

Look at Shadow Education from the Perspective of Family Capital

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Abstract

This paper looks at shadow education from the perspective of family capital, explains the definition of shadow education and family capital, and then argues and analyzes the relationship between the two. In view of the fact that shadow education will affect educational fairness to a certain extent, and then affect social fairness, the author further linked to the "double reduction" policy and put forward corresponding suggestions for the government, schools, and parents.

Keywords

Shadow education; Family capital; Double subtraction.

1. Introduction

Recently, the promulgation of the "double reduction" policy has increased the public's attention to off-campus tutoring, and one of the purposes of the policy is to reduce the burden of off-campus training for students at the compulsory stage. Off-campus training institutions are, to some extent, equivalent to the alias of "shadow education". Shadow education is popular in the world, including South Korea, Japan, Singapore and other countries, and has great research value and research significance.

After reading the relevant literature, the author understands that educational inequality is constrained by many factors such as social, political, economic, cultural and other factors, and that family capital, as a set of available resources and powers, is an important factor affecting educational inequality. [1] Bourdieu distinguished household capital into economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital, and considered economic capital and cultural capital to be the most important capitals. Parents can use a variety of advantageous resources to influence their children's educational opportunities and quality of education.

This article is intended to think about the relationship between capital and shadow education from the perspective of family capital. Coinciding with the promulgation of the "double reduction" policy, this study has certain practical significance.

2. Main Body

The concept of "shadow education" was first coined by Stevenson and Bakert to describe the phenomenon of tutoring that takes place outside of mainstream schools and is aimed at improving academic performance in order to help Japanese high school students gain access to the desired university. [2] Bray expands on this concept: after-school tutoring only exists when mainstream education exists; Its scale and form change with the change of mainstream education; In almost all societies, it has received far less attention than mainstream education and its face is far less clearly discernible. [3] The concept was introduced in China in 2007, but "supplementary education", that is, "the tutoring and supplementary tutoring that primary and secondary school students take in addition to formal education for their cultural courses or arts", has long been a phenomenon of concern in the domestic academic circle. Shadow education has a long history in East Asia and South Asia, and its rapid development in recent years has attracted more attention. [4]

In the past two decades, the extracurricular tutoring activities called "shadow education" by the international academic community have developed rapidly, and shadow education is increasingly developing into a supplement to the orthodox education of schools and may become a new intermediary for the intergenerational inheritance of family capital.

The author believes that shadow education is outside the orthodox school, which means that shadow education is operated by commercial individuals, commercialization also means occupying the consumer market, as much as possible to obtain commercial benefits is its main purpose, then to some extent shadow education can also be seen as "paid education", parents of students need to spend extra money to let their children receive shadow education, once it involves money, can not help but be linked to the family's income. But let's think about it more carefully, is there money for children to enjoy shadow education? Can children get quality shadow education? How to get children to receive quality shadow education? These are all issues that we need to explore further.

The author believes that the level of family capital affects the quality and level of shadow education received by children to a certain extent. Next, the author will talk about shadow education from the perspective of family capital.

Household capital can be roughly divided into the following five categories: social capital, cultural capital, human capital, economic capital, and political capital. Social capital can be divided into intra-family social capital (parent-child relationship within the family, parents' expectations and concerns about their children, etc.) and extra-family social capital (parents' interpersonal relationships in the community). There are three forms of existence of cultural capital: one is the physical form, which is expressed in the deep-rooted temperament tendencies of the human body; the second is the form of objectification, which is embodied in cultural objects; and the third is the institutionalized form, which is embodied in some specific institutional arrangements. Human capital is the power and ability of people to change society. Economic capital is usually measured by household economic income levels. Political capital refers to the identity, power, and resources provided by regimes and political parties. [5]

In general, families that grow up in higher household capital have a better chance of receiving a higher level and higher quality of education. Advantageous class families take advantage of family capital to take advantage of school education and shadow education opportunities. Children of the dominant class with more family capital have a greater chance of entering higher-quality junior high schools, and then are in a dominant position in the competition for obtaining "admission tickets" for high-quality high schools. However, in order to maintain and expand their competitive advantage, parents do not hesitate to invest a lot of energy and financial resources in shadow education to open up a "second battlefield" of educational competition and do their best to improve their children's academic performance. [6]

In general, children of the dominant classes have a starting point advantage in the two main ways to obtain education. The capital advantage of the family is first transformed into the advantages of children's voluntary stage education and shadow education, and then into the advantage of children's academic achievement, affecting the access to high school and higher education, and finally triggering the social stratification of different family capital students in employment opportunities and employment results. [6] To a large extent, this affects the realization of the function of education to promote social mobility, which is essentially to promote the people at the bottom of society to change their destiny and enter a higher class through their own efforts. However, under the role of family capital, the probability of intergenerational inheritance of family capital is quite large, and the trend of class solidification is very serious. Power, money, and network resources can accumulate into a huge "energy cluster", bursting out of great power invisibly, and the children of the dominant class naturally seize education, get development opportunities, and finally seize a huge competitive advantage in employment results and life development.

Generally speaking, parents who enjoy high family capital have received higher education themselves, including many who have received foreign education and have been exposed to advanced educational concepts at home and abroad, and they want to innovate their own educational behavior in accordance with advanced educational concepts at home and abroad from the subjective will, adopt scientific educational concepts, and improve the comprehensive quality of their children. But in fact, in the school education stage, parents have to give up the "Buddhist" mentality in the face of exam-oriented education, begin to "roll up", and more and more strict requirements for children, this strictness is often reflected in an anxiety about academic achievement, not only allowing children to complete the mainstream education system, but also requiring children to participate in the shadow education system. Because once it enters the mainstream school education system, it means that children begin to enter the evaluation system of "score" and "ranking". The level of the score, before and after the ranking, will further label the children as "top students" and "students with difficulties". Out of the face-loving nature of people, and in order to maintain and continue their family capital advantages, this part of the parents will pour more time, money and energy into their children's education, not only let their children get a degree in high-quality schools, but also seize more development opportunities in the shadow education of extracurricular tutoring, let their children enter a more standardized and more professional shadow education system, and occupy the development advantage in the two educational channels of mainstream education and shadow education.

Shadow education is the product of exam-oriented education, focusing on how to get high scores in exams. As far as China's current national conditions are concerned, when the society can allocate resources to a certain premise, with the increase in population, especially the opening of the three-child policy, it is inevitable that social competition will intensify. It is said that reading is the shortcut to success, the college entrance examination is the fairest way to select talents at present, and the college entrance examination results determine the level of colleges and universities you can enter. Although academic qualifications do not represent anything, to a large extent, academic qualifications are the stepping stones on the road to job hunting. Therefore, as long as the college entrance examination selection system exists, then the learning pressure will be involuntarily delegated to compulsory education and even kindergarten education, and parents will spare no effort to help their children "win on the starting line". Not to mention the parents of the capitalist family, who are not only conscious, but also have sufficient resources to capture a more advantageous mainstream education and shadow education for their children.

Shadow education is a privatized, commercialized model of education. There are different types of extracurricular tuition institutions with different charging standards, different family capital, and different student bases in the market, which will make different educational choices and produce different educational results. In general, families with higher family capital tend to invest a lot of money, time and energy in the shadow education of their children, in order to obtain greater academic performance progress, with the goal of cultivating "excellent students"; on the contrary, parents with lower family incomes, lower parents' education level, and lower social status tend to send their children to counseling institutions to check for defects and fill in the gaps.

The purpose is to tear off the label of "school poor student" for children. The reason for this is that the children with more family capital enter the school teachers better, the educational resources they enjoy are more advanced and perfect, and their academic performance as a whole seems to be relatively ideal; on the other hand, most of the families with less family capital are enrolled in relatively backward rural schools, the teacher level is low and the turnover rate is high, the students' academic performance is generally worrying, and many students are left-behind children, their parents go out to work, and they have no time to take

care of it, and only a small number of parents of students consciously spend money to let their children receive shadow education outside the classroom. To make up for the lack of school education, but due to the geographical location and insufficient investment in education, the shadow education of their children is far less than that received by the children of the dominant class. What is worse is that due to the difficulty of obtaining the qualifications of extracurricular tutors in remote areas, the qualifications of tutors are debatable, and some students' grades do not rise but decline after receiving shadow education, and their performance in school is also greatly reduced.

"Shadow education" could undermine national efforts to expand equal access to education and exacerbate social inequalities; If students put too much time and energy into remedial work, it will have a negative impact on the normal education and teaching plan, content, standards and even value orientation of the school.

The author believes that the government can start from the following aspects to better regulate the development of school education and shadow education, so as to better play the function of education to promote social mobility. First of all, adhere to the integrated governance of the school education system and the shadow education system, take necessary measures to control the impact of shadow education on the school education fairness policy, and effectively promote the fairness and social equality of compulsory education. Secondly, the government should provide subsidies for shadow education to families with less family capital; then, increase the policy of tilting educational resources to backward areas, help low-family capital families to obtain better school education to compensate for the lack of shadow education, and strive to promote students from all classes to enjoy relatively equal educational resources; finally, policy preferences can be implemented when enrolling students in the college entrance examination, and appropriate care can be given to students with low family capital to make up for their deficiencies and backwardness in the starting point of education.[6] Further promote equity in educational outcomes and compensate for deficiencies in the educational process.

Recently, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council issued the "Opinions on Further Reducing the Homework Burden and The Burden of Off-campus Training for Students in the Compulsory Education Stage" (hereinafter referred to as the "Double Reduction" Opinions), which put forward strict requirements for reducing the burden of students' homework and reducing the burden of family off-campus training. In fact, the policy of "double reduction" is not empty, but was developed from "reducing burden" several years ago. In the past, the burden reduction began to reduce the burden of students in school and reduce homework tasks, and the current double reduction is committed to improving the quality of school teaching, standardizing off-campus training institutions, effectively reducing the academic burden of students in the compulsory education stage, prohibiting subject-based after-school tutoring, and cutting off the way for students to receive extracurricular tuition from the supply side.

As soon as the "double reduction" policy was promulgated, the extracurricular tutoring class was facing closure, and the shadow education derivative industry was greatly impacted, not only the practitioners were very distressed, but the parents were also very anxious, especially the parents of high-capital families, who believed that starting from the primary school, or even from the kindergarten, their children would have to win on the starting line and seize the development opportunity. Increase investment in education, enhance the competitiveness of children in the examination, and then hope to enter high-quality schools, receive quality education, and have a better future. He once thought that commercial tuition institutions under the slogan of "for education" and doing things "for the sake of efficiency", their tutoring is mainly to strengthen the test, exceed the standard ahead, in the short term can improve students' academic performance, but in the long run, there is no obvious effect on the improvement of grades or even have a negative impact. In particular, when students receive

private tuition that is of low quality, repetitive and high intensity, it will adversely affect students' self-management, thinking ability, mental health, etc. Tuition will lead to students relying heavily on others, losing their awareness and ability to learn on their own; reducing their ability to think independently, without the spirit of study, unable to think and learn deeply, and difficult to cultivate their core literacy; some students will even have resistance and disgust to the school curriculum, and their performance in school is very bad. This is the "consequence" of the emphasis on "efficiency" and "shortcuts" in tuition institutions, and what they do best has the most adverse effect on students, and some practitioners of "shadow education" want to achieve business goals, not educational goals.

Finally, the author believes that in order to better adapt to the development needs of the times, although there are various problems in "shadow education", it is still necessary to admit that the existence of shadow education is necessary and does not need to be "exhausted". After all, no matter how complete the system of public education, students still cannot guarantee an education that adapts to and satisfies the current situation of everyone's development. The author believes that the implementation can be strengthened in the following aspects: First, families need to establish a correct concept of education and parenting, and reverse the utilitarian concept of education. The family is the "main front" of education. In the process of cultivating children, we must have a long-term and overall vision, abandon the concept of short-sightedness and utilitarian parenting, in order to cultivate children's noble moral sentiments and comprehensive ability to cope with social challenges, regardless of the level of family capital, parents should correct the concept of education, raise children with scientific educational concepts, pay more attention to the cultivation of children's comprehensive quality and core literacy, look at the growth of children from the perspective of development, do not stick to the literal scores of the day, and abandon the "only score theory" and "only the theory of advancement" The traditional evaluation model pays more attention to the all-round development of children; secondly, vigorously improve the quality of education and teaching. Standardize the development of teacher education, solidly improve the professional skills of teacher training students, cultivate the noble moral sentiments of teacher training students, cultivate a solid foundation of teachers, and raise the threshold for teachers to enter the job, so as to ensure that students learn well in schools, build a high-quality school education system, and give full play to the role of school education;

For the "shadow education" represented by off-campus training. By improving the system and optimizing the governance capacity, we will curb the undesirable problems in off-campus training and standardize the development of off-campus "shadow education". Eliminate illegal and low-quality institutions, guide the correct development direction of off-campus training, and give play to its active role in non-disciplinary extracurricular services, vocational education and other fields.

We should join hands and do our part to make the beautiful educational ideal truly inhabit reality.

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