offline teaching and research; b. create a homework sharing platform to improve homework quality)

Li Chunling et al.[8] conducted a survey on some teachers in primary and secondary school of Zhejiang Province focusing on "teachers' working state under the" double reduction "policy, and presented the conclusions from three dimensions: teachers' cognition, behavior and confusion about the "double reduction" policy. Teachers' recognition of the policy is high with great publicity, and teachers are more active in implementing the policy with orderly organization and there are obstacles for teachers to implement the policy with imperfect system. From the perspective of school governance, in order to eliminate teachers' negative emotions and confusion about the policy, it is necessary to construct a corresponding system to support the "double reduction" policy from policy governance optimization, including improving a guarantee system to motivate teachers, constructing a support system for professional development, and designing a collaborative system for the participation of multiple parties.

In summary, Chinese scholars have made some achievements in research on teachers' professional development under double reduction policy, but in-depth qualitative studies are not enough. This paper will explore these aspects.

3. Description of Problem

In view of the implementation of double reduction policy in primary school, we are concerned about teachers' psychology and how they deal with the increasing professional difficulties. In particular, some cities stipulate that the school leaving time shall not be earlier than the off-duty time of local institutions, require the start of summer-care classes in the summer vacation of 2021, provide after-school services, and allow students to return to school on weekends for study or homework, while teachers are on duty to answer their questions and manage discipline. In this way, the workload and working hours of teachers have undoubtedly increased again. The double reduction policy has reduced the burden on students and parents, while the targets of grades, teaching quality and promotion rates and utilitarian mentality remain unchanged, Out of the social preference for subject courses, parents are more willing to let subject teacher "work hard" for after-school extended service, which runs counter to the original intention of the policy of "all-round development of students". With these questions, we will go deep into teacher group through qualitative research and listen to their voices.

Changes in teachers' living conditions after the implementation of the policy (e.g. well-being, salary changes, workload, psychological stress, adjustment to the new policy and life change, etc.).

Changes in the understanding of school education and teaching activities in the new context (understanding of homework-teaching evaluation, educational assessment, perception of enrollment rates, and quality classes in after-school tutoring)

New understanding of teachers' role, work and career planning(new coping strategies)

4. Research design

In response to the above problems, this study will use in-depth interviews to investigate teachers in primary school of cities in Guangdong and Henan Province, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Information on interview

Dimension	Contents	No. of corresponding title
Personal information	Personal education experience, basic information of teaching	1-9
Evaluations of teacher	School system, assessment, and promotion	10-17
Teacher's living conditions	Adjustment of teaching mode, balance between work and life	18-29
Teacher's Role	Career development opportunities, teacher's self-efficacy	30-35
Education and teaching activities	New understanding of homework, teaching assessment, educational assessment, enrollment rate and quality courses	36-43
Family involvement	Cooperation between family and school	44-47

Select the region and contact teacher through internet (the basic information is shown in Table.2) Conduct interviews, sort it out, summarize and form research findings.

Table 2: Information and number of the teacher interviewed

Respondent No.	Gender	Region	Teaching experience
A	Male	Shenzhen, Guangdong	2
B	Female	Shenzhen, Guangdong	3
C	Male	Shenzhen, Guangdong	6
H	Female	Zhengzhou, Henan	21
Z	Female	Zhengzhou, Henan	36
T	Female	Hebi, Henan	14

5. Analysis of interview results

In this study, with the help of qualitative research, we used in-depth interviews and "snowball method" to understand the interviewees. Interviewees were selected based on the differences in age, subject, teaching grade, marital status and region, in order to improve the scientificity of findings through an integral survey sample. Based on interview results, we analysed the following aspects.

5.1 Development opportunities provided by the double reduction policy for some teachers

The researcher found that the double reduction policy provided an opportunity for some teachers, which was inconsistent with previous researcher's assumptions.

Double reduction policy not only requires schools to reduce the burden on students and parents, but also ensures the quality of teaching. Teachers can only find efficiency from classroom and teaching. Most teachers mentioned that, "driven by pressure, we can only keep thinking about how to improve our teaching ability and how to optimize classroom teaching?" When asked about the impact of the double reduction on individual's ability, many of the teachers interviewed affirmed its positive effects.

5.1.1. Double reduction has increased the urgency of teaching activities.

Classroom obviously moved faster. Teacher B said that in order to improve teaching efficiency, she adopted the method of 'cutting in every nook and cranny' to integrate the fragmented time during the school day, check student's acceptance, timely understand their learning situation and dynamically adjust teaching strategies. Every day, she will appear in classroom 20 minutes in advance. When she sees students, she will "catch" them and check their absorption of knowledge learned in previous lesson. "As soon as the bell rings, I will immediately 'rush' to the podium for fear of wasting a minute." She explained that now the class hours of each class is so limited that it must not take up any other time. Teachers feel that if they waste time in class, it is difficult for them to finish teaching tasks.

Experienced teachers share this sense of urgency. Teacher C, for example, despite having taught mathematics for many years, she will finish the questions in book every day before class - just to put herself in students' shoes and know which part is difficult. "In the past, we could understand students' learning through homework, but now we need to predict in advance and focus on possible difficulties"

5.1.2. The leading role of excellent teachers has been strengthened

In implementing double reduction, teachers have endured pressures and many tests, but these tests also led to a more comprehensive development of their abilities. Following the 'double reduction', some post-80s and post-70s teachers were once again motivated to teach and research. An obvious sign is that the school encourages its 'successful' backbone teachers to take up the competition again, continue to learn and improve in communication, and play a leading role in school.

5.1.3. The policy has provided a more favorable ideological environment for aspiring teachers to develop ability.

During communication, some teachers who have a strong sense of efficacy and professional aspirations for their work felt that the implementation of the double reduction policy meets their expectations compulsory educational concepts. Teacher H said: "No matter whether there is this policy or not I have been teaching with the spirit of double reduction since I started working. For me, double reduction means that my professional aspirations get affirmed." She added: "National policy requires this on a large scale and I happen to be doing it all the time, so I am happy. I focus on the cultivation of students' habits in all aspects. In this way, the overall quality of students may be much better. I used to work overtime to help students develop habits and people around me said I was crazy, but now the state requires them to do the same. It has fulfilled my career ambition."

Double reduction also provides an opportunity for young teachers who are developing their careers. Teacher C said, "Young teachers are more malleable, and their innovative consciousness and information technology they mastered will soon become apparent. To some extent, 'double reduction' offers greater possibilities for teacher's career development."

5.2 Worries from teachers about the fact that the policy has not actually influenced current exam-oriented education

The interview revealed that 'double reduction' policy has been unevenly implemented by schools in different regions.

5.2.1. Most teachers still take examination as the main means to ensure teaching quality

In Shenzhen, for example, the phenomenon of test questions exceeding standard still exists in some schools, so does the idea "focusing only on scores". As Teacher A points out, "double reduction" may have little short-term effect. If it is to be put into practice, such score-based idea must be changed, which requires a long-term process. Some schools have not made substantive reform on exam results ranking,

just simply replaced the name "final exam" with a new one. The ranking is still common in some schools. Although schools do not disclose ranking information to students, teachers know it, and parents will also ask teacher about it. Influenced by this "score-based" concept, although homework is reduced and no extra-curricular tutoring is allowed, there still exists performance appraisals for teachers and they are often asked to reveal students' grades to parents. Before double reduction, teachers' performance was mainly based on students' final and mid-term examination scores. Now some teachers point out that written exams have been cancelled in grade 1 and 2, along with monthly and mid-term exams are not allowed in all grades, but many classes have replaced them with more difficult oral tests or other forms to check students' absorption of knowledge. The pressure on students to cope with tests and exams has not been relieved much. Secondly, considering the anxiety and pressure of some parents, some teachers will privately rank students, which stops or even runs counter to the requirements of double reduction.

5.2.2. Dissatisfaction of supporting evaluation system has not fundamentally changed

In school that strictly carries out reform of homework and examination, some teachers reflect that at present, only "burden reduction" can be put in place. How to effectively "improve teaching quality" is a big problem. Many teachers believe that after double reduction, students' classroom performance and mastery of knowledge have regressed to varying degrees due to the lack of repetitive training and stage tests. As a beneficial practice to promote high-quality development of education, double reduction means the step moving from quantity to quality, from external to internal, from efficiency to effectiveness, and from marks to comprehensive quality. However, lots of teachers have raised the concerns behind double reduction policy: the decline of teaching quality in the short term after the reform. After long-term development, can our education truly transform from low-quality repetition to high-quality development? In the past, we were in a stage of scale development, focusing mainly on visible quantity or size, but now we are at a transitional stage of turning to high-quality education. While short-term fluctuations in education quality indicators may be inevitable. Guided by the core concept of high-quality development, future education will pay more attention to "internal development" that is not easy to observe, such as the transformation of human beings from passive receivers to active learners, and the transformation of people's existence from "free existence" to "self existence". The realization of those educational objectives depends on educator's continuous thinking, exploration and practice, as well as the consistent and long-term implementation of policies.

5.3 Challenges faced by teachers in assigning high-quality tasks

Double reduction requires higher-quality assignments from teachers

Homework serves as a complement to classroom teaching and learning. The evaluation of homework constitutes an important part in assignment management and a key part in reducing quantity while improving quality. Homework quality is of great importance to students' learning retention. For basic education reform, the innovation of students' homework is not only a breakthrough point but also a difficult and key aspect, which places higher demands on teachers' teaching and research.

The interview found that:

(1) Teachers still assign repetitive homework with multiple questions, high difficulty and more times. Some teachers suggest that "students can't master some knowledge and always make mistakes, which can only be solved by increasing the number of homework assignments".

(2) It is difficult to implement flexible and personalized homework. Teachers believes that the idea of layered and flexible homework is great, but there are difficulties in putting into practice.. Teacher C reflected that "what is the basis of layered and flexible homework, and it is difficult to do it". Personalized assignments are hard to design, especially in a large class, where teachers are tired of dealing with various teaching tasks and find it difficult to design personalized homework. In addition, feedback on personalized assessment is not targeted. Teacher C reported that "layered, flexible and personalized assignments have brought new challenges for teachers in evaluating assignments." Although in the evaluation contents and methods, teachers can pay attention to the level and type of student's homework, but in result presentation, analysis and feedback, teachers pay less attention to the differences in the level and type of personalized homework. The feedback form of different assignments is relatively single and mainly focuses on the guidance and incentive function, ignoring the feedback and improvement. For example, if a student makes a mistake in an assignment, teachers usually interpret this phenomenon as a failure to grasp relevant knowledge, but it is difficult to determine which part students do not master or which link in psychological process is hindered that will finally affect the educational effect of assignment assessment.

(3) In the face of new teaching tasks proposed by "double reduction", there is less time for teachers to correct homework time, resulting in the reduction of homework evaluation, and further affect the targeted guidance to students and teaching quality.

To give assignments under double reduction is a serious challenge to teachers' research skills and will be a focus of future teaching and research. How do teachers fulfill the basic requirements of providing differentiated work? This requires teachers to explore the internal cognitive process or knowledge structure differences between students in homework assessment, that is, analyze each student's response and take personalized teaching measures. In the future, homework will become a broad concept, with homework being more situational and orienting to the solution of real problems. It will be a powerful means to develop students' critical and creative thinking. Therefore, teachers can set the single evaluation criteria from content, ability, thinking and situation, and then build a hierarchical and multidimensional standard to evaluate class homework from the aspects of goal orientation, function matching, hierarchical processing and homework burden. In terms of assessment implementation and feedback, teachers can adopt the methods of 'cooperating with students in marking', 'staggered face-to-face marking' and techniques such as cognitive determine and value-added assessment to focus on students' learning processes and improve the accuracy of assessment.

After double reduction, teachers in primary and secondary school are also facing "time shortage" caused by the interruption of non teaching tasks assigned by education managers. In addition to empowering teachers internally, they also need to ensure teachers' professional learning time to reduce such "time shortage". Government and schools need to speed up the cleaning up of various activities unrelated to the education, avoid excessive interruptions in teaching process by authorities, reduce the burden on teachers and increase their time for professional learning and research, thereby creating environment for teachers to focus on professional fields.

5.4 Most schools do not provide a support and security system

Ensuring the realization of the "double reduction" is inseparable from a perfect support and guarantee system. A sound support system includes not only government's financial support for schools to provide after-school services, but also the coordination of supporting resources such as personnel, venues and equipment, as well as the improvement of various working mechanisms and work processes.

The interview suggested that:

(1) The distribution mechanism of after-school service subsidies needs to be improved. In some schools, "double reduction" funds have not been distributed and the mechanism still needs to be improved. Some teachers put forward that "'double reduction' funds have been partially retained by school, and the subsidies received by teachers have not reached the promised standard". The subsidy standard for after-school services was low. "The subsidy standard for after-school services is too low, so it is necessary to increase subsidy for teachers participating in after-school services" "After-school service is overtime work for us, but it is not calculated according to overtime salary". Some teachers have shared similar views in subsidy when it comes to their adaptation and satisfaction about the new policy. They believe that although the subsidy was not much, it did give psychological comfort to the hard-working teachers. However, since the education department has not issued a formal financial subsidy system, there are still some problems in the rational distribution of subsidies. For example, Teacher Z pointed out: "If teachers get paid for after-school service, the amount of subsidy does not matter much, but if they are not get paid, many other teachers also want to take a share of the profits. It's a problem to give more or less, Some door posts and accounting, logistics ask for overtime, the number is very large, so there exists the problem of fair distribution. In-service teachers do the most tiring work, I have to do whether they check or not, but we have less when they come. There is no clear subsidy standard in place." It is understood that subsidies are allocated by the government according to number of students. Most schools distribute it equally to educators, so whether this way is fair remains a question. . The fairness of financial subsidies directly affects the enthusiasm and happiness of teachers to participate in overtime, their attitude towards double reduction policy and the implementation effect in class. When talking about the enthusiasm of primary school teachers in the face of the policy, most of them said, "Money in place is nothing." When talking about the enthusiasm of primary school teachers in the face of policies, most teachers said: "If we get enough money, nothing matters much."

(2) The utilization rate of educational resources outside the school is low. Some interviewed teachers pointed out that "double reduction" should not only rely on schools, but should make use of various resources. The appropriate introduction of resources from external educational institutions can create

more teaching opportunities, relieve their burden and improve teaching quality.

It is learned from the interview that a small number of schools have started to cooperate with institutions outside the school, but the current level of cooperation is still low. Most institutions only act as 'intermediaries' of material conditions. Although they provide material convenience for school teaching (provide external contacts), they are still unable to provide professional and effective support for teachers' curriculum development. Many teachers are faced with the task of curriculum development and can only fight alone.

(3) The supporting work processes and working mechanisms of the school are not perfect. Many teachers interviewed said "The requirements from superior are conveyed, and the final task falls on the shoulder of in-service teachers". Many teaching tasks are issued quite urgently, and some teachers reflected that they "once received a notice to develop an extension course only three days before the class started". In curriculum design and development, teachers are provided with limited funds. When they need support from school, they have to go through complicated procedures to get approval. These obstacles affect the enthusiasm of teachers to a certain extent.

5.5 Double reduction policy exerts impact on after-school education but shadow education still exists

Before the introduction of double reduction policy, shadow education was a very common phenomenon. Many parents sent their children to educational institutions to prevent their children from falling behind and leaving them unattended after school. However, shadow education has deviated from promoting students' all-round development, and has become a tool for capital, affecting the normal order of school teaching and endangering children's physical and mental health.

5.5.1. Shadow education continues to exist in different forms

After the issue of double reduction policy, education administrative department has strictly managed the capitalized discipline training, significantly limited the scale of discipline education and training institutions, continuously standardized after-school training, and effectively guaranteed students' academic burden. However, according to our survey, some teachers said that the after-school tutoring institutions in their cities have not been completely closed, even giving rise to other forms. For example, Teacher H pointed out: "There are fewer tutoring classes around, but some are still running, basically in secret. Many of them secretly open composition classes, math classes and English classes under the cover of piano class or art training institutions."

5.5.2. It is difficult to stop market demand for extracurricular tutoring

Teacher Z pointed out that "Off-campus tutoring institutions will affect the students' attendance in school. If students learn knowledge in advance outside school, they lose enthusiasm to listen to teachers in school. Students all rely on off-campus tutoring and don't listen in class. However, some two-job families do have the need to let their children participate in shadow education, for the reason that no one take care of children at home and parents do not want their children to fall behind. It is about learning concepts, and now many parents are forcing their children to find private tutors." It can be seen that although education department has taken actions that leads to the decline of tutoring market, the existence of market demand cannot completely ban off-campus tutoring.

5.6 New home-school conflicts highlighted under the double reduction policy

After the implementation of the policy, many parents completely left the education of children to school, and the educational awareness of home and school did not fully reach a consensus.

The pressure of double reduction moves to school. Parents believe that the policy is to strengthen the functions of teachers, and even coat this function with a halo, so that teachers can reasonably guarantee the all-round development of students. On the contrary, this psychology weakens parents concern and guidance for students' growth. Teacher T pointed out, from the perspective of her own professional development, that the biggest conflict between schools and families now is the inconsistency of double reduction. "Many parents feel that their children's study at home is not their business. They are happy that they can finally not care about their homework."

The nature of double reduction has yet to be agreed between family and school. "Double reduction" relieves the burden on parents and students, but the burden on teachers is increasing. To some extent, this burden comes not only from longer working hours, but also from the task of improving teaching quality and reaching social expectations. However, too much pressure will affect education quality. Teacher H, a

Chinese language teacher of fifth grade, said: "Chinese language teacher is the busiest teacher. There are 14 lessons a week and the teacher often serves as class teacher. This belongs to teaching work, but there are many non-teaching work. During Covid-19, we need to finish all sorts of forms, punch cards and inform parents. There are two groups with poor sleep quality. One is teacher and the other is doctor. I don't think we can shift the responsibility of education to schools, with family education being the most important. Teachers are human beings not gods. They also have social life. Their pressure mostly comes from social expectations. Before scientific and specific schemes came out, teachers are crossing the river by feeling the stones. Now it is reasonable that students' performance will decline in a short term because of the complete cut-off of off-campus tutoring. Parents should also think about the enlightenment of double reduction for family education." With the implementation of double reduction, the "theatre effect" of extracurricular tutoring has weakened a lot. It seems that parents' awareness of their educational responsibilities has also weakened. However, no matter how much pressure parents and society put on teachers, they cannot make up for the lack of family education, nor can they replace family education. The all-round development of students must be inseparable from family cultivation. Therefore, while reducing the burden on schools and improving teaching quality, family education must also reflect under the policy guidelines. How can we give children a healthy and happy childhood? How to create a good family atmosphere for children? How to guide children to develop interests and good habits? Only family education can develop itself, can we truly work together to promote the all-round development of students.

6. Discussion

6.1 Make use of double reduction policy for teacher's professional development

At the macro level, double reduction policy is conducive to guide schools and teachers to enhance their understanding of their roles and functions, promote the reform of social education environment, educational goals, teaching conditions and methods. At the micro level, it encourages teachers to actively improve work potential and efficiency based on the need for self-fulfillment, so as to seek a more efficient and happy career path for themselves.

For some teachers who have their own understanding of education and are self-motivated, the policy has enabled these teachers to find their belonging in the pursuit of professional ideals. This two-way effect will influence more workers in compulsory education to reflect on their own educational philosophy, rethink the nature and purpose of education, form a healthier and sustainable educational motivation, and help students develop healthily and comprehensively.

6.2 School and education management should be followed up

As a beneficial practice to promote high-quality development of education, double reduction means to transform from quantity to quality, from external to internal, from efficiency to effectiveness, and from marks to literacy. However, many teachers are worried about risks behind the policy: teaching quality after the reform will decline in a short term. After long-term development, can our education gets rid of low quality and transform to high-quality development? Whereas in the past, we were at a stage of scale development, focusing mainly on visible quantity or scale, now we are in the transitional stage of turning to high-quality education, and short-term fluctuation of quality indicators may be inevitable. Guided by the core concept of high-quality development, future education will pay more attention to "internal development" that is not easy to observe, such as the transformation of human beings from passive receivers to active learners, and the transformation of people's existence from "free existence" to "self existence". The realization of those educational objectives depends on educator's continuous thinking, exploration and practice, as well as the consistent and long-term implementation of policies. According to interviews, most schools do not have a reasonable distribution system for allocating after-school subsidies, nor do they make full use of resource of institutions outside the school to support teaching, which not only aggravates teachers' complaints about unfair distribution, but also increases the pressure on curriculum design and development.

6.3 Research on high-quality assignments is important

To give assignments under double reduction is a serious challenge to teachers' research skills and will be a focus of future teaching and research. How do teachers fulfill the basic requirements of providing differentiated work? This requires teachers to explore the internal cognitive process or knowledge

structure differences between students in homework assessment, that is, analyze each student's response and take personalized teaching measures. In the future, homework will become a broad concept, with homework being more situational and orienting to the solution of real problems. It will be a powerful means to develop students' critical and creative thinking. Therefore, teachers can set the single evaluation criteria from content, ability, thinking and situation, and then build a hierarchical and multidimensional standard to evaluate class homework from the aspects of goal orientation, function matching, hierarchical processing and homework burden. In terms of assessment implementation and feedback, teachers can adopt the methods of 'cooperating with students in marking', 'staggered face-to-face marking' and techniques such as cognitive determine and value-added assessment to focus on students' learning processes and improve the accuracy of assessment.

After double reduction, teachers in primary and secondary school are also facing "time shortage" caused by the interruption of non teaching tasks assigned by education managers. In addition to empowering teachers internally, they also need to ensure teachers' professional learning time to reduce such "time shortage". Government and schools need to speed up the cleaning up of various activities unrelated to the education, avoid excessive interruptions in teaching process by authorities, reduce the burden on teachers and increase their time for professional learning and research, thereby creating environment for teachers to focus on professional fields.

6.4 New home-school conflicts cannot be ignored

With the implementation of double reduction, the "theatre effect" of extracurricular tutoring has weakened a lot. It seems that parents' awareness of their educational responsibilities has also weakened. However, no matter how much pressure parents and society put on teachers, they can not make up for the lack of family education, nor can they replace family education. The all-round development of students must be inseparable from family cultivation. Therefore, while reducing the burden on schools and improving teaching quality, family education must also reflect under the policy guidelines. How can we give children a healthy and happy childhood? How to create a good family atmosphere for children? How to guide children to develop interests and good habits? Only family education can develop itself, can we truly work together to promote the all-round development of students.

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