

The Retreat of "Shadow Education"

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Abstract: After the introduction of the double reduction policy, the off-campus course guidance institutions in the compulsory education stage have suffered heavy losses, and "shadow education" is withdrawing from the students in the compulsory education stage. This paper analyzes the negative consequences of these education and training industries—unbalanced resolidification, causes—capital pursuit of profit, field and habit fueling the fire and real face—false knowledge payment. From these three points, we know the inevitability of "shadow education" retreat. Only the withdrawal of course guidance institutions can maintain the authenticity of education and achieve real burden reduction.

Keywords: Shadow Education; Double Reduction Policy; Education and Training Institutions

1. Introduction

The introduction of the "double reduction policy" in 2021 will have a huge impact on the education industry. The "double reduction policy" is mainly aimed at students in the compulsory education stage, requiring extracurricular training institutions not to use statutory holidays and rest days for subject training, and requiring subject education institutions not to go public. Existing discipline training institutions are uniformly registered as non-profit institutions. For a while, the situation changed, and the education and training industries were transformed one after another. The ending of the "shadow education" that has nowhere to hide actually has a script, and its ending is not too sudden. Shadow education is no stranger to me, but it was an isolated phenomenon when I was a kid, and it became a pervasive student necessity as I grew up. Today, why must the education and training industry withdraw from compulsory education? This should be analyzed in terms of its consequences, generativeness, means and meaning.

2. Unbalanced Resolidification

The education and training industry does have a certain function of cultivating the excellent and making up for the poor. The entry point of educational platforms is often the inaccessibility of high-quality educational resources. People usually have the need to acquire knowledge and improve their skills, but high-quality teaching resources are often concentrated in a small number of high-quality universities or above or the experience of successful practitioners. The value of the business model of the education platform is to gather resources that are difficult to obtain and teach on the platform, and provide consumers in need with a certain matching mechanism. In particular, the delocalization of Internet education makes it easy to obtain high-quality educational resources to gather on the platform, but this kind of resources that only benefit a small number of people actually enlarge the compulsory education. The inequity of education is exacerbated in nature. Since compulsory education is the basic education for all the people of our country, its fairness is eroded by the inherent factors such as economy and culture. Nowadays, it can't be allowed to become a competition, while ignoring the all-round development of young people.

Taking South Korea as an example, the South Korean government has continuously introduced reform policies since the 1960s, prohibiting tutoring, canceling high-quality high schools, etc., but with little success^[1]. Many upper class and wealthy classes enroll their children in various remedial classes to ensure the upward mobility of their children and achieve the purpose of class solidification. After the comprehensive ban on after-school tutoring, parents used private cars as a base to ask teachers for one-on-one tutoring for their children. This method became popular for a while. Since then, after-school tutoring has been given an obscure name - shadow education. The name is quite interesting, not only emphasizing the importance and necessity of extracurricular tutoring, but also implying its concealment.

It can be seen that extracurricular tutoring is an accelerator for the re-solidification of unbalanced phenomena, and extracurricular tutoring should be sparse rather than blocked. Improving the quality of school education is the prerequisite for reducing the burden, and it is also an inevitable requirement to ensure the foundation of compulsory education. It is not only the pressure of students that is reduced, but also the burden of parents. In addition to improving the level of education in class, the school must also ensure after-school service time and appropriately delay students' school dismissal time; improve the quality of after-school service and cultivate students' interest; expand multiple channels for after-school service to bring together more high-quality resources; make free online learning services stronger and better, and replace the previous for-profit institutions with high-quality resources. I believe that in the future, there will never be so many parents over drafting their time, energy and money to build their children's starting line.

In short, in order to avoid unbalanced re-solidification, action must be taken. Education is the most effective and convenient tool for upward mobility. Compulsory education must be taken as the foothold to ensure its foundation and avoid further inequity.

3. Capital's Pursuit of Profit: The Promotion of Field and Habit

3.1 Capital's Pursuit of Profit: A Marxist Perspective

As of December 10, 2021, the stock prices of Gaotu, 51talk, TAL, Head Education, New Oriental, etc. have all fallen by more than 70%. The game between capital and education is the result of the development of the market economy and the Internet in recent years. Listed companies have swept a large amount of capital, seized the anxiety of parents, and promoted the utilitarian nature of education to an unparalleled level. Various eye-catching advertising spaces occupy the city's C-position propaganda slogans, and the practitioners of counseling institutions are even more mixed. Compared with more than ten years ago, it has to be said that this is a huge capital-piled campaign. As a result, the marketization of education has become a tool of capital, lost the original intention of education, and one-sided emphasis on the utilitarian result of education has become a big burden for raising children. Marx once said: Once there is a proper profit, capital becomes bold; if there is a 10% profit, it is guaranteed to be used everywhere; with a 20% profit, it is active; with a 50% profit, it is Just taking risks ^[2]... The education industry has developed so far, it cannot be said that there is no element of taking risks.

Educational work, as the foundation of the state, belongs to the industry paradigm of strong state intervention. My country has restored the college entrance examination system since 1977, and regards the college entrance examination as an important criterion for the selection of talents in the country. At the same time, the state has gradually reformed and deepened the education work in compulsory education and higher education. The impact of the national political environment on educational work is obvious, and the nature needs to be developed in line with national conditions. The Ministry of Education's definition of basic compulsory education is to meet the majority of sales requirements, so it has also repeatedly requested to "reduce the burden" on the basic education stage. Because of this, under the circumstance that the selection method of national outstanding talents and basic compulsory education cannot fully meet the selection needs, as a supplement to education within the national system and at the same time pursued by commercial interests, the education and training industry has emerged, and has been in a long period of time. In the early 20th century, the education and training industry developed rapidly.

Even so, the education and training industry, as an education-related industry, has also received great attention from the relevant departments of Tuanjia Education. 2018 is a year of transformation for China's education and training industry. With the continuous changes in the direction of the country's talent training over the years, the basic education system is also continuously deepened and improved. The state has put forward higher industry standards and commercial opinions for the education and training industry, mainly stipulating the standardized management of education and training institutions, the qualifications of teachers, and the content and direction of training, all of which have given clear suggestions and vigorously promoted their implementation.

Therefore, China's education and training industry is a commercialized industry that is not fully open, and is strongly influenced by national policies. The education and training industry will achieve greater development under the condition of following the development direction of the country's overall education policy. The most mandatory and effective measures have been proposed and

implemented under the advocacy of “burden reduction” for many years. Regulating education and training industry standards and returning to the essence of education have become the core goals. Traditional education and training enterprises are subject to varying degrees of restrictions. The direct result is a rapid increase in transaction costs and a sudden increase in the threshold for education and training enterprises to operate. The next few years will also be a period of implementing policies and deepening reforms. Education and training enterprises are also exploring more valuable development paths under the new political situation.

The state has been controlling the education industry, but the capital has to be developed so as not to be too reckless, which ignores the fairness of basic education and the basic meaning of education. After this battle, the education industry has transformed into the once fringe track of trusteeship, education consulting, and quality training courses.

3.2 Exploring the Generative Nature of Extracurricular Tutoring from Bourdieu's Theory of "Field, Habitus and Capital"

In a vertical field of exam-oriented education with the highest purpose of the college entrance examination, all levels are determined by each other; it is also mysterious. A person's grades in elementary and junior high school are good, and it stands to reason that high school grades are not bad, and the same is true for the college entrance examination. This is in line with most people's psychological expectations, but even if the past grades are good, the college entrance examination may fail. Rather than struggling with this uncertainty, parents are more willing to bet more and put in more energy early in the game to increase the odds of that last dangling "reward". After all, if you study well in elementary and junior high school, the probability that you will still study well in high school is better than the probability that you will not study well at the beginning until you get up and get good grades in high school. So parents often say a sentence is: if you don't study hard now, what should you do if you can't get into high school. In this field of decisions and uncertainties, middle school students and parents can only strengthen the "infrastructure" of "low investment, high return" to raise the starting line of the high school stage of "high investment, low return", and everything is heading towards the college entrance examination. This field is the result of exam-oriented education, but it is not just the habits of students and teachers.

In this field, teachers and students are conscientious and hard-working, all for the college entrance examination. As the "second-line" figures of students' learning, parents want to provide more help for students' learning in addition to logistics support. When their own abilities are limited, parents will naturally turn to after-school tutoring classes, hoping for extended class hours, dedicated tutoring and extra "snacks". This common behavior in the field of test-oriented education has become a natural habit.

Bourdieu's concept of capital, which is different from Marx's concept of capital, points out the non-economic form of capital. It can be divided into three basic forms: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital^[3]. With the theme of online extracurricular training institutions, economic capital takes advantage of the Internet to run wild. The continuous growth of these institutions has always been inseparable from cultural capital and social capital. This breeds a kind of "chicken baby culture", and "chicken baby" refers specifically to a method of education, which means giving children chicken blood. The "tiger mothers" and "wolf fathers" who hope that their children will become dragons and their daughters will become phoenixes, so that their children can read well, they continue to arrange learning and activities for their children, and keep their children to work hard. Education and training institutions use parents' expectations to exaggerate their propaganda, either to beat parents or increase their guilt to increase their own turnover. This kind of cultural capital is very terrifying. It exists in the invisible and affects the invisible. How many parents in this situation can be "far-hearted and self-biased"? In addition, the influence of social capital is very obvious, and with the help of the information capital dividend of Internet + and the overwhelming advertising, no one can be alone.

Under the triple shackles of field, habit, and capital, the internal structure is no longer easy to break. Only by breaking it from the outside can stop this crazy train. Therefore, the state introduced the "double reduction", which marked a new era, so that the capital's The trains were stopped, and compulsory education was back on track.

4. Knowledge Payment?

Knowledge payment is also a new concept that has emerged in recent years, usually relying on the Internet for paid knowledge teaching, which is more and more accepted as a new thing. Knowledge payment removes pan-entertainment and vulgar content from social media by screening knowledge content, leaving more valuable personal experience and knowledge information content, and gradually forming a diverse and in-depth content system.

In China, the Internet seems to have become a symbiotic word with "free" since its birth. The virtuality and replicability of online products and the lag in the concept of mass consumption have made the payment model difficult to implement. With the iteration of content and the enhancement of awareness of property rights, content payment has gradually become the mainstream. Common forms include media subscription, online education, music video copyright payment, membership system, and content sales services launched by various media platforms for the purpose of profit. Knowledge payment is only one form of content payment.

Extracurricular tutoring also seems to be a kind of payment for knowledge, but there are very significant differences between the two.

User value is the actual utility that users obtain from knowledge products and services, that is, the needs of users. User value is divided into product functional value and user experience value. Product functional value refers to the improvement of knowledge level and skills brought by knowledge products and services to users. User experience value refers to the long-term and subtle value brought by knowledge products and services to users. , including the improvement of social status, economic interests, and personal accomplishment. In the field of knowledge payment, if knowledge content producers and online knowledge payment platforms want to develop for a long time, they must provide users with the knowledge products or services they really want from the perspective of user needs. The value brought by the online education and training industry in the compulsory education stage is far from it.

Difference in purpose: K12 online education originally refers to online preschool education to high school education, and now generally refers to online basic education. K12 online education teaches very basic compulsory education courses that should be fully mastered in elementary and middle school campuses. Paying for knowledge is paying for the time cost and energy saved. What you learn in such a class is highly specialized and purposeful complex knowledge. Paying is a reward for the intellectual work of others.

Substantial difference: Knowledge payment relies on well-known high-quality talents, and can also provide tailor-made knowledge services, which is quite creative. Limited to the basic nature of compulsory education, the space it can play is limited, but the output is also very single, it is difficult to call it a payment for knowledge. Rather, who is paying for student management, hosting, and review.

Differences in results: K12 online education aggravates educational injustice, easily deprives students of their subjectivity, and leads to misunderstandings about learning. Paying for knowledge is beneficial to people's self-improvement and lifelong learning practices.

5. Conclusion

The essence of "shadow education" is the phenomenon and behavior of paying for false knowledge, which is based on the pursuit of profit by capital, and the accomplices of habit and field.

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