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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

Implications of the Double Reduction (2021) Policy in China for the
Providers of Shadow Education

Implikace politiky Double Reduction v Číně pro poskytovatele
stínového vzdělávání

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Hlavním zaměřením práce bude prozkoumat, jaké jsou důsledky politiky dvojí redukce (2021) v Číně pro poskytovatele stínového vzdělávání. Teoretická část práce se bude věnovat definici stínové výchovy obecně a poté se zaměří na rysy a politické reakce čínské stínové výchovy. V empirické části budou k získání dat použity polostrukturované rozhovory s tutory.

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The two-year postgraduate study career is coming to an end, and it is a little emotional to think of it. It is as if I just set the goal to continue to study the master program, and today I am going to end my master's study journey.

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ABSTRACT

The study purpose of the thesis is to explore the implications of the *Double Reduction* (2021) policy in China for the providers of Shadow Education. The thesis is categorized into two parts, the theoretical part, and the empirical part.

The theoretical part discussed the definition of shadow education through the definitions and features. And then provides the current shadow education research status in China, which lacks policy-related research and the shadow education sector perspective research. The empirical part used the secondary data analysis method and interviews. Firstly, the thesis displayed Chinese shadow education features, the small-size class type was popular, and the shadow education in rural and urban has differences. Secondly, the shadow education driving forces were discussed, the competition makes parents purchase shadow education. Thirdly, the Chinese shadow education policies were reviewed, there were four stages, supportive policy; regulating policy; Laissez-Faire policy; prohibitive policy. And then explored the *Double Reduction* policy and how it is regulated, implemented. In this chapter found that there are some flaws in the policy and it has not been fully implemented.

KEYWORDS

Double Reduction Policy; Educational Policy Implications; Shadow Education Development in China; Shadow Education;

ABSTRAKT

Cílem práce je prozkoumat, jaké důsledky má politika dvojí redukce (2021) v Číně pro poskytovatele stínového vzdělávání. Práce je rozdělena do dvou částí, části teoretické a části empirické.

Teoretická část pojednává o definici stínového vzdělávání prostřednictvím definic a charakteristik. A pak poskytuje aktuální přehled výzkumu stínového vzdělávání v Číně, který postrádá výzkum související s politikou a perspektivní výzkum v sektoru stínového vzdělávání. V empirické části byla použita metoda sekundární analýzy dat a rozhovory. Zaprvé, práce ukázala rysy čínského stínového vzdělávání, populární byl typ malotřídní třídy a stínové vzdělávání na venkově a ve městě má rozdíly. Za druhé, byly diskutovány hnací síly stínového vzdělávání, soutěž nutí rodiče nakupovat stínové vzdělávání. Za třetí, čínské stínové vzdělávací politiky byly přezkoumány, existovaly čtyři fáze, podpůrná politika; regulační politika; politika Laisses-Faire; prohibiční politika. A pak prozkoumal politiku dvojitého snížení, jak je regulována, implementována. V této kapitole bylo zjištěno, že politika má určité nedostatky a nebyla plně implementována

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Zásady dvojitého snížení; Implikace vzdělávací politiky; Vývoj stínového vzdělávání v Číně; Stínová výchova;

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INTRODUCTION

Shadow education (supplementary tutoring institutions) as an imitation of mainstream education has gotten more attention with time. Shadow education is a global phenomenon now, from African to European countries, across Asian to Latin American countries, shadow education is everywhere (Jokic et al., 2015, p. 8; OECD 2011).

Chinese shadow education (supplementary tutoring institutions) has received much attention since 2021 due to the *Double Reduction*¹ policy, which bans the academic tutoring institutions continuing to tutor students for profit-seeking, in this way to reduce students' study burden. Chinese shadow education was the most extensive system in the world (Zhang & Bray, 2020). But since 24/07/2021, the *Double Reduction* policy was and issued, the Chinese shadow education began to collapse. According to the industrial research 2017 and Market analysis report 2018, there were over 11 million employees working for shadow education, academic tutoring institutions accounting for the largest market size in tutoring institutions, with about 475.1 billion RMB (1 RMB about 3.45 CZK). Therefore, the policy is not only related to the education area, but also the economy and society are influenced by it.

Double Reduction is a new turning point in Chinese education. There are at least two reasons. Firstly, China is a country with a deep Confucian culture, hard-working is part of the culture (Bray, 2001; Feng, 2021), and now the government works hard to crack down on extra tutoring lessons, attach importance to burden reduction and moral education, this is a progress. Secondly, China is not the only country published banning shadow education policy. South

¹ The policy website:

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xxgk/moe_1777/moe_1778/202107/t20210724_546576.html

Korea and Mauritius had a similar policy but abolished the banning regulations because they lost effectiveness (Bray, 2009; Y. C. Kim, 2010). Whether Chinese policy can work well has become the focus.

However, much attention is paid to how this policy reduces students' study and homework burden, and how teacher assigns the homework after *Double Reduction* in the Chinese database CNKI²...From the Web of Science, there are three papers related to *Double Reduction*. One is from the narrative approach analyzes policy (Eryong et al., 2022); One examines how the big data influenced the *Double Reduction* implementation (Li et al., 2022); One is related to how the *Double Reduction* policy affected parents' educational anxiety (Khashayar et al., 2022). However, less attention is paid to shadow education sectors and the policy itself.

Therefore, the general purpose of this study is to explore and analyze what has happened, and what are the implications of the policy? How does the policy influence shadow education providers?

The thesis would use secondary data analysis methods and interview to collect data. Most data come from policy documents. The Schouwstra Framework would be used to display the policies (Schouwstra & Ellman, 2011). The Context, Input, Process, Product evolution model (Known as CIPP model) (Stufflebeam, 2000a) would be used to evaluate the *Double Reduction* policy by combining official documents and semi-structured interviews. The main content of the interviews is how the *Double Reduction* policy implemented in the shadow education sectors.

The first chapters review the definition of shadow education and then

² CNKI is the Chinese Database, full name is China National Knowledge Infrastructure, contains over 7000 Chinese Journals, including graduate thesis and doctoral dissertations (Graduate from China).

present the current shadow education research status in China. In the empirical part, the Chinese shadow education features are introduced here for a general understanding. And then the text discusses about the reasons for the driving forces. Through the discussion of the previous chapters, the government's response to this education phenomenon is introduced. In this chapter, the shadow education policy types of the world are reviewed, and then the policy responses of China are discussed. Finally, the essential part is the analysis of the *Double Reduction* policy, first discussing the effectiveness of the *Double Reduction* policy with the help of comparing the Korean experience, and then starting from the *Double Reduction* policy itself, in-depth understanding of the content, implementation and current effects of the policy, and combined with the interviews to deepen the understanding of the *Double Reduction* policy.

THEORETICAL PART

This chapter here firstly displayed the definition and features of Shadow education. And then would present the current research status in China.

1. Shadow Education Definition

Shadow education is known as private tuition, coaching, tutoring, supplementary tutoring, private tuition, or cram school.

The term, shadow education as a metaphor was first mentioned by Stevenson and Baker in a Japanese supplementary institutions research, which defined shadow education as mainly taking place outside mainstream schools. The purpose of shadow education is to improve students' academic achievement. (Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

Mark Bray conducted systematic research on shadow education. One of his books: *The shadow education system: private tutoring and its implications for*

planners was published by UNESCO in 1999. He presented that shadow education exists when mainstream education exists, it mimics what happened in mainstream education (Bray, 1999). Compared to these two critical definitions, the same perspective is that shadow education depends on mainstream education.

The Chinese scholar Yousheng Wang was the first one in China (in 1997) to define the term: shadow education. He presented that shadow education refers to private primary and secondary school students privately participating in supplementary courses. The courses contain main subjects and arts. The main form is hiring tutors or attending daily cram tutoring institutions (Wang, 1997). In 2008, the scholar Peng introduced foreign research on shadow education to China. He thought shadow education takes academic courses as content and targets primary and secondary school students who are receiving mainstream education (Peng, 2008). Two scholars both mentioned the targets of shadow education are primary and secondary school students. But Wang defined shadow education contains art courses, and Peng did not. Actually, which is a discussion point in shadow education definition. From an overall opinion, the supplementary courses include art. But most shadow educational policy contents are specific to the main subjects.

Professor Mark Bray presents that shadow education has three characteristics: privateness; supplementation and academicness(Bray, 1999). These three features connect each other.

Parents and students purchase shadow education purposefully in order to improve the competitiveness of grades. From this, we can tell that the parents and students, according to their needs to decide whether to buy the extra lessons, this is a privateness feature. And because the purchase behavior determines the commerciality in shadow education. The purposes are full of utilitarianism, this

is the performance of shadow education's academic feature. The effect of improving grades is the manifestation of supplementation. The detail would be discussed below:

Privateness: students and parents purchase shadow education to obtain the supplementary courses, and Mark Bray considers this behavior to embody the privateness of shadow education (Bray, 1999). This also reflects that shadow education is an educational product or has become an industry (Mori & Baker, 2010; Ying He, 2022). The parents and students are the consumers. The shadow education providers are the benefit-seeking role, servicers. Which contradicts mainstream education's public welfare character.

Marimuthu defined shadow education as a learning activity that occurs outside of mainstream schools and requires payment through purchase to be provided (Marimuthu et al., 1991). Because shadow education is a purchasable product with privateness, its types can be flexible according to the price and the market demand.

There are many modes: one-to-one class; small group; large group; lecture theatres; or online tutoring. They provide various courses: entrance exams tutoring; catching up on school learning tutoring; excellent training tutoring...(Bray, 2009) And likewise, the places and methods of attending classes are also varied, can be in schools, out of schools, online, through television or mobile phone (Bray, 2009).

Education is public beneficial and easier to control compared to shadow education. Therefore, shadow education cooperating with mainstream schools to provide after-school services might be a way to reduce the commercial nature of shadow education. Some scholars comprehend shadow education using a broader view. The scholar Šťastný in his Czech shadow education research,

mentioned that “Shadow education provided by schools is a part of a wider marketing strategy” (Šťastný, 2021). The schools can cooperate with institutions or let the schoolteachers be the tutors to provide the after-school services within school, which can maintain the quality of the services and also bring out the advantages of shadow education. Increase students’ learning competitiveness.

In 2008, the French government provided afterschool services to help students finish homework within schools. The schools also offered low-cost summer supplementary tutoring within schools. (Oller & Glasman, 2013) England and American schools both provided afterschool services (Steinberg, 2011). The Chinese government has offered afterschool services since 2021 (Fu & Guo, n.d.). We can see that the shadow education has become a service due to mainstream schools providing shadow education, and the commercial profit feature is decreasing.

Academic: shadow education is an imitation of mainstream schools (Bray, 1999), and the academic nature of mainstream schools is reflected in shadow education. Likewise, Stevenson and Baker defined shadow education as the purpose of shadow education is improving students' academic achievement (Stevenson & Baker, 1992). The pursuit of higher academic performance makes shadow education utilitarian. And it also as a tool to higher social status by entering a reputation University (J. Kim, 2007). Whether it is the pursuit of high achievements or higher social level, it reflects the lack of attention to moral education in shadow education and is full of utilitarianism.

Shadow education has supplementary characteristics as well, because of the utilitarianism, parents and students purchase it with purposes. Some tutoring courses are for underachieving students, and some are for those who are already in the best position but want higher scores (Bray, 2009). And the curriculum is

based on school education, checking the gaps in mainstream education the students missed and making them up.

In this thesis, shadow education will be defined as a mainstream education imitation of tutoring in compulsory education schools in the pursuit of improving grades or other utilitarian purposes without moral education. Supplementary courses can be tutored in schools, out of schools, or through electronic products.

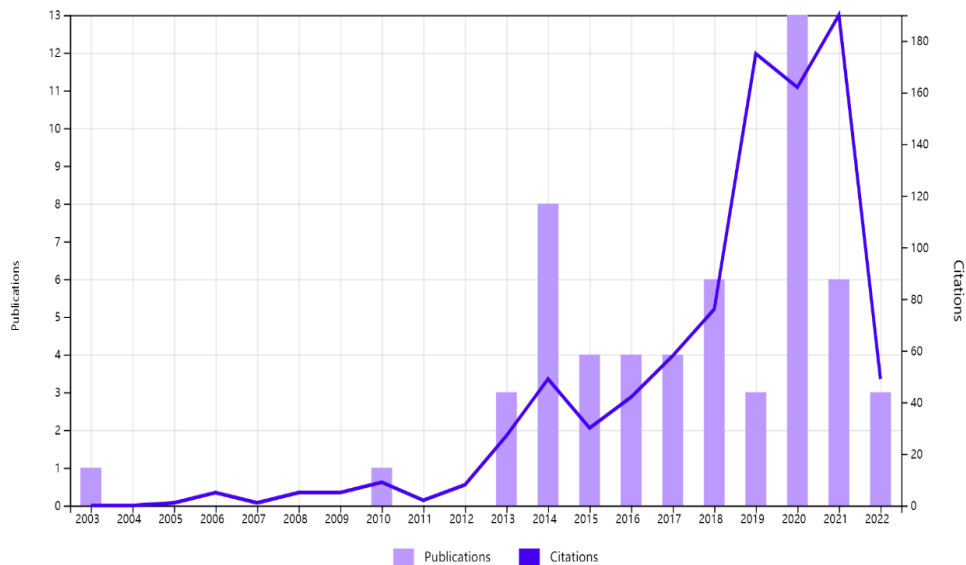
2. The Current Research Status in China

Some features should be noticed in shadow education research: 1) Shadow education research has grown steadily over the past decade. 2) China ranks first in the number of publications and impact factors on the topic of shadow education. 3) Education policy and education reform in shadow education usually combine with student achievement in research (Hajar & Karakus, 2022). But the education policy and reform's implications on shadow education sectors have not come into the spotlight yet.

From the database Web of Science³, when retrieving shadow education & China, there are 1640 publications, but only 124 are from the educational area. By reading keywords and abstracts, only 56 papers finally met the requirements. And the earliest related paper was issued in 2003 by Bray Mark and Kwok (Bray & Kwok, 2003).

Figure 1 The publications result of Shadow education & China.

³ Keywords: shadow education, from 1999 to 05.2022, the language is English, which shows that the trend of publications and citations are increasing. But the total number of publications is small (1487). Using keywords: supplementary tutoring (205); supplementary institutions (1382), from 1999 to 2022, the trend is similar to the result of shadow education. Retrieved 30 papers from Bray Mark, ten from Yung KWH, and ten from Zhang W.



Source from the web of science:

<https://www.webofscience.com/wos/woscc/citation-report/46430328-e982-4910-a9e8-333a87ba7f16-38125025?sort=date-descending&page=2>

From Figure 1, we can see that 2003-2009 is the low growth speed development period, from 2009-2022 is the improvement period. This might have something to do with China's policies and social background at that time. The Chinese Ministry of Education issued an outline plan in 2010: *Outline of the National Medium- and Long-Term Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*,⁴ to clarify the requirements for primary and secondary schools to reduce their learning burdens. Since 2010, several policies have directly mentioned shadow education, such as *Opinions on regulating the development of tutoring institutions 2018*; *Negative List of Advanced Training in Six Subjects of Compulsory Education 2020*... These policies might stimulate the public to pay attention to Chinese shadow education. However, the number still is small. On

⁴ The original website of the policy:
http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A01/s7048/201007/t20100729_171904.html

July 24th 2021, China officially implemented a new policy, *Double Reduction*⁵, which is a banning shadow education policy. But after 2021, there are three papers related to the Chinese new policy *Double Reduction* (Eryong et al., 2022; Khashayar et al., 2022; Li et al., 2022).

Searched in the Chinese database CNKI⁶. The results⁷ show that the earliest paper was issued in 1986 by Di (Di, n.d.) about Japanese private tutoring. Haiping Xue is the author of the most published articles on shadow education in mainland China.

Currently, the research on Chinese shadow education mainly focuses on the definition of concepts, educational equity, school education, financial aspects, shadow education policy, pedagogy of tutoring, and perception of tutoring (Xixi, 2021). But fewer papers in English base on and focus on Chinese shadow education educational policy (Eryong et al., 2022; Zhang, 2019; Zhang & Bray, 2015, 2017). This thesis will try to fill this gap by providing a clear shadow education policy development history and evaluating *the Double Reduction* policy.

EMPIRICAL PART

The empirical part firstly presents the thesis's research aims and questions, and secondly displays the research methodology and the samples' information. And then focuses on analyzing Chinese Shadow Education Features and Policy Responses. Moreover, the thesis will evaluate the *Double Reduction* policy by

⁵ The original website of the policy:

http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xgk/moe_1777/moe_1778/202107/t20210724_546576.html

⁶ CNKI's full name is China National Knowledge Infrastructure, and contains over 7000 Chinese Journals, including graduate thesis and doctoral dissertations (Graduate from China).

⁷ Used 影子教育(shadow education)(275 papers are founded); 补习机构(supplementary institutions)(90); 教育培训机构(supplementary tutoring institutions) (2354) as keywords, language is Chinese.

the CIPP model. CIPP is an evaluation model, contains Context; Input; Process; Product four parts.

1. Research Aims and Questions

The main focus of the thesis will explore the implications of the *Double Reduction* (2021) policy in China for the providers of Shadow Education.

- 1) What are the Chinese Shadow Education features before *Double Reduction*?
- 2) What is the driving force behind shadow education in China?
- 3) What are the main content and features of the Chinese Shadow Education Policy?
- 4) What are the implications of the *Double Reduction* from a Policy Analysis perspective?

2. Research Methodology

The qualitative methods research would be conducted in the thesis, that will combine secondary data analysis and semi-structured interviews. The secondary data analysis would answer the research question 1); 2); 3) 4). The interview would answer the questions 3); 4).

2.1 Secondary Data Analysis

Secondary data analysis is to find answers by reviewing and collecting the research data (Prasad TRIPATHY, 2013). The choice of the database is extensive. And Zhang's paper relates shadow education area, used secondary data analysis to review Chinese shadow education environment development (Zhang & Bray, 2020).

To answer the questions 1) and 2), the scientific articles will be selected

from Web of Science, Chinese Database: CNKI, google scholar and reports published on websites.

To answer the questions 3) ,4), the data would select from Chines MOE official website, the Chinese Policy and Documents database, and other official government websites.

Mainly comes from:

The National Chinese MOE website: <http://www.moe.gov.cn/>

Sichuan MOE website: <http://edu.sc.gov.cn/>

Chengdu MOE website: <http://edu.chengdu.gov.cn/>

Chinese Economic Reform Database: <http://www.reformdata.org/records/>

National Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.stats.gov.cn/>

2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Many researchers used the interview as an in-depth method to explore the tutoring phenomenon(Jokić, 2016; Mariya, 2016; Yung, 2016; Zhang, 2019). According to the information from the Secondary Data Analysis, the semi-structured interview method will be needed as an expansion and main approach, to know how the policy is implemented in the institution and to explore the tutors' in-depth understanding of *Double Reduction*. Interviews will be conducted in Chinese. And the collected data will be transcribed carefully into English.

The interview would be two parts, part one is about how the policy is implemented in institutions, these data will be the supplementary information to evaluate the policy. Part two is about how the tutors understand the policy. The interview method is to answer the question 4).

The interview outline sees in Appendix A.

2.3 Sample

The participants in the thesis were selected from Chengdu, Sichuan province. There were 11457 supplementary institutions in Sichuan province in 2021 (Norms, n.d.) And Sichuan's compulsory education for-profit academic institutions' "reduction rate" reached 100%, of which 92.5% were transformed into non-profit or non-main subject tutoring institutions, and some institutions closed (*Sichuan Attaches Great Importance to Double Reduction*, 2022). Moreover, as one of the *Double Reduction* pilot cities, Chengdu's published many new policies, such as providing after-school financial support... Therefore, the participants will be selected from Chengdu.

The selection criteria are:

1. Is or was (quit the job during or after *Double Reduction*) a tutor.
2. Teaching or taught main subjects to primary or secondary school students (Chinese, Math, English, Politics, History, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, Physics)
3. Maximum variation sampling method be used here to collect data.
 - 1) The interviewees come from transformed institutions (the academic institutions transformed to art or sports institutions after *Double Reduction*)
 - 2) Private tutors.
 - 3) Academic institution.

Seven tutors participated (6 institution tutors, and one private tutor). The background information is as follows:

Table 1 Interviewees' information

	Tutoring Time	Institution Information	Teaching Area/Subjects	Job Status
Interviewee 1	Four or five years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Transformed institution (Named institution (1,3)) 2. has two floors and many classrooms. There were ten teachers, three or two robot teachers, one dance teacher, and two art teachers. 	Teaching robot courses.	Quit the job in May 2022 (After <i>Double Reduction</i>)
Interviewee 2	More than 10 years.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The institution still is an academic institution. 2. the location is close to an elementary school. (Named Institution (2)) 	Teaching Math and English	Still is a tutor.
Interviewee 3	Around one year.	Worked for Institution (1,3)	Robot courses.	Quit the job (After <i>Double Reduction</i>).
Interviewee 4	About five years	Transformed institution but still is teaching academic courses.	English	Quit the job in June (After <i>Double Reduction</i>)

Interviewee 5	About five years.	Transformed institution (Named institution (5))	Music	Music tutor
Interviewee 6	One year.	Private tutor	English	Became a private tutor after <i>Double reduction</i> .
Interviewee 7	About three years.	Transformed institution but still is teaching academic courses. (Named institution (7)) The small size class is the mainly class type in this institution.	Math	Math tutor

3. Chinese Shadow Education Features

This chapter would present the Chinese shadow education features. First, the Chinese Education system would be introduced to know Chinese shadow education better. Second, secondary data collection would present the modes and types of Chinese shadow education. Third, the scales and intensities of Chinese shadow education would be analyzed here. And would take the New Oriental Education & Technology Group as an example. And then displayed the rural and urban distributions; one child vs more children family shadow education investment features, and the tutoring subjects' features.

3.1 Chinese Education System

Chinese education is developing fast. In 1949, more than 80% of China's population was illiterate, and by the end of 2018, there were 276 million students in degree education (Yang, n.d.).

Chinese compulsory education contains ISCED 1 to ISCED 2 (primary to lower secondary), and some coastal cities and economically developed areas have begun to cover ISCED 3 in compulsory education in 2020. Such as Guangdong, Beijing, and Shanghai (Compulsory Education China Government Network, n.d.). Chinese Upper secondary education developed unbalanced according to the economic differences between provinces. Shadow education is the mainstream education's imitation, which is also related to the economy. Education economists have found that in areas with better economic development, where the rate of attending shadow education is thriving (Peng, 2008).

China's upper secondary school (ISCED 3) enrolment rate is 91.2% (Statistics | Eurostat, n.d; Chinese higher education admission rate, n.d.). Upper secondary school is the last stage before entering tertiary education (ISCED 4). The admission requirement of Chinese University is based on the total grades of Gao Kao. (National College Entrance Examination, students take this exam after completing higher secondary school (ISCED 3))(OECD, 2016).

Gao Kao is divided into two areas, arts and science. Arts subjects are Chinese, Math, English, Political, History, and Geography. Science subjects are Chinese, Math, English, Physical, Chemistry, and Biology.

On 28/06/2022, Sichuan MOE issued the new policy *Sichuan Province deepens the implementation plan for the comprehensive reform of Gao Kao*⁸, which mentioned that there are no arts and science areas, but Chinese, Math, and English are the compulsory subjects. Still, students can decide to exam three subjects from Political, History, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, Physical. The

⁸ Website:

<http://edu.sc.gov.cn/scedu/jyt2022/2022/6/28/13cf32efb5944059a29016ae780e0c2c.shtml>

high-stakes exam still did not reform.

By the end of 2020, there are 25,000 schools in Sichuan (all types), with 16.115 million students (excluding non-degree education students), and 958,000 full-time teachers(*Education and Science and Technology - Sichuan Government*, n.d.). In 2020, about 670,000 students in Sichuan participated in Gao Kao; the university entrance rate was 86%, and the first-tier university admission rate was 19% (ranking 19th). The highest admission rate is Beijing, with the first-tier rate of 45.87%, ranking first in China.

It can be seen that the overall admission rate of the college Gao Kao in Sichuan Province is low, and the total population of Sichuan is high. The pressure on Sichuan's candidates is enormous.

And Chinese university entrance rate is 51.6% (2020 The main results of the national education statistics, n.d.) Chinese university students only mainly need to pass the defense of the thesis. The graduation rate is about 90%.

These few data reflected that Chinese universities are harder to enter but easier to graduate from. In most provinces, upper secondary schools do not belong to compulsory education. This means that the academic performance in primary and secondary schools determines whether students can enter a high-quality upper secondary school. And upper secondary school is the last step to entering university. Therefore, students undertook pressure from the primary.

For the detail of the Chinese schooling system, see Appendix B. And about Chinese cultural background would be introduced in Chapter 4.

3.2 Chinese Shadow Education Types and Modes

According to the scale of the tutoring institutions, there are six types: Workshop; Small Center; Medium-sized enterprise; Province-wide big company;

Nationwide company; Online tutoring company (Zhang, 2019).

According to the tutoring supporters, there are seven types: teachers tutoring their own pupils; teachers tutoring other teachers' pupils; students (secondary and/or university); Professionals, retirees, homemakers, and supplementary companies (Bray, 2009). And the delivered methods are various: it can be in-person class (individual tutoring, small class tutoring, large class tutoring), through television, online, or by phone (Bray, 2009).

On July 24th, 2021, China officially implemented a new policy *Double Reduction*, which is a banning shadow education policy. The shadow education scale before the *Double Reduction* will be presented here.

Before *Double Reduction*, there were 49 thousand supplementary institutions in 2021 (*There Are 490,000 Tutoring Institutions in China*, n.d.), but only 21 thousand compulsory education schools (*In 2021, There Would Be 529,300 Schools and 291 Million Students in China*, n.d.), the number of shadow education is overwhelming mainstream schools. The industrial research showed that there were over 11 million employees in the shadow education sector. According to the Chinese Education Industry Market Report, Chinese offline shadow education dominated the education industry. Online education for primary and secondary school students accounts for only 5-10% of the education industry. Small groups are the most popular and profit-seeking tutoring way in the 2014 survey (*Education Industry Market Report in 2017*, n.d.)

Table 2 Chinese Shadow Education Features

	Individual	Small-Group	Large-Group	Online
The proportion of tutoring	30%	57%	10%	3%

mode				
Students	<=5	10~40	>=40	N/A
Per/hour (RMB)	200-300	60-70	N/A	N/A
Teaching Efficiency	Best	Good	N/A	N/A

Source from Education Industry Market Report in 2017:

<https://www.chyxx.com/industry/201703/503803.html>

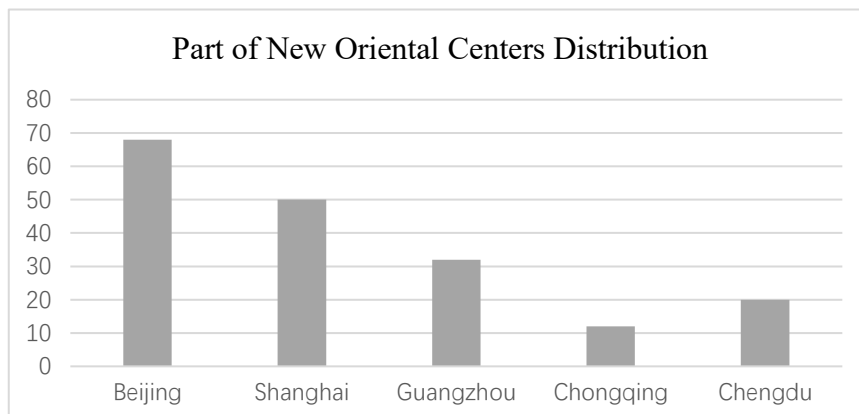
3.3 Chinese Shadow Education Scales and Intensity

The distribution of shadow education institutions in China, taking New Oriental Education & Technology Group as an example.

New Oriental Education & Technology Group was listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 2006 and is the first educational institution in mainland China to be listed in the United States. New Oriental's businesses include foreign language training, shadow education, preschool education, online education, education abroad, and book publishing. As of 2016, New Oriental has 771 learning centers and almost covered every Chinese city. Beijing has the most significant number of educational centers.

This chapter selected the examples of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chongqing, and Chengdu. Beijing is the capital city, and Shanghai and Guangzhou are the well-developed cities in China. The interview samples would select from Chengdu, but lack papers and researches. Te thesis chose Chongqing here. Chongqing is close to Chengdu (the two developed cities in the middle of China), and the shadow education features might be referenced.

Figure 1 Part of New Oriental Centers Distribution



Source from Education Industry Market Report in 2017:

<https://www.chyxx.com/industry/201703/503803.html>

According to the New Oriental Centers Distribution selected four places to analysis the shadow education scales and intensity in these places.

3.3.1 Chongqing

Zhang and Bray's paper (Zhang & Bray, 2015) showed that the shadow education participation rate of primary school students in Chongqing, China is 44.2%, and the rate of secondary school students (grade7 to grade 9) is around 40%.

3.3.2 Beijing

Binli and Xiaoxi's paper (Binli & Xiaoxi, 2015) studied Beijing's shadow education features (N=2028). The shadow education participation rate of primary school students in Beijing is 70%. Students whose academic achievements are around or over intermediate level to participate in shadow education account for 29.7% and 51.6%. The family with one child participates in shadow education accounts for 69.8%, and the family with two or more children accounts for 27.1%.

3.3.3 Shanghai

Zhang and Bray's paper (Zhang & Bray, 2017) investigated the shadow education scale in Shanghai and showed that: (N=1531) the students who are Grade 7-8 and 8-9 have 66.8% and 74.4% participation rates. The attending tutoring place indicated that 35.8% of respondents received coaching at teachers' homes, 34.9% at social enterprises, and 17.2% at another school or mainstream education institution. Small group/class tutoring is the most frequent tutoring form in Shanghai and accounts for 64.3%. Online tutoring only accounts for 5.9%. The family with one child participates in shadow education accounts for 66.2%, and the family with two or more children accounts for 47.8%.

3.3.4 Chengdu

There were 11457 supplementary institutions in Sichuan province in 2021 (Norms, n.d.) There is a lack of detailed data about Sichuan shadow education.

3.4 Urban and Rural:

The Chinese urban tutoring rate is much higher than the rural. For example, only 22.1% of rural students in Chongqing have participated in shadow education, and 65% of urban students have participated in shadow education. The simple reason is easier to find tutors in cities (Zhang & Bray, 2015).

Only 15.8% and 13.5% of rural high school students in Jinan have participated in mathematics and English tutoring, but 30.31% and 22.88% of urban high school students have participated in these two courses(Zhang, 2013).

In addition, the Chinese Family Tracking Survey (CFPS) 2010-2014 data showed that the proportion of students participating in shadow education at the

compulsory stage in rural areas is less than 8.5%. In comparison, the rate of urban students is higher than 27%, and the participation rate of urban tuition is about 3.5 times that of rural areas.

3.5 Summary

The Chinese shadow education features are:

- 1) small class education is more popular for both students and providers;
- 2) the lowest participation rate of shadow education in compulsory education schools is around 40%, in Chongqing.
- 3) Large supplementary institutions are located throughout China, but the distribution in rural and urban is not on balance. Chinese urban tutoring rate is higher than rural.

4. The Driving Forces of Chinese Shadow Education

In this chapter, the driving force of Chinese shadow education will be presented here. Firstly, would from the Figure 3 to analyze the reasons, and then use *Game Theory* to understand the logic. Because this theory relates to purchase behavior, and through the definition of shadow education discussed in the Chapter 3. The shadow education can be purchased. Therefore, the Game Theory be selected here.

Through reviewing the papers, the driving forces of Chinese shadow education are as follows.

4.1 Culture Factor

From the Culture, Confucianism is rooted in Chinese culture intensely, such as those *who excel in their study can follow an official career*. (Stevenson &

Baker, 1992; Sun, 2013) This is a classic sentence to encourage students to study. Under this culture, studying harder is a typical description for students. Chinese still is an examination-oriented education system, the high-stake examination determined the foundation of education competition (Damayanthi, 2018). Shadow education is one of the ways to “study hard.”

The China Household Finance Survey 2017 (CHFS) data shows that students study for 5.9 hours per week in supplementary institutions and 15 hours per week on holiday in compulsory education. The extra study hours might let students lose learning interest due to tired passive feelings. Furthermore, the additional learning might reduce the effectiveness of regular classes due to the teaching content being already learned or will be learned one more time in supplementary institutions (J. Liu, 2018). This way to “study hard” is a surface “study hard.” Students’ study burden became heavy.

4.2 Labor Market

When the students finally entered a reputation Tertiary Education, which also means occupying a competitive place in the degree-based labor market. But the primary mainstream education cannot satisfy the requirements of pulling the students’ academic performance difference. Therefore, the parents and students actively or passively asked shadow education for help. (Aiju, Wang, 2022; Eryong et al., 2022; Fu & Guo, n.d.; Haiping, n.d.; Katz, 2021; Qun, Zhang, 2022; Ying, He, 2022; Yuanyuan & Huichun, 2021)

The behaviors of asking shadow education for help can use *Game Theory* to understand the parents’ and students’ educational anxiety.

4.3 Game Theory:

Many scholars used Game Theory to understand why Chinese parents purchase shadow education (Haiping, n.d.; Yadong & Haiping, 2020). The competition mainly drives the purchase behavior, the Game Theory can be understood like this: two people were sent to prison, unable to communicate with each other. If neither of them revealed the other's crime, each was sent to prison for a year on uncertain evidence; If one person speaks out and the other remains silent, the whistle-blower will be released on account of his merits, and the silent one will be imprisoned for five years for not cooperating. If they had betrayed each other, they would have been sentenced to three years because the prisoners, unable to trust each other, were inclined to betray each other rather than remain silent (Owen, 2012).

There are two students, A and B. When they decide whether to participate in shadow education, their decision-making benefits are as follows: both of them cooperate (no tutoring), and each of them gets 3 points (combined as a reward); If one defies (tutoring) and one collaborates (no tutoring), the defector receives 5 points (the temptation to defect), and the collaborator gets 0 points (payment by deception); Both of them betray (tutoring), and each gets 1 point (punishment for betrayal). The result is that both A and B choose to take part in the shadow education from the point of maximizing their interests and finally get no benefit, such as neither of them taking part in the shadow education. No one wants to be the left one. Therefore, the education anxiety expands.

Table 3 Game Theory in Shadow Education

	Student A does not participate in Shadow Education	Students A participate in Shadow Education
--	--	--

Student B does not participate in Shadow Education	3,3	5,0
Student B participates in Shadow Education	0,5	1,1

Source from (Haiping, n.d.; Yadong & Haiping, 2020)

4.4 More Anxiety, More Investment Shadow Education.

The demand mechanism for shadow education increases with the competition and educational anxiety increasing, then shadow education expands (Bray, 2001).

From politics, influenced by the *One-child*⁹ policy, most parents willing (or be forced by the situation) to buy shadow education production for their only child; Zhang and Bray’s research showed that in Shanghai, the only child family participates shadow education accounts for 66.2%, the family who has two or more children accounts for 47.8% (Zhang & Bray, 2017).

Middle-class families want to maintain their superiority, and average families want to higher the class (Smyth, 2009; Wenbo & Xueyan, n.d.; Yadong & Haiping, 2020). The more anxiety, the more education cost. In Shanghai, parents whose education degrees are above ISECD 6 and whose monthly income is over 150,000 RMB are more “demanding” shadow education (Zhang & Bray, 2017).

⁹ One Child policy: the policy is valid from 1980-to 2016, In order to control the rapid growth of the population, the policy is to encourage each family to have only one child.

It also became a financial burden to low-income families, occupying 11% of the total expenditure (Wenbo & Xueyan, n.d.) The Chinese Society of Education 2016 survey indicated that 31.6% of parents are willing to pay supplementary tutoring fees for their children, no matter how much it costs. 26.6% of parents are willing to spend half an income to buy tutoring courses(*The Current Situation of Teachers in China's Shadow Education*, n.d.). From parents' attitude, shadow education fever has reached a sick level.

In short, shadow education increased the extra burden for students and parents. The educational anxiety places a learning burden and a financial burden on students and parents. Students spend a lot of time on extra tutoring, neglecting physical fitness exercises and ignoring moral education. Chinese parents are willing to invest in their children's education (*The Current Situation of Teachers in China's Shadow Education*, n.d.), and shadow education has put economic pressure on poor families. The shadow education has already impacted equality for educational resources (Bray, n.d., 2010; Eryong et al., 2022). Shadow education became an obstacle to reducing the effect of reduced learning burden. Moreover, it impacts the moral education goal. The shadow education conflicts with the Chinese 2035's aim. The Chinese shadow education policy is taking action.

5. Shadow Education Policy Responses

In this chapter 5, the shadow education policy would be presented. First, would review the general shadow education policy response types in Chapter 5.1. Second, the features and content of the Chinese Shadow Education Policy development would be delivered by the Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework.

5.1 Shadow Education Policy Overview

Shadow education is a global phenomenon; different areas or countries present various features. In Europe, shadow education is expanding. In Asia, shadow education has the sign to exceed or already overwhelmed mainstream education. Therefore, the policy response types are various in terms of the differences. But basically, there are four types of policy, support, lazier, regulate or ban (Bray, 2009). The judgment standard is if the benefit of shadow education dominates society's development. The different types of policies help us understand the trend and features of shadow education development.

The strict policy type will be **prohibitive policy**, some governments will add the policies into law let them more legally binding. The Minister of Mauritius Education enacted a set of regulations in 1989 prohibiting private tutoring in and before grade 3.

In 1991, these regulations became law (Bray, 2009). The Korean MOE issued *7.30 Educational Reform Measures of 1980* aimed to prohibit main subjects tutoring (Bray, 2009; C. J. Lee et al., 2010; Peng, 2008); However, Mauritius and Korea's regulations or laws both are a failed experience reference. On July 24th, 2021, China officially implemented a new policy *Double Reduction*, which is a banning shadow education policy. Recently the Chinese government plans to add *Double Reduction* regulations into laws. The banning procedure is proceeding.

Regulating Policy is related to building standards on curriculum, institutions' address and space, institutions' safety; advertisements; schoolteacher cannot be tutors... Commonly because shadow education is starting to lose control causing many social issues and impacting the equality of education resources. In 1968 the Korean MOE issued the *No Middle School*

Entrance Examination policy. It tried to reduce the demand for shadow education because shadow education caused many social issues, such as the suicide rate of adolescents increased, the family economic burden caused by shadow education, class level solidification, the birth rate reduced, and other issues (Bray, 2009; Choi & Park, 2016; C. J. Lee et al., 2010). Banning or limiting schoolteachers from being a tutor is a standard regulation in regulating policy. Some countries such as India, Portugal, Austria, Mauritius, and China published similar policies to regulate schoolteachers being a tutor. Schoolteachers being part-time tutors can cause a lot of chaos or corruption. Such as lack of energy in school education, abuse of power for personal gain, and not completing courses in mainstream schools for profit in shadow education (Bray, 2009).

The government adopts a **Laissez-faire policy** might because the economic system in these countries is a free-market economy and believes that the free competition can regulate the adverse effects of shadow education; therefore, they enacted laissez-faire policy, such as the Czech Republic and Japan (Bray, 2009; Peng, 2008; Šťastný, 2021). Moreover, in some countries such as Cambodia and Vietnam, the schoolteachers' salaries cannot satisfy the living cost. Extra tutoring gives them "financial support"; therefore, the government ignored the shadow education activities (Peng, 2008).

Usually, the government issues a **supportive policy** for stimulating education development, and they believe that shadow education's benefit side takes the dominant place. Such as in 2002, American MOE enacted the *No Child Left Behind Legislation*, and mainstream schools in the United States have set up "after-school programs" supported by federal government funds and "supplementary education programs," the support courses covering sports, clubs,

and other activities in addition to main subject tutoring (Bray, 2009). Shadow education in Thailand can be registered as non-state schools according to the *Regulations on Private schools*. Once the registration is completed, the tutoring institutions can obtain up to 20% of profits and exemption from business tax (His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, 2007). In Singapore, the government provides subsidies and other sponsorship to community groups to stimulate the demand for lagging behind students. (Bray, 2009; Tan, 2017).

The mixed Policy type was mentioned by Peng (Peng, 2008). Korea and Mauritius issued prohibitive policies but failed. During the prohibitive policy implemented, it was an open secret that private tutoring and the “black market” became popularity than usual in Korea. And in Mauritius, the MOE prohibited tutoring Grades 1-3 but then allowed tutoring Grades 4-6 in schools’ classrooms (Bray, 2021). The mixed policy implied that shadow education is hard to totally prohibit and when shadow education shifts to an underground model, it is more difficult for the government to control, and the negative impact of shadow education will also be exacerbated.

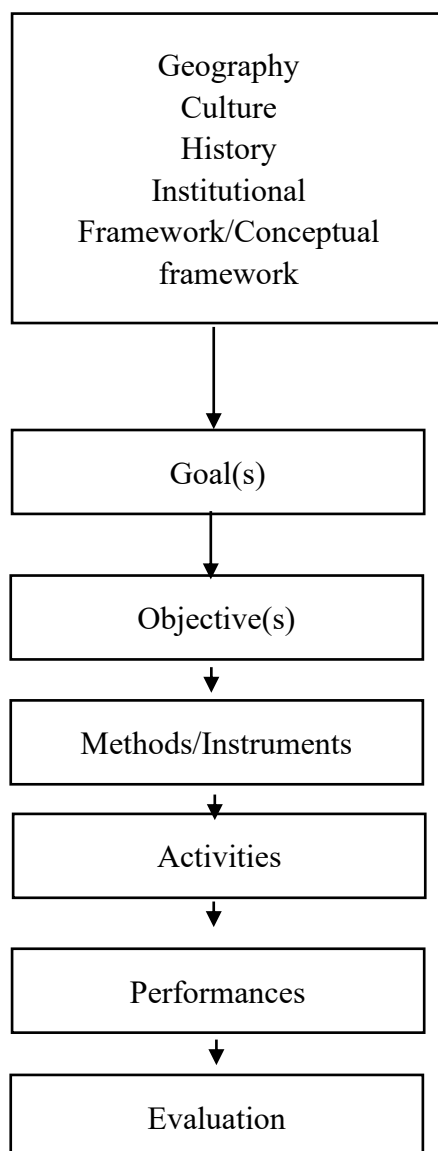
5.2 Chinese Shadow Education Policy

This chapter here presents and discusses the Chinese shadow education policy development. The first part is a retrospective review of shadow education policy in China from the 1980s to 2020 by Geelhoed-Schouwstra Framework to display the policy. Meanwhile, reflectively review and summarize the experience from the historical process. The last part analyzes the *Double Reduction* policy by Geelhoed-Schouwstra Framework to display the policy, and the CIPP model to study the policy, by comparing Chinese and Korean policies to prospect the *Double Reduction* pathway.

5.2.1 Geelhoed-Schouwstra Framework

The Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework is a systematic process for policymakers to design policies. Using the policy-making framework to list the policies in detail will be clear to know the main idea of the policy. (Schouwstra & Ellman, 2011). The Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework contains (Schouwstra & Ellman, 2011):

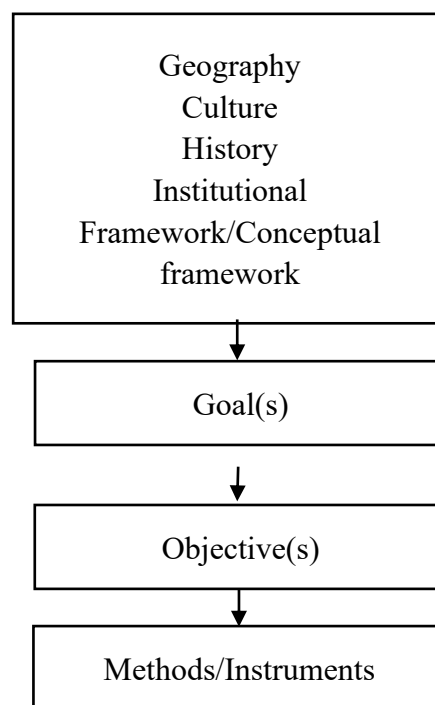
Figure 2: The Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework



China is a socialist country, making middle and the long-term plan is one of the political features. The Goals in the Framework will match the Chinese policy ideological foundation. Under this ideology, many policies will be issued to achieve the aim. The objective is the explicit goal. Therefore, this thesis used the Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework to display Chinese policy.

The Framework will be as follows (Schouwstra & Ellman, 2011):

Figure 3 Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework in this Thesis



Geography/ Culture/ History/ Institutional Framework/Conceptual framework

In this thesis, the Geography/ Culture/ History/ Institutional Framework/Conceptual framework will be the context of the policy. As one of the ways to understand why published this policy.

Goal(s)

The definition of goal in the framework will be the strategic or crucial tactical goal.

Objective(s)

The objectives directly stemmed from Goal(s) but were more operational and specific than goals.

Methods

The Objectives provide the basic information for the method making.

5.2.2 Supportive Policy

5.2.2.1 The overview background of the beginning of shadow education

Gao Kao is the essential exam in China (National College Entrance Examination). Students take this exam after completing higher secondary school (ISECD 3). The overall grades determine if the student can enter university.

But it was abolished during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). In the Cultural Revolution, education was paralyzed. The primary and secondary education system was in chaos, and a large number of tertiary education schools were forced to close or relocate. Many teachers were persecuted. As a result, many teenagers lost the opportunity to receive a high-quality education, and China suffered from a severe shortage of technical talents(Chen Zhili, 1998). After ten years, Gao Kao resumed in 1977, and then education started to recover gradually.

Under this background, respecting teachers and valuing education were significant tasks in this period (Chen Zhili, 1998). Chinese education needed vitality, and society needed an educational atmosphere. One of the methods to revive education is to increase the number of schools. Therefore, a supportive

policy was required.

5.2.2.2 Supportive Policy Analysis

During the supportive policy stage, there were mainly four policies related to shadow education (*Decision on the reform of the educational system; Interim Provisions on Running Schools by Social Forces; Outline of China's Educational Reform and Development; Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces*, see detail in Figure 5-8). But shadow education just took a few parts in the policies (see Figure 5-8). The time task was to vivid mainstream education and occupation training, the shadow education supportive policies were attachment provisions.

Because of the historical reasons, mainstream education was hard hit by Cultural Revolution. The learning atmosphere was low in society (Chen Zhili, 1998). According to shadow education's definition and feature: it mimics what happened in mainstream education, and it has a privateness feature; The mainstream education and the learning environment were recovering, so the demand for shadow education was not very visible. But the privateness determined shadow education's flexibility. It can take place in family or school. The tutors can be private tutors or school teachers. Shadow education in this stage mainly existed in families and schools, and started to expand beyond families and schools(Zhang, 2022)

These four policies were published at the time when China needed to promote the schools' number to decrease the influence of the Cultural Revolution. And almost all the policy issuing departments are significant organs, implying that these policies were the time tasks. But the policies emphasized non-state schools, and supplementary institutions just took a tiny part. The

supportive policies did not directly affect educational tutoring institutions as in other countries, such as America providing tutoring vouchers, and South Korea providing tutoring financial support for low-income families. Chinese supportive policies were to create a positive educational environment, motivate social forces to run schools, provide policy convenience and help in running schools, and not encourage society to purchase shadow education.

The four regulations related to shadow education list here by the Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework.

Table 4 Decision on the reform of the educational system

<i>Decision on the reform of the educational system (Decision on the Reform of the Educational System, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	1985
Goal	Education must serve the socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education as the goal.
Objective(s)	To improve the quality of the nation and cultivate more talents and high-quality talents.
Method(s)	<p>1) local governments should encourage and guide enterprises, social groups, and individuals to set up private schools. Most private schools were private primary and secondary schools, (tutoring institutions were included) (<i>Private Education, n.d.</i>).</p> <p>2) the local government should encourage enterprises, social groups, and individuals to donate money to set up schools.</p>

	3) Released the schools' financial burden.
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The policy was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which is the supreme leading organ in China when the National Congress is adjourned (the National Congress is convened once every five years), founded in 1927.

The political system is experienced and facilitating, before issuing the policy, the leader group read much literature and studied America, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Japan's education system. And then did on-the-spot investigations in primary, secondary, and tertiary schools on 20/11/1984. The leader group cleared and defined the situation and problems through the field trip. Soliciting opinions from various departments and visiting American scholars and asking for suggestions. On 27/05/1985 the policy was issued after being modified three times (*Before and after the Decision on the Reform of the Education System*, n.d.). The political system showed reliability, the supportive policy came from theory and practice.

But the policy itself was an education reform policy, the tutoring institutions did not take much place. Mainly focused on reducing the influence of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) by reforming the mainstream education system.

The Economic setting, the *Decision on the Reform of the Economy* was published in 1984 and provided the education reform foundation. The free market was set up based on the planned economy. Therefore, the tutoring institution had the freedom to set up. But the government did not provide financial support to help social forces set up private schools or educational

institutions. The demand for tutoring institutions had just started establishing. There is a lack of funding from the government. The number of tutoring institutions was few.

Table 5 *Interim Provisions on Running Schools by Social Forces*

<i>Interim Provisions on Running Schools by Social Forces (Interim Provisions on Running Schools by Social Forces, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	1987
Goal	Education must serve the socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education as the goal.
Objective(s)	To improve the quality of the nation and cultivate more talents and high-quality talents.
Method(s)	<p>1) The government would support and encourage the social forces to set up schools; the social forces contain business organizations, democratic parties, people's organizations, social groups, academic groups, and state-approved private scholars to set up schools. The schools contain supplementary tutoring institutions.</p> <p>2) The schools set up by social groups can hire schoolteachers and administrators to do part-time work, as long as their original school permits.</p> <p>3) The social groups should submit application documents to the government and obtain permission before establishing a school.</p> <p>4) Social groups that set up schools can raise funds by</p>

	<p>themselves; these schools can charge students a reasonable tuition fee but not run schools for illegal profit. The local government jointly decides to set standards.</p>
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Political setting: this policy was issued by the State Education Commission of the PRC (former Chinese MOE), in 1985 Chinese MOE was revoked and replaced by the State Education Commission. The department was new when the policy was issued. It was an inexperienced department judging from the setting years. This policy was an interim policy. They were published relatively in a rush to satisfy the regulations' needs. Furthermore, it also might reflect that the schools set up by social forces became a phenomenon since 1985's policy encouraged private school development. Moreover, encouraging social forces to set up schools is recorded in Article 19 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, which legally manifested that the government actively took the supportive policy. But still, the mainstream private schools were the main body of the private schools, tutoring institutions took few places.

According to the 1989 statistics, in more than a dozen cities such as Beijing, and Shanghai, there were more than 2,000 private schools approved by the education administrative department, with more than 3 million students in these schools(W. Liu, n.d.). But lack of detailed data about what is the proportion of tutoring institutions.

After the education renaissance, China's education goals gradually moved to gear education to the needs of modernization, the world, and the future (Chen Zhili, 1998).

Table 6 Outline of China's Educational Reform and Development

<p><i>Outline of China's Educational Reform and Development (Outline of China's</i></p>

<i>Educational Reform and Development, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	1993
Goal	Education must serve the socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education as the goal. Government must place education in a strategic position of giving priority to development and strive to raise the nation's ideological, moral, scientific, and cultural level; this was the fundamental plan for realizing the country's modernization.
Objective(s)	The reform of the educational system should be in line with the development of the reform of economic system and the political system.
Method(s)	changing the pattern of government-run schools, and gradually establishing a system with government-run schools as the main body and all sectors of society jointly running schools.

The policy was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council of the People's Republic of China. These are the supreme leading and administrative organs in China. These two organs released the policy together means that this policy took an important place.

This policy focus on mainstream education, occupation training or degree education. Shadow education in this policy did not take any sentences and still was a budding development stage.

Table 7 Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces

<p><i>Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces (Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces, n.d.)</i></p>	
Time	1997
Goal	<p>Education must serve the socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education as the goal. Government must place education in a strategic position of giving priority to development and strive to raise the nation's ideological, moral, scientific, and cultural level; this was the fundamental plan for realizing the country's modernization.</p>
Objective(s)	<p>The reform of the educational system should be in line with the development of the reform of economic system and the political system. These Regulations were formulated in order to encourage social forces to run schools, safeguard the lawful rights and interests of organizers, schools and other educational institutions, teachers and other educators, and the educated, and promoted the healthy development of social forces in running schools.</p>
Method(s)	<p>Local governments should encourage and support social forces to set up schools. Simplify application materials and reduce financial expenditure.</p>

The State Council issued the *Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces* the first administrative regulation regulating private education. The policy represented that the regulations about private schools entered a systematic

pathway. The provisions were to regulate social forces running schools, but these regulations were to build a sustainable standard. And in the policy mentioned that governments should encourage and support social forces to set up schools. Therefore, this policy belongs to the supportive policy stage. And last but not least, this policy conflicted with the law published in 2002 of the Laissez-faire Policy stage.

5.2.3 Indirect Regulating Policy

The indirect regulation policy stage did not take a long time in Chinese shadow education development history. And these policies were not directly related to shadow education but influenced shadow education development. Therefore, the content of the regulations are not displayed in this chapter.

Before 2000, the national government issued burden reduction policies, which were mainly focused on reducing the academic burden within mainstream schools, such as schools and teachers were not allowed to take the afterschool time to have extra lessons. And they were not allowed to increase the teaching content and homework load... However, the policies only forbade the mainstream schools from giving extra lessons, which provided opportunities for out-of-school supplementary tutoring to continue development. The policies aimed to reduce the learning burden, but the supplementary tutoring institutions were increasing the load, which significantly reduced the effect of the policies.

After 2000, the issued burden reduction policies reaffirmed the previous policies and tried to reform the primary school assessment system; such as in 2000, the *Emergency Notice on Reducing Excessive Burden on Primary Students* (*Emergency Notice on Reducing Excessive Burden on Primary Students*, n.d.) canceled the 100-score test way and replaced it with a 4-level grade way. And also explicitly mentioned that the entrance exam for primary to secondary

schools is abolished. But many schools still secretly hold entrance exams, and the tutoring institutions continue to be the hit supplementary learning method (*China Has Issued 9 "Burden Reduction Policies,"* n.d.). In 2004 the *Five Insisted and Five Disallowed* restated the previous policies again.

After 2000, the policies kept repeating the former policies, which means that the effect of students' study burden reduction did not reach the objects. And likewise, the *Report on the special supervision and inspection of basic education in China during 1998-1999 (Report on the Special Supervision and Inspection of Basic Education in China during 1998-1999,* n.d.) pointed out that "The work of reducing learning burden is challenging." In 1999 Chongqing province MOE surveyed the studying burden. It showed that: in addition to the homework assigned by the school, 20.3% of parents also give homework to their children, and 4.1% of parents hired tutors for their children.

5.2.4 Laissez-faire Policy

In 2002, the *Non-state Education Promotion Law(Non-State Education Promotion Law,* n.d.) was promulgated. Compare it to the first administrative regulation regulating private education issued in 1997: the *Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces (Regulations on Running Schools by Social Forces,* n.d.), when 2002's Law took effect, the 1997's restrictions were abolished. These two policies started to build the system of government and society groups to cooperate in running schools. Both mentioned that private schools could obtain financial support.

The most significant difference is that the subject in 1997's regulations is social forces (the social forces contain business organizations, democratic parties, people's organizations, social groups, academic groups, and state-approved private scholars to set up schools. The schools hold supplementary

tutoring institutions). And in 2002's law, the subject is non-state education (degree education, preschool education, vocational skills training education, and cultural and academic education), and non-state education does not directly mention supplementary institutions, according to the document, which means that there was no apparent supervision monitoring these supplementary institutions. Furthermore, many institutions choose to register as companies rather than non-state schools. This means that the supplementary institutions who registered as a company will have less monitor by the education system and have more freedom to catch profits. At the end of 2003, 10631 supplementary tutoring schools were recorded (*Private Education*, n.d.). Until 2007, the National Bureau of Statistics shows that there were 22322 non-state training institutions, and 8.84683 million students attended (*Basic Situation of All Types of Non-State Education at All Levels*, n.d.)

Chinese Laissez-faire policy is not only because of the Neoliberal Economy influence but also because of the ambiguous regulations.

Table 8 Non-state Education Promotion Law

<i>Non-state Education Promotion Law</i> ¹⁰	
Time	28/12/2002
Goal	In order to implement the strategy of rejuvenating the country through science and education.
Objective(s)	To promote the healthy development of privately-run education and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of privately-run schools and educates.

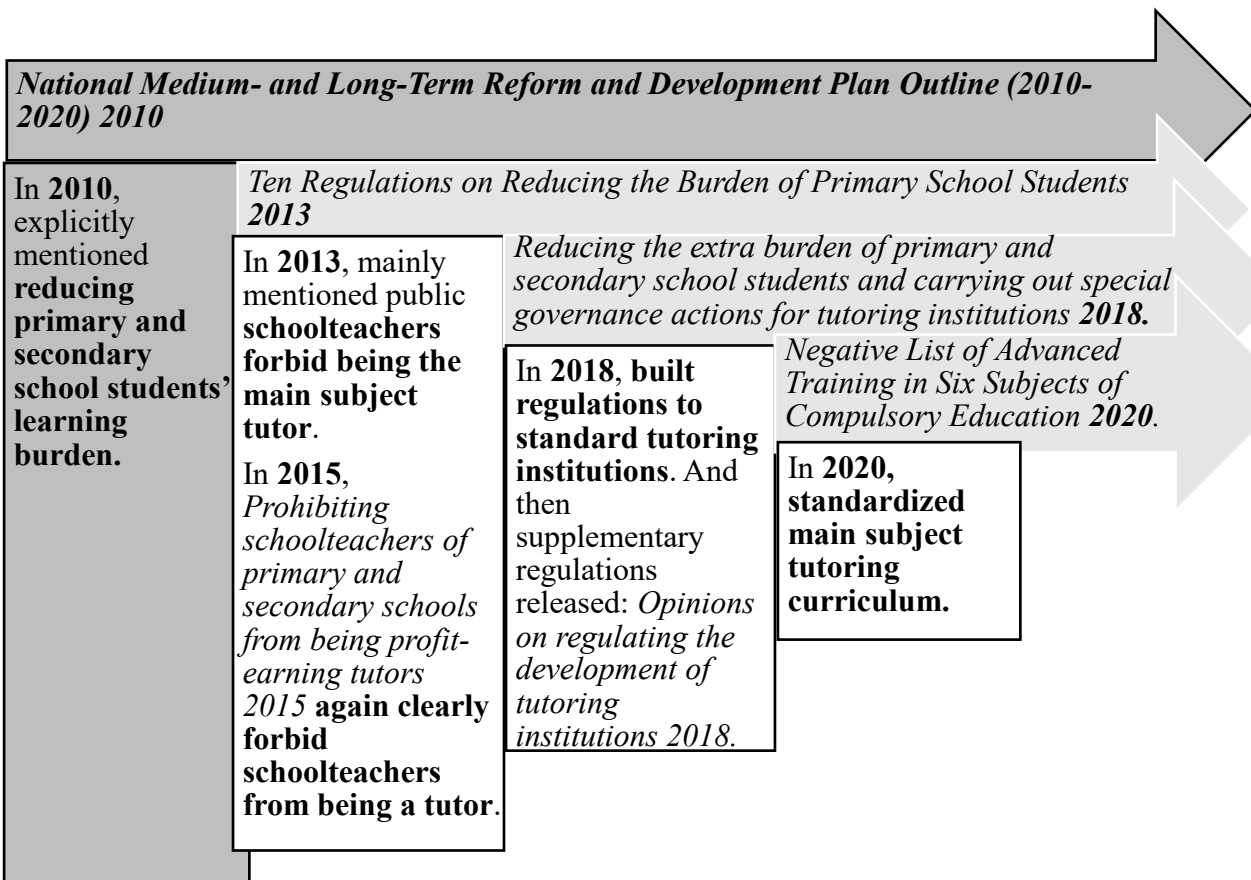
¹⁰ The policy: http://www.gov.cn/test/2005-07/28/content_17946.htm

Method(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) regulate the requirements of setting up schools by social forces. 2) Clear the responsibilities of private schools.
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5.2.5 Formal Regulating Policy

Regarding the rapid development of shadow education in China, the MOE noticed it and tried to regulate it formally. In 2012, At the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China, it was proposed that the principle of cultivating students with virtue be regarded as the fundamental education policy. The educational policy is more or less related to it. The following Figure was generalized by analyzing the policies published from (2010-2020).

Figure 4 Shadow Education Policy Timeline (2010-2020).



The *Outline of the National Medium- and Long-Term Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)* (*Outline of the National Medium- and Long-Term Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*, n.d.) is China's first medium- and long-term plan. See the methods detailed in Figure 10, this plan focuses on reducing students' study burden within schools. Under this plan, the regulations published from 2013 to 2020 aimed to reduce primary and secondary school students' study burden.

In 2013, *Ten Regulations on Reducing the Burden of Primary School Students* (*Emergency Notice on Reducing Excessive Burden on Primary Students*, n.d.; *Ten Regulations on Reducing the Burden of Primary School Students 2013*, n.d.) reiterated the policies issued in 2000. The *Emergency Notice on Reducing*

Excessive Burden on Primary Students (Emergency Notice on Reducing Excessive Burden on Primary Students, n.d.): canceled the 100-score test and replaced it with a 4-level grade way. And the MOE thought the 4-level grade was the breakthrough in reducing the learning burden (*The Implementation of the Graded System Is a Breakthrough in “Reducing Burdens,” n.d.*). The different regulations are:

1) 2013: No primary school entrance exam. 2000: No lower secondary school entrance exam. Which released the stress of preschool education and primary school education. But increased the competition in lower secondary school, because the Gao Kao (see chapter 3.1) still is a grades assessment, academic performance differences determine if the student can enter a quality university. Therefore, the study stress and burden did not decrease in secondary schools.

2) 2013: forbid supplementary lessons, and teachers are not allowed to participate in off-campus tutoring lessons. 2000’s only banned extra lessons within schools. The 2013 regulation that prohibits schoolteachers from moonlighting is totally different from the Supportive Policy Period.

In 2015, *Prohibiting schoolteachers of primary and secondary schools from being profit-earning tutors 2015 (Prohibiting Schoolteachers of Primary and Secondary Schools from Being Profit-Earning Tutors, n.d.)* again clearly forbid schoolteachers from being a tutor. This is the second time officially mentioned.

In 2018, *there was an issue to reduce the extra burden of primary and secondary school students and carry out certain governance actions for tutoring institutions and Opinions on regulating the development of tutoring institutions* were issued (*Opinions on Regulating the Development of Tutoring Institutions, n.d.; Reducing the Extra Burden of Primary and Secondary School Students and*

Carrying out Special Governance Actions for Tutoring Institutions, n.d.). These two documents can be seen as the turning points of shadow education.

The supplementary institutions should have a business license and a running school permit certificate. The two licenses requirement makes up for the 2002's law: *Non-state Education Promotion Law (Non-State Education Promotion Law*, n.d.). Let the supplementary institutions be set up by the company's name (only obtain a business license) rather than a school to resubmit the running school permit certificate.

In 2020, the *Negative List of Advanced Training in Six Subjects of Compulsory Education (Negative List of Advanced Training in Six Subjects of Compulsory Education*, n.d.) was issued to regulate the tutoring curriculum. The six main subjects in mainstream schools are Chinese; Mathematics; English; Physics; Chemistry; Biology.

Under these regulations, Chinese shadow education still maintains high activity. Before 2021, there were 70 thousand supplementary institutions, but only 21 thousand compulsory education schools, the number of shadow education is overwhelming mainstream schools. With the development of technology, online tutoring is expanding(Zhang, 2022). Moreover, The Chinese Society of Education 2016 survey indicated that 31.6% of parents are willing to pay supplementary tutoring fees for their children, no matter how much it costs. 26.6% of parents are willing to spend half an income to buy tutoring courses (*The Current Situation of Teachers in China's Shadow Education*, n.d.). From parents' attitude, shadow education fever has reached a sick level. Furthermore, the China Household Finance Survey 2017 (CHFS) data shows that students study 5.9 hours a week in supplementary institutions and 15 hours a week on holidays in the compulsory education stage. The extra study hours might let

students lose learning interest due to tired passive feelings.

In this period, before 2018, the regulations to reduce students' study burden were still within schools, in 2018, the regulations focused on tutoring institutions, and set up a series of regulations to make shadow education sustainable development. Considering the plan issued in 2010, the objectives were not achieved.

Table 9 *National Medium- and Long-Term Reform and Development Plan Outline*

<i>National Medium- and Long-Term Reform and Development Plan Outline (2010-2020) (Negative List of Advanced Training in Six Subjects of Compulsory Education, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	29/07/2010
Goal	In order to implement the strategy of rejuvenating the country through science and education. Focus on cultivating virtue education
Objective(s)	Reduce students' study burden.
Method(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Adjust the content of teaching materials and scientifically design the difficulty of courses. 2) Reform the examination and evaluation system and school assessment methods. 3) Standardize school-running behavior, and establish a system of monitoring and announcement of students' academic burden. 4) It is not allowed to rank regions and schools based

	<p>on the admission rate, and not to issue admission targets.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">5) Regulate various social tutoring institutions and teaching aid markets.6) Strengthen the construction and management of off-campus activity venues, and enrich students' extra-curricular and off-campus activities.7) Schools should implement burden reduction in all aspects of education and teaching, leaving time for students to understand the society, think deeply, practice, exercise, and entertain.8) Improve the professional quality of teachers, improve teaching methods, enhance classroom teaching effects, and reduce the amount of homework and the number of exams.9) Cultivate students' interest in learning and hobbies.10) Strictly implement the curriculum plan, and do not increase the class hours or increase the difficulty.11) The results of various grade examinations and competitions shall not be used as the basis for admission and further studies in the compulsory education stage.12) Give full play to the vital role of family education in the growth of children and adolescents.13) Parents should establish correct educational concepts, master scientific-educational methods, respect their children's healthy tastes, cultivate their
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	children's good habits, strengthen communication and cooperation with schools, and jointly reduce students' academic burden.
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Chinese MOE invested 23 million RMB in research funds in this plan. This plan was founded in 2008. It is one of the crucial plans for China's education development after continuous research, soliciting opinions from society, and modifying many times to maintain its effectiveness.

Table 10 *Reducing the extra burden of primary and secondary school students and carrying out particular governance actions for tutoring institutions.*

<i>Reducing the extra burden of primary and secondary school students and carrying out special governance actions for tutoring institutions.</i>	
<i>Opinions on regulating the development of tutoring institutions. (Opinions on Regulating the Development of Tutoring Institutions, n.d.; Reducing the Extra Burden of Primary and Secondary School Students and Carrying out Special Governance Actions for Tutoring Institutions, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	2018
Goal	In order to implement the strategy of rejuvenating the country through science and education. Focus on cultivating virtue education
Objective(s)	Reduce students' study burden.
Method(s)	1) The supplementary institutions should have a business license and a running school permit certificate. 2) The supplementary institutions need to comply

	<p>with basic safety requirements.</p> <p>3) The teaching curriculum and content, enrollment targets, and class hours should report to the local government and publish to the public.</p> <p>4) Tutoring time cannot conflict with the mainstream schooling time. The tutoring time cannot be over 20:30. And no extra homework from tutoring lessons.</p> <p>5) Prohibit the teaching content beyond the curriculum outline and teaching in advance.</p>
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These two policies were issued by The General Office of the Ministry of Education, the General Office of the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the General Office of the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security, and the General Office of the State Administration for Industry. The four departments jointly issued these two policies, and directly named tutoring institutions in the policy can be seen as the shadow education turning points.

6. Prohibitive Policy-*Double Reduction*

The prohibitive policy is the main part in the thesis, therefore, the Prohibitive policy is a separate chapter 6.

This chapter firstly compared the Chinese prohibitive policy to Korea to explore the Chinese Shadow education pathway. And then used the CIPP model analysis of the *Double Reduction* Policy. And then

As we can see from the above chapters, these policies did not make much progress in shadow education. Consequently, the *Double Reduction Policy* was published by the General Office of the Communist Party of China and the

General Office of the State Council in 2021 to intervene in the disorderly shadow education. To reduce students' homework burden by decreasing the homework load and spending time.

Directly mentioned¹¹:

Companies and institutions that teach the school curriculum must go non-profit (Which contains offline and online institutions).

All weekend, vacation, and holiday curriculum tutoring are off-limits.

6.1 Chinese and Korea Prohibitive Policy

Shadow education is a product or already an industry (Mori & Baker, 2010; Ying He, 2022), the essence is to make profits. The strict non-profit requirement takes the shadow education's foundation out directly. However, China is not the only one prohibiting private tutoring; Korea and Mauritius banned private tutoring. The results were the same; they both failed. Shadow education was deeply ingrained in society (Bray & Lykins, 2012).

China and Korea are Asian countries, and comparing their policies might investigate the Chinese shadow education pathway.

Table 11 Korean and Chinese Policies.

	Time	Aim	Results
Korea	1. 1968-1980	1. the policies aimed to equal school resources (Choi & Park, 2016; C. J. Lee et al., 2010)	1. Parents and students' educational anxiety not reduced. (C. J. Lee et al., 2010) the shadow education demands did not reduce.
	2. 1980-	2. tried to ban	2. Cannot be banned by

¹¹ http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xgk/moe_1777/moe_1778/202107/t20210724_546576.html

	2000	shadow education.	policymakers. Private tutoring partially existed (Y. C. Kim, 2010; Y.-C. Kim, 2016).
	3. After 2000	3. To reduce families' expenditure on tutoring.	3. Tutoring is Constantly increasing.
China	1. 2000-2021	1. The policies tried to establish a tutoring institution standard.	1. With over 20 tutoring companies on stock markets(Feng, 2021), increase in full-time private tutors.
	2. 2021-currently	2. To prohibit private institutions and help students' overall development.	2. The supplementary institutions decreased by 83%, and the rest 17%, transferred to non-profit institutions(Bingqi, 2022) Home private tutors are increasing secretly. (Fu & Guo, n.d.; Yuanyuan & Huichun, 2021)

As we can see, shadow education in Korea could not be fully and immediately eradicated. Especially when the grades are still dominant in each education stage, mainstream education cannot meet parents' and students' needs. After 2000, shadow education in Korea thrived and became prosperous again. The shadow education fever in China seems not to increase constantly compared to the Korean policies results. Chinese *Double Reduction* seems more practical and systematic than Korean.

Firstly, from the policy's perspective. Korea abolished the middle school (ISCED 2) entrance examination in 1968 before formally banning shadow education but left the high school (ISCED 3) entrance examination unchanged.

Therefore, the competition for entering high schools increased, and the demand for middle-school shadow education increased as followed. Over 70% of middle school students participated in shadow education in 1973. Five years later, MOE abolished high school entrance exams, the shadow education demand transformed to the high-school level (C. J. Lee et al., 2010). Although the Korean MOE attempted to control the root cause of shadow education: changing the education assessments, it did not cover the entire education system reform.

China attempted to establish institutions' standards before officially banning shadow education. Since 2018, the Chinese MOE has increased its focus on shadow education by building criteria of shadow education institutions, such as needs satisfy: safety issues, school license and business license, tutoring curriculum, and not being able to work with mainstream schools. (J. Liu, 2018). After three years, the MOE closed down shadow education too quickly after all the policies appeared to promote the sustainable development of shadow education. Additionally, this is also an important reason why the *Double Reduction* is effective since all institutions are recorded in the MOE system. In other words, the clampdown has had the effect of explicitly targeting these institutions. Based on Korean experience, China prohibited shadow education while improving school education quality (Zhou & Yu Fei, 2022). The MOE provides Digital learning resources (Qingchao et al., 2022); Mainstream schools offer after-school activities, help underachieving students improve academic performance, or provide homework help. And about 85% of students participated (Fu & Guo, n.d.). On 21.04.2022, MOE issued the regulations about *Revisions to compulsory education curriculum standards (Introduce the Revision of the Compulsory Education Curriculum Plan and Curriculum Standards, n.d.)* to consolidate *Double Reduction*. All these policies, Korean MOE, issued similar, but these were published after the shadow education

comeback. Not on time and in time.

Second, from the timing's perspective. When Korean MOE banned shadow education, no severe public event happened. The *Double Reduction* was published in 2021, during the Covid pandemic. In 2020, the Chinese MOE issued a notice to stop all the offline supplementary institutions. The mainstream education was converted to online (*Notice of Postponement of the Start of the Spring 2020 Semester*, n.d.). About 270 million school students in China study online, and the online supplementary institutions became highly active. This is the time to let Chinese students and parents get used to online learning and avoid offline shadow education. So that after *Double Reduction*, students and parents might be more willing to attempt the online courses provided by MOE.

However, home private tutoring is increasing secretly in China (Fu & Guo, n.d.; Yuanyuan & Huichun, 2021). And there are still 17% non-profit main subject tutoring institutions existing (Bingqi, 2022). And some transformed institutions are still teaching the main subject content but using “art lesson” as a cover. Moreover, the exam-oriented assessment method still is the primary method. The demands for shadow education are still there.

The *Double Reduction* aspired to (*Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Tutoring on Students in the Compulsory Education Stage*, n.d.):

Students' heavy homework and supplementary tutoring burden were effectively reduced within one year, family education expenditure and parents' corresponding energy burden decreased significantly within three years, and people's satisfaction with education significantly increased.

The aspiration of reducing students learning burden within one year is

closing the aim in terms of the report issued by MOE on 25.02.2022. Over 90 % of students indicated that the learning burden was reduced.

The policies are the authoritative embodiment of national values(Chitty et al., 1991). In general, the development of the shadow education policy showed supportive, laissez-faire, regulating, and forbidden policies. These policies more or less reflect the national values, from respecting teachers and valuing education to cultivating talents to nowadays moral education from increasing school numbers to increasing school quality. The new policies are constantly adjusted with the implementation effect of former policies. The ultimate goal of all educational policies is to promote educational development.

The next chapter will introduce the CIPP model, which will be used to analyze the *Double Reduction* policy.

6.2 CIPP Model of Policy Evaluation

The CIPP model was developed by an American scholar Daniel Leroy Stufflebeam. The CIPP model mainly contains four processes: Context Evaluation; Input Evaluation; Product Evaluation; Process Evaluation (Stufflebeam, 2000). According to the main features of the CIPP evaluation model, which is a decision-making-oriented evaluation model; it can attach importance to the improved function of evaluation; Furthermore, it is a model that completely combines diagnostic evaluation, formative evaluation, and final evaluation.

This model is employed as the evaluation method in the education field. It can be used to evaluate curriculum, education research and development, and education reliability of the government (Lee et al., 2019).

Therefore, this thesis employed the CIPP model to analyze the *Double*

Reduction policy from the Context, Input, Process and product aspects all-around to evaluate the policy.

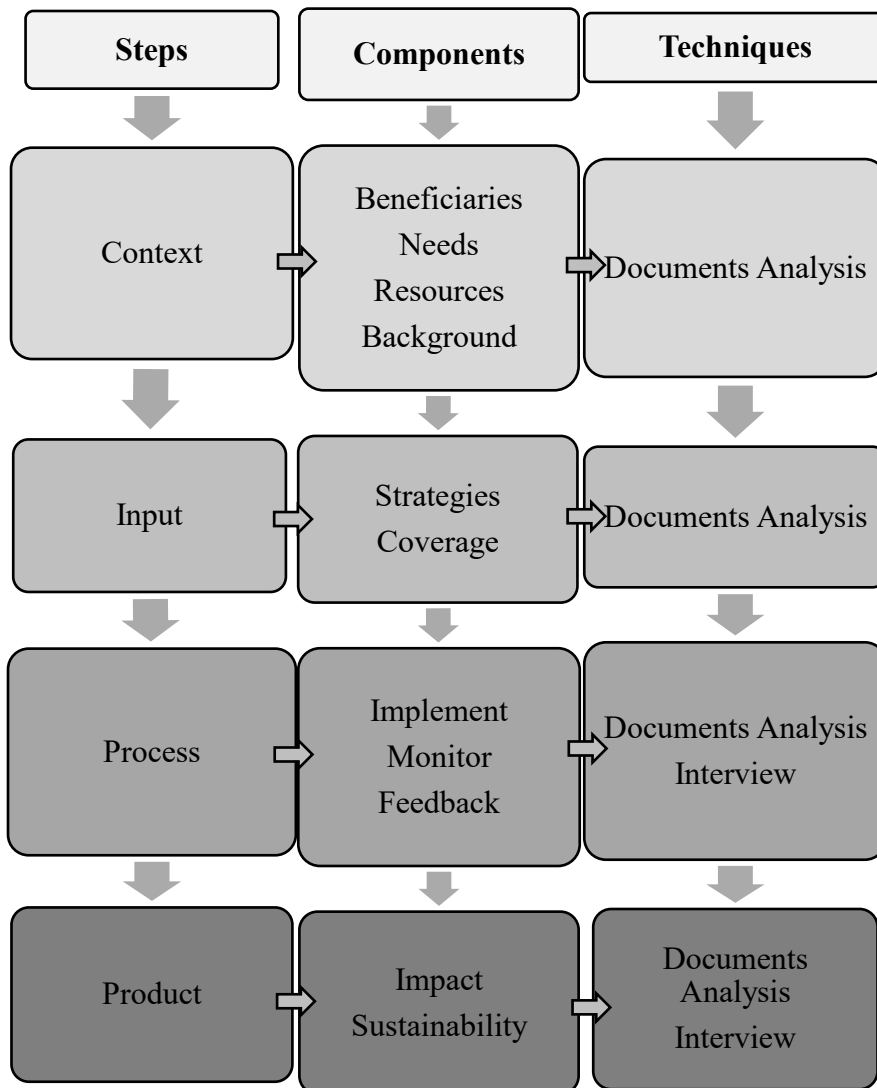
The context evaluation aims to analyze the educational environment and clarify educational needs. It is an evaluation of the environmental impact of education. And context evaluation is the evaluation and judgment of the rationality of the program objectives, which is an evaluation of the goals themselves, which serves the planning decisions.

Input evaluation is the evaluation of the resources, conditions, etc. required to achieve the goal and the evaluation of whether the policy plan is feasible.

Process evaluation mainly examines the actions and performances of the subject in the policy-related groups/ sectors/stakeholders. Process evaluation is the supervision and inspection of the implementation of the policy, and the purpose is to adjust and improve the implementation process. This thesis will focus on the performances of shadow education providers.

The product is the evaluation of the results, effectiveness, and impact of the implementation of the policy.

Figure 4 The CIPP Model in This Thesis



6.2.1 Context-goals

This part will evaluate the policy from the context and content. The policy detail sees Figure 5.

6.2.1.1 Expected Beneficiaries

The *Double Reduction* policy explicitly mentioned that to reduce students' study burden and parents' educational anxiety. The students and parents would be the direct beneficiaries of this policy.

The policy said:

Schools should ensure that there is no written homework assignment in the first and second grades of primary school, and consolidation exercises can be arranged appropriately only in the school;

The average completion time for written assignments in grades 3 to 6 in primary schools is not more than 60 minutes. The average completion time for written assignments in secondary schools is less than 90 minutes.

According to the policy, the students spend less time on homework and no academic tutoring institutions continue to tutor students after school. The students have more time and energy to cultivate other hobbies, such as doing exercise; reading; participating in social practice. Moreover, their sleeping time increased as well.

The policy banned benefit-seeking tutoring that most parents do not have the opportunity to purchase shadow education. From the financial saving perspective, the parents saved money.

However, from the content, the profit-seeking institution is totally banned. Which negated the shadow education can make the supplement. Some students do need extra lessons to follow up on the school's process, how to benefit these students? The policy content omitted this point.

6.2.1.2 Needs

To achieve the goal and objectives of the policy, the content mentioned that schools, parents, teachers, communities, governments are required to cooperate together. Schools and teachers improve teaching quality, parents and communities take responsibility for guiding students' overall development and collaborating with schools. The national Government and local governments are the monitor and supporters. Only the shadow education sectors, in addition to

being required to transform academic tutoring to art tutoring in policy, is in a passive role.

It is thoughtful to cooperate with schools, teachers, parents, communities and governments to improve the achievement of policy objectives. But they do not include institutional collaboration. After restructuring the tutoring institution, in addition to ensuring the effectiveness of the policy through government supervision and society reporting, it is also necessary to help the institution transform, help with funds and technical, which will be more helpful to the realization of policy objectives.

The cooperation detail from the policy document: (*Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Tutoring on Students in the Compulsory Education Stage*, n.d.):

Primary and secondary schools: school's quality should be improved. Schools provide after-school services and online learning resources.

Teachers: Improve classroom efficiency and arrange homework assignments reasonably and efficiently, such as according to students' development needs to assign homework.

Parents: should guide students to complete homework, engage in housework within their ability, and carry out hobbies such as physical exercise, reading, etc.

Communities: support parents and government work.

6.2.1.3 Resources

This policy was published by the General Office of the Communist Party of China and the General Office of the State Council. The two essential organs in China. And Department of Supervision of Tutoring is the new department; Department of Supervision of Tutoring to monitor the *Double Reduction*

implementation and tutoring institutions. The political resources are guaranteed.

The government provides an online learning platform¹², there cover all subjects in elementary, lower and higher secondary schools. At the same time, it also provides learning resources such as physical education, aesthetic education, labor education, after-school services, etc.

There are also many resources for schoolteachers, such as properly assigning homework after the *Double Reduction*. Family education courses are also provided for parents.

The online resource quality for students is high but it is not a real-time lesson, for some students with questions they cannot answer them directly. The online resource cannot totally replace tutors.

6.2.1.4 Background

From the shadow education policy development history (2010-2020), the Chinese MOE tried to reduce students' study and homework burden, but did not receive the expected results. Moreover, on 05/11/2020 Chinese government aimed to build a powerful nation of education by 2035. Improving the education quality and equality are two of the standards. Based on these backgrounds, the *Double Reduction* is with high hope.

In the *Double Reduction* Analysis Report¹³ mentioned that in the process of drafting the *Double Reduction*, the drafting research team successively went to Beijing, Shanghai and other places to conduct field research. Invited school principals, teachers, parents, experts, and representatives of tutoring institutions to clarify the basic situation, and promptly addressed the issue of reducing students' study burden since the 1990s. An extensive data analysis was

¹² The platform website: <https://www.zxx.edu.cn/>

¹³ The report from: http://www.moe.gov.cn/jyb_xwfb/s271/202107/t20210724_546567.html

conducted on 18,600 training institutions, 680,000 students, and 740,000 parents in 100 districts and counties in 10 provinces to study the current problem. Which can see that the policy had an authentic research survey, and the samples are large and entirety.

Considering the social environment, the policy published during the covid pandemic, like what was analyzed in chapter 6.1, the public social event more or less helped the policy implementation.

The long-term problem the policy wants to solve is to maintain education equality and improve the birth rate.

Although, China is an overpopulated country, but the population aging and the declining fertility rate is the significant social issue now. The *U.N. World Population Prospects 2019* assumed that China's total fertility rate is expected to be between 1.70 and 1.77 from 2020-2100, but in 2020 China's fertility rate is 1.3. Many reasons cause the lower fertility rate. The high cost of education is one of the reasons. China's average cost of raising children aged 0-17 is about 485,000 RMB. The cost of raising children in China is equivalent to 6.9 times GDP per capita. The educational anxiety also reduces the happiness in raising Children.

Therefore, banning academic tutoring institutions from reducing the education cost is a way to settle the low fertility rate issue.

6.2.2 Input-plans

6.2.2.1 Strategies

From the official report, the strategies of the *Double Reduction* are four parts.

First, ban shadow education at the source by fully playing the role of the

mainstream school, improving the teaching quality, and homework management skills, and providing after-school services to reduce the shadow education demand.

However, the root of the Chinese shadow education should be the high-stakes testing, the core is still rooted in Chinese education and does not change at all. The argument of governance at the source is not reasonable.

The second is systematic governance strategy. Not only focusing on two aspects of homework and tutoring institution, but also on strengthening after-school services, reducing the pressure of examinations, improving the quality of the evaluation, creating a good ecology and other aspects.

However, the report said so: pay attention to many aspects, according to the *Double Reduction* regulations, there are mainly seven chapters, three of them regulate within the school, and three cooperate with the society and departments to monitor the policy implementation. Only one is to strictly regulate tutoring institutions, no support to help them transform academic tutoring into art tutoring, and no guidelines to guide them on how to run the art institutions. To put it simply, there is only strike without guidance, and it cannot be said that it is a systematic governance strategy.

Third, establish a special coordination mechanism for *Double Reduction*. Cooperate with schools, society and family to form a three-in-one education pattern.

But there are a lot of tutors who lost their jobs, the institutions are broken, and the strategy to obtain strong social support is not easy. And the parents still have educational anxiety(Zhang, 2022). This pattern is not comprehensive.

Fourthly, it is governed by law. Sincerely implement the *Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China*, *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Minors* and other legal spirits, within the

framework of the law to clarify the policies. And the government is planning to issue the *Double Reduction* law. This strategy is taken seriously.

6.2.2.2 Coverage

This policy is to reduce primary and lower secondary school students' study and homework burden, so that the coverage is compulsory school students. But the policy regulated that:

All localities must also make overall plans for the governance of tutoring institutions for preschool children aged 3 to 6 and higher secondary school students, and must not carry out online training for preschool children, and strictly prohibit offline discipline (including foreign language) tutoring for preschool children. The government will no longer approve new tutoring institutions for preschool children and subject-based tutoring institutions. For the management of subject-based training institutions for ordinary higher secondary school students, refer to the relevant provisions of this policy.

This paragraph is the only one in this policy that mentioned other schooling stages. But not in detail, and all the homework assignment regulations and after-school services regulations are used by compulsory education to limit the schooling stages.

The online and offline tutoring institutions are banned together. But the private tutors do not mention how to monitor it.

This policy is countrywide, but nine pilot cities are clearly listed (Beijing, Shanghai, Shenyang, Guangzhou, Chengdu, Zhengzhou, Changzhi, Weihai, and Nantong) to carry out the pilot regulations. These pilots are not new policy content, and the specific content is implemented according to the local government. Still, three aspects are emphasized: Resolutely reduce discipline-based tutoring institutions, use the education resources from inside and outside

the school, and strengthen the supervision of tutoring fees. The Chinese education system is large and complicated, the different provinces have various developments, adjust measures to local conditions is the strategy to cope with this problem. This coverage is reasonable.

6.2.3 Process-actions

This chapter will analyze the *Double Reduction* Policy according to the official document and reports, mainly issued by Chengdu Sichuan local MOE (one of the pilot cities). Four interviews will be the supplementary information to analyze the policy process. And the details about the interviews, see chapter 2.

6.2.3.1 Related Implement-Time Documents from Official Websites.

On 24/07/2021, the policy was officially issued and implemented. It is a top-down implementation model. The National MOE has issued outline policies, and local MOEs have formulated detailed regulations according to local conditions, and then implemented them in tutoring institutions.

From the Chengdu Sichuan local MOE official website, from mid-July 2021, all districts (cities) and counties in Chengdu are not allowed to approve new academic tutoring institutions for students in the compulsory education stage. And from August the local government starts to monitor and regulate the tutoring institutions. On 28/09/2021 the detailed regulations were published. The local policy was published quickly.

6.2.3.2 Interview (Implement time)

From the Interview, the seven interviewees knew about the policy around August. And one institution had a meeting to read the policy. Some sentences were picked from the interviews.

“Starting from last year’s September (09/2021) Double Reduction was implemented, many institutions have emerged some problems” (Interviewee 1)

“The Double Reduction policy was issued in July last year. In the Internet era, I know it through public accounts (Wechat, a Chinese social application) and social platforms. The institution had a meeting to interpret this policy.” (Interviewee 2)

“I noticed the policy from news and Weibo (a Chinese application), and the institution mentioned the policy in the meeting but not discussed it” (Interviewee 3)

“I cannot recall the exact time, but around October I think, because the salary decreased since then.” (Interviewee 4)

“In July, the news was on a loop.” (Interviewee 5)

“Around July, I knew that through Wechat (a Chinese application), there were some teachers from large institutions who posted” (Interviewee 6)

6.2.3.3 Related Implement-Monitor Documents from Official Websites.

In 2018, two policies (see chapter 5.2.5) regulated that the institutions have to have education and business licenses. There were 11457 supplementary institutions in Sichuan province in 2021 (Norms, n.d.). In Chengdu, all registered academic tutoring institutions automatically transferred to non-profit tutoring institutions (*Chengdu’s “Double Reduction” Plan*, n.d.)

In 2020, before *Double Reduction* was published, Chengdu had launched an 8-month particular rectification action for tutoring institutions, had shut down

783 "black" institutions (without education and business licenses), and had supervised and regulated 1,007 unlicensed institutions to obtain education licenses. The proportion of academic tutoring institutions in Chengdu had declined, the proportion of art and sports institutions had increased, and institutions had engaged in arts, sports, labor education and other types of training accounted for 52% of all training institutions, an increase of 15% over 2019.

When the *Double Reduction* was implemented, Chengdu MOE consolidated the results of 2020's special rectification actions with market supervision, public security and other departments, and communities. The working group will investigate and visit the tutoring institutions secretly and directly. (*Chengdu's "Double Reduction" Measures*, n.d.)

The implement and monitor process seems effective and all around.

6.2.3.4 Related Implement-Afterschool Services Documents from Official Websites.

As a pilot city, many new regulations are implementing. One of the districts in Chengdu provides a "1+2+N" afterschool curriculum system(*Double Reduction Cases in Sichuan*, n.d.).

"1" is the primary curriculum, implemented in the form of homework guidance, individual tutoring, self-study Q&A, comprehensive reading, etc.;

"2" refers to physical education and art courses, which help each student master one or two sports skills and artistic specialties, and there are 727 courses in ball, dance, painting, calligraphy, instrumental music and other courses in the district;

"N" is a special course of quality education such as science and technology, humanities, labor, and international understanding, including 355 categories of

3D printing, fun programming, robotics, traditional Chinese studies, and swordsmanship.

These after-school services make up for the role of tutoring institutions in helping parents take care of their children before they get off work. But meanwhile, increased the schoolteachers working load, there are 75% of students choose schoolteacher after-services, and only 25% choose social resource services. To improve policy effectiveness, the “2” and “N” should cooperate with tutoring institutions.

6.2.3.5 Interview About Monitor, Academic Lessons, Curfew and afterschool services

Monitor:

In interviews, the six interviewees pointed out that they had not met the inspection yet. And the interviewee 6 mentioned that private tutor is not easy to be monitored.

Academic Lessons and curfew:

Generally speaking, five institutions and one private tutor are still tutoring academic lessons. And the curfew does not work for them. But some schoolteachers cooperate with the government to publicize the *Double Reduction* policy. Some parents and students from the institution (2) followed schoolteachers’ suggestions, but some students from the institution (1,3) still want to take tutoring lessons. Small size or 1v1 classes are still the popular modes after *Double Reduction*.

Institution (1,3) was the academic tutoring institution and now transformed to teach arts and Robot. The Robot course is a partnership with the school, the two tutors visit the school twice a week to provide after-school activities for first- and second-grade students. This institution (1,3) still has some

supplementary academic courses (after the *Double Reduction* was issued). And the owner planned to start new main subject tutoring classes.

The institution (2) only has academic courses. She has 70 students, teaching five classes, and each class has about 15 students. Off-line tutoring. The latest class is at 9 pm.

The institution (4) is still teaching academic courses.

The institution (5) Transformed into an arts institution.

The institution (7) is still teaching academic courses.

The private tutor 6, still tutors secondary students in English, she has about 18 students. She uses Zhong Kao (Higher secondary school entrance exam) and Gao Kao's (University entrance exam) exam content as tutoring curriculum. She is teaching online on Classin (a software, that can build a virtual classroom and form their own class without registering with a real name). The latest class is from 8 pm-10 pm.

The private tutor 6 after the *Double Reduction*, she interviewed an institution that transformed into art education, and their courses continued to tutor main subjects in the name of art. They have their own teaching materials and textbook, and the content of the teaching textbook was studied by the institution itself.

Afterschool Services:

According to the six interviewees' answers, there are six tutors who think the schools cooperating with institutions to provide after-school services is a new pathway. Because the schoolteachers are providing after-school services, they have a lot of duties. Institution (1,3) provided afterschool services (Robot lessons) but failed because of the lack of funds. (They only cooperated with one school.)

The sentences selected from the interviews:

“This institution (1,3) has partnered with school C, I taught Lego robots for first and second-grade students, it was about hand-built blocks. There were still a lot of students who signed up for the robot course in school C, about sixty students.” (Interviewee 1)

“But within the institution (1,3), there were academic tutoring courses but there were fewer students, because this institution is huge, with two floors, and many classrooms.” (Interviewee 1)

“But the owner called me to ask if I would like to teach math because they seemed to have some students who wanted to take academic courses, arranged on Thursday and Friday nights, but they could not find the teacher.” (Interviewee 1)

“Where there is demand, there is a market. Parents and students still need main subject tutoring, the afterschool services hard to take the main part in institutions.” (Interviewee 2)

“I teach fifth and sixth-grade students English and Math.” “I have 70 students and teach five classes.” “The latest class ends at 9 pm on Friday” (Interviewee 2)

“The teachers in the school will also preach to students that they should not take tutoring classes, so parents still have more respect for the opinions of school teachers.” “I also met some students who were obviously very good in the institution, but because the school teacher asked them did not attend tutoring institution courses, so they did not come.” (Interviewee 2)

“I mainly teach first-graders, teaching Lego robots.” “There were about thirty students in the class I taught.” “Every Thursday afternoon, after school, it is usually from 5:50 to 7:20 pm, an hour and a half” (Interview 3)

*“I have about 18 students, both in lower and higher secondary schools.”
“I’m now sneaking classes, go online, with Classins.” “My last class is from 8 to 10 p.m., about 7 to 10 times a week” “You can set up your own class, and there can be sixty students in a class. Everyone can apply, no real-name registration is required.” (Interviewee 6)*

“I went to apply for an institution, XXX, they responded quickly after Double Reduction, it is estimated that they have prepared early, they have their own teaching materials and textbook, the course names are in line with the standard, such as the English I applied for, the name is multicultural sharing” (Interviewee 6)

“After-school services will be the trend for students to complete assignments as much as possible in school, or during after-school services, the school can carry out moral education; Not only to reduce the burden on students, but also to achieve people-oriented quality education.” (Interviewee 7)

6.2.3.6 Related Implement-Advertisement and Tuition Fee Documents from Official Websites.

The *Double Reduction* bans tutoring institutions advertisements published and broadcast by mainstream media, new media, various billboards in public places, residential areas, and online platforms. The *Double Reduction* eliminate the commercial advertising activities in primary and secondary schools and kindergartens.

Strictly investigate and deal with all kinds of illegal advertising for tutoring institutions that exaggerate the effectiveness of training, misleads the public's concept of education, and creates parents' anxiety in accordance with laws and regulations. Since September 2021, more than 800 tutoring institutions have

been monitored and 36 problems have been found, mainly focusing on one-time fees for more than three months (or 60 lessons), and illegal advertising. (*Double Reduction Cases in Sichuan*, n.d.)

6.2.3.7 Interview About Advertisement and Tuition Fee.

Handing out leaflets at school main gates was the most common method of publicity before *Double Reduction*, but after *Double Reduction*, these interviewees said there was no such publicity. Advertisement will only be made on the personal social application. The recommendation is the source of students for a private tutor. These kinds of advertising are challenging to regulate unless someone reports them.

The private tutor 6 mentioned tuition fee, pay the course fee every two weeks. This is a way to reduce the risk of tuition fees for private tutors and students. Moreover, the price is set by herself and there is no institutional commission, the income is higher than in the institution.

Two interviewees (1,3) came from the same institution (1,3), they conducted offline advertising in mainstream schools. And charged 16 times the tuition fee for Robot lessons (four months). Interviewee 2 provide the advertisement poster (see appendix). Interviewee 4 posted an advertisement via Wechat (a Chinese social application), And the interviewee provided the advertisement detail (see appendix). Interviewee 5 indicated that they did not in charge of enrollment.

According to the three advertisements, one directly mentioned the main subjects of Chinese, Math, and English. Another one only said: Summer vacation enrollment starts. And the effect of tutoring is mentioned: fast improvement, high efficiency, and suitable method, but the price of specific subjects was not shown. The “Fast, high efficiency” exaggerated effect is not

allowed in tutoring advertisements. The third advertisement used Chinese homophonic to avoid sensitive words. (used “elementary students come on” to refer “elementary students are at home”)

“Per student around 1000RMB, 16 times.” (Interviewee 1)

“Once a week, a student 1068 yuan, a total of 16 times.” (Interviewee 3)

“We have advertisements, but the student source is very fixed, almost all of them are students of XXXX Elementary School” (Interviewee 2)

“We use WeChat to advertise because we have a lot of Parents’ friends on WeChat” (Interviewee 4)

“I’m not in charge of enrollments, so I don’t know much about the fees” (Interviewee 5)

“I didn’t advertise, some of them were my former institution’ students, they want to continue the study, and some of them were friends of my mother, and friends recommended friends like this” (Interviewee 6)

“Because there is no institutional commission, the income is higher than that in the institution, about an hour and a half per lesson, and the fee is 240-260RMB (around 845-916kc).” “The price is set by myself.” “Generally, half a month’s course fee is charged at a time.” (Interviewee 6)

“The charging standard is different according to the grades, and there will be a price increase every year, which should be at 250RMB+ per hour (because the price list is not accessible for tutors, the price is roughly known from the student chat” (Interviewee 7)

In summary, the *Double Reduction* policy does not implement totally in these interviewees' institutions. The academic courses still exist, the tuition fees have been charged in excess of the prescribed maximum of three months, and the 8:30 curfew has not been implemented. But it reduced the academic tutoring classes and less students participate into academic tutoring. And the advertisement method is more secretive.

6.2.4 Product-outcomes

This chapter will analyze the *Double Reduction* Policy's outcome according to the official document and reports, mainly issued by Chengdu Sichuan local MOE (one of the pilot cities). Four interviews will be the supplementary information to analyze the current impacts on shadow education providers of the *Double Reduction*. And the details about the interviews, see chapter 2.

6.2.4.1 Impact

According to the Interviews, all institution tutors mentioned the students are becoming less than before. The salary is less than before. And interviewee 1 said the institution lacks funding, and interviewee 3 mentioned the institution's management is disorderly. But the private tutor 6, does not influence by the policy. The income is higher than an institution, the timetable is flexible.

Some sentences were selected from the interview.

"I lost about ten students" (Interviewee 2)

"The boss said that he really cannot maintain this status, the state of income cannot make ends meet" (Interviewee 1)

"The management is very chaotic, and there are no written regulations for work

review.” (Interviewee 3)

“I’m tired, the salary is less than before” (Interviewee 4)

“Now the time is more flexible, I can cancel it when I’m not feeling well, and also no one to deduct my salary.”

6.2.4.2 Sustainability

After the policy was published, incorporating *Double Reduction* into law is the next step. And the government introduced many new policies to consolidate nowadays outcomes, such as

on 29/07/2021, *Notice on further clarifying the scope of the subject and non-subject categories of tutoring institutions in the compulsory education stage*¹⁴.

On 11/08/2021, The Office of the Education Steering Committee of the State Council required the local MOE to establish a semi-monthly reporting system to implement the *Double Reduction*.

On 28/06/2022, Sichuan MOE issued the new policy *Sichuan Province deepens the implementation plan for the comprehensive reform of Gao Kao*¹⁵, which mentioned that there are no arts and science areas, but Chinese, Math, and English are the compulsory subjects. Still, students can decide to exam three subjects from Political, History, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, and Physical. This is a way to reduce the pressure, but Gao Kao is still a high-stakes exam, and academic performance is the only assessment way. According to the report, parents’ educational anxiety was not released that much: 91.2% of parents hope that their children will have a bachelor's degree or above in the future, and 32.6%

¹⁴ http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A29/202107/t20210730_547807.html

¹⁵ Website:

<http://edu.sc.gov.cn/scedu/jyt2022/2022/6/28/13cf32efb5944059a29016ae780e0c2c.shtml>

of parents often feel anxious about sending their children to good-quality schools. Parents' educational anxiety still maintains a high level.

Interview

There are two interviewees mentioned that the demand for tutoring still exists. And the Interviewee 2 planned to quit the job and set up her own academic institution (black market). Other interviewees have already left the job or are planning to quit. When they talk about their career, being a schoolteacher is mentioned often.

“The policy implementation requires a process, and there are always people doing this (academic tutoring), just in a different name.” “There is demand, there is the market” (Interviewee 2)

“I agree with the saying that there will be a market if there is demand, and Chinese parents still attach great importance to education” (Interviewee 4)

“I want to continue my study now. I do not want to work.” (Interviewee 5)

“I will see if I can enter a school to teach math.” (Interviewee 1)

“I am preparing for the public recruitment exam” (Interviewee 3)

Table 11 Double Reduction

<i>Double Reduction (Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Tutoring on Students in the Compulsory Education Stage, n.d.)</i>	
Published Time	24/07/2021
Goal	Focus on cultivating virtue education.

Objective(s)	<p>Reduce students study burden and homework load burden.</p> <p>Improve school teaching quality and service level.</p> <p>Reduce parents' education anxiety.</p>
Method(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Reduce the total amount and duration of homework by specifying the homework completed time and improve the assigned way. 2) ban tutoring institutions from tutoring students' main subjects (Politics, Geography, History, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Foreign Languages, Chinese, Mathematics) on holidays, only non-profit tutoring is allowed, and no later than 8:30 p.m. 3) enhance the quality of mainstream schools by improving effective teaching and learning; Mainstream schools provide after-school tutoring services within schools. 4) cooperate with parents or guardians to reduce their educational anxiety.

7. Conclusion

According to the above policy analyzed. Although some academic tutoring institutions might still exist, the academic tutoring is decreasing, this indicated that the policy is effective.

1) What are the Chinese Shadow Education features before *Double Reduction*?

The tutoring institutions number overwhelming mainstream schools. There were 49 thousand tutoring institutions and only 21 thousand compulsory schools in 2021.

The types and modes of Chinese shadow education were various. There were six types of tutoring scales: Workshop; Small Center; Medium-sized enterprise; Province-wide big company; Nationwide company; Online tutoring company. Seven types of tutoring supporters: teachers are tutoring their own pupils; teachers tutoring other teachers' pupils; students (secondary and/or university); Professionals, retirees, homemakers, and supplementary companies (Zhang, 2019) (Bray, 2009).

The small class size is more popular for both students and shadow education providers; The lowest participation rate of shadow education in compulsory education schools is around 40%, in Chongqing. Large supplementary institutions are located throughout China, but the distribution in rural and urban is not on balance. Chinese urban tutoring rate is higher than rural.

2) What is the driving force behind shadow education in China?

According to the driving forces of the shadow education chapter, the high-stakes exam, the competition, and the educational anxiety are still rooted in parents' hearts.

3) What are the main content and features of the Chinese Shadow Education Policy?

There are five types of Chinese shadow education policy, supportive policy, indirect regulating policy, Laissez-faire policy, formal regulating policy, and prohibitive policy.

Chinese supportive policy was issued to remedy the damage caused to schools by the Cultural Revolution, in order to increase the number of schools and create an educational atmosphere in society. Therefore, Chinese supportive policies were mainly focused on support for mainstream education schools, and shadow education only accounts for a small part. Zhang's study points to a similar result: during the supportive policy stage, the Chinese shadow education scale was modest (Zhang, 2022). Unlike American MOE provided financial vouchers, Korea offered financial support for low-income families (Bray, 2009). Chinese supportive policy mainly encouraged social forces to set up schools by reducing and simplifying the application process.

The indirect regulating policy stage was short and not directly related to shadow education but influenced shadow education development. During this stage, the policies were mainly on reducing students' study and homework burden by regulating mainstream education's teaching quality and homework load. The policies aimed to reduce the learning burden within the school. Still, the supplementary tutoring institutions were increasing the load after school, which significantly reduced the effect of the reducing students' burden policies.

Laissez-faire policy, during this stage, the policies and laws blurred the definition of shadow education institutions. Whether it was an educational institution or an enterprise, there was no explicit content in these regulations.

The formal regulating policy aimed to reduce students' study and homework burden by banning schoolteachers from being a tutor and regulating tutoring institutions. The two policies (*Reducing the extra burden of primary and secondary school students and carrying out particular governance actions for tutoring institutions* and *Opinions on regulating the development of tutoring institutions*) issued in 2018 were the turning point in Chinese shadow education

policy history. These two policies held that the institutions must have educational licenses and business licenses, and regulated the safety requirements, advertising, and curriculum requirements.

Prohibitive policy stage, the critical policy is *Double Reduction*, which aims to reduce students' study and homework burden by improving school teaching quality, homework assignment skills and banning academic tutoring in institutions. The *Double Reduction* policy effective compared with 1980's South Korea's ban on shadow education policy is relatively better. However, there are still many problems, and the following question 4) would be displayed the issues.

4) What are the implications of the *Double Reduction* from a Policy Analysis perspective?

The policy is effective in prohibitive the exaggerations of the effect of tutoring and advertising in schools. And according to the interviews, the number of academic tutoring classes declined. But the academic tutoring still exists, the 8:30 curfew has not been enforced in the interviews' institutions, and there are also cases of charging tuition fees for more than three months.

The main reason why parents and students need shadow education is not changed, the high-stakes exam Gao Kao still is here. According to the Game Theory. If one student still participates in tutoring, the competitors do not want to be left behind, and they join in tutoring. Then it spreads out again, but the academic tutoring institutions are not "here" anymore, the black market and private tutors are the new crisis for meeting the demands. And this time will be hard to monitor because it might be the underground market, no licenses, did not register in the system, and the MOE cannot track and watch them. And even if the government abolished the *Double Reduction*, these underground institutions

might not be willing to register in the system according to the 2018 two documents and *Double Reduction* policy experience. The new crisis will exacerbate the inequality in education. Zhang's research shared a similar result: monitoring the black-market institutions becomes more complicated than usual (Zhang, 2022).

The results in the official reports are optimistic, and the *Double Reduction* policy is more systematic and comprehensive than South Korea's experience. But there is no qualitative change in the entire examination system, whether the current status can be sustained, which requires the government to provide practical help for the transformed institutions and keep them profitable. Learning from South Korea's and Mauritius experience in the development of shadow education policies, the mixed policy stage might be the Chinese shadow education policy's next step if the *Double Reduction* still does not update the regulations to reform the high-stakes exam system.

The current situation of Chinese shadow education will be as follows in Figure 5.

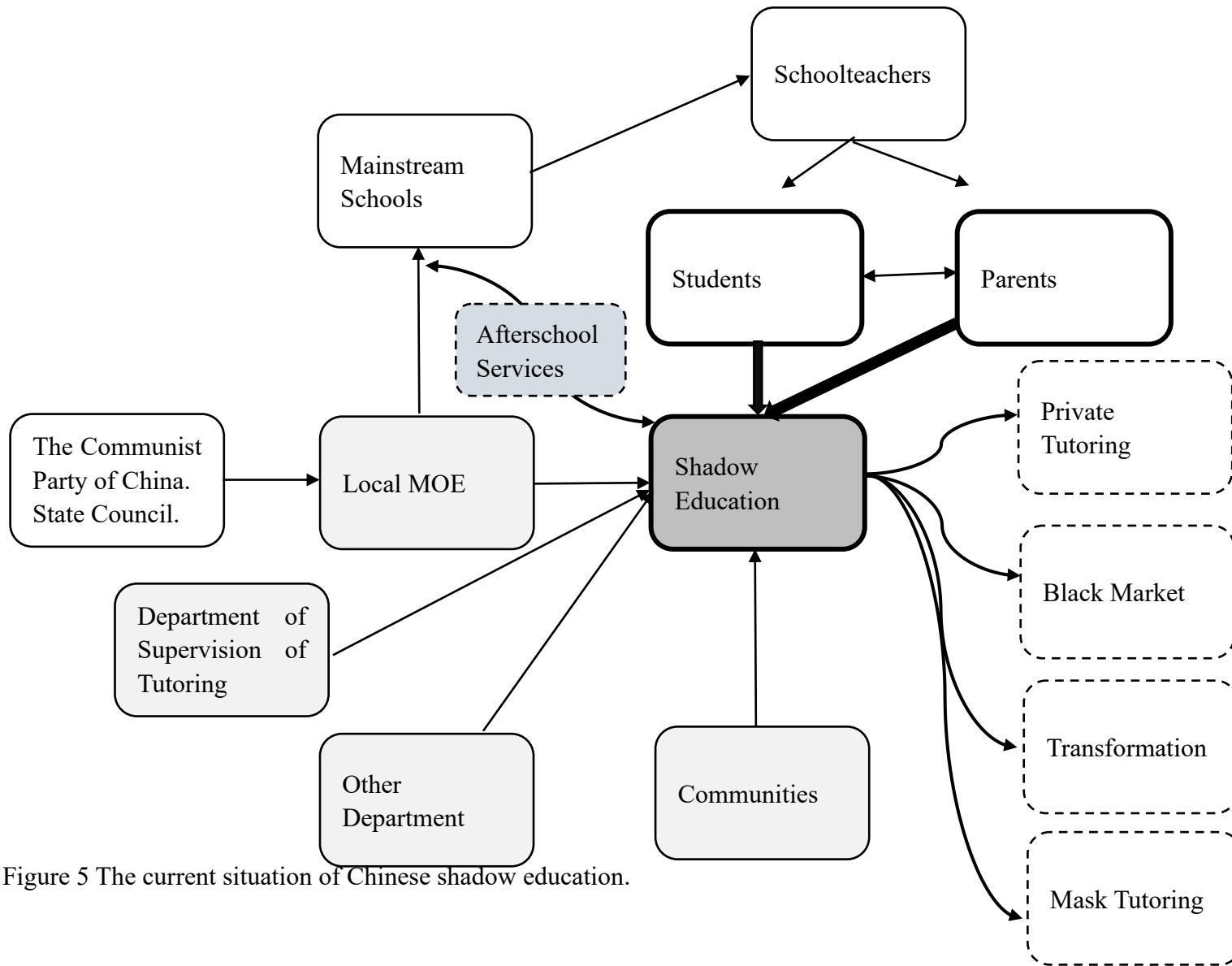


Figure 5 The current situation of Chinese shadow education.

The Communist Party of China and State Council issued the *Double Reduction* policy, the local MOE according to the local development, detailed the regulations, and cooperated with other departments to monitor Shadow Education all-round. Communities take the reported role here.

The Mainstream schools here are the supporters and cooperators. According to Local MOE's regulations reduce homework burden, adjust and improve educational quality and efficiency. These tasks are assigned to Schoolteachers. How to assign homework, and how to improve the lesson efficiency. Students and Parents are influenced by these.

Students and parents here, including students with their classmates, parents with other parents, and students with their parents. They influence each other on whether they will purchase Shadow Education.

Shadow education here plays a passive role; it accepts the monitoring from many departments, and is selected by students and parents. Under pressure, there are five pathways.

First, cooperating with mainstream schools to provide afterschool services, not only can relieve schoolteachers working load but also offers a legal way to shadow education.

Second, many tutors lost their job; some of them chose to be private tutors, they were teaching online, and during the Covid pandemic, the online platforms made significant progress. The salary is higher than in an institution; the timetable is flexible. This might be a potential risk for the government that is illegal and hard to monitor.

Third, the institutions continued to tutor students underground, which became an illegal black market.

Fourth, academic institutions transform into art institutions or non-profit academic institutions, this way is legal and compulsory to the current

institutions. For these institutions the First way to cooperate with the school might be the survival option.

Fifth, use art courses as a mask. Package the main subject tutoring as quality education, such as mathematics courses for logical thinking training, And English courses for cultural diversity sharing. This pathway is a policy loophole.

Further steps

The various sample is important in this topic to provide a diverse response from different institutions or private tutors. To interview institution owners, managers are recommended for the further step. And the schoolteachers, parents and students' perspective should be considered to as a supplementary information. The *Double Reduction* was issued on 24/07/ 2021, and as of the completion of this paper, this policy has been implemented for nearly one year, and how it will develop in the future is also worthy of our attention. The follow up interviews in 2024 to 2025 are the next step of this research.

The research has some **limitations** that need to be acknowledged, the sample size is small. And the interviews conducted in Chinese and the policy documents mentioned in the thesis are Chinese, but the thesis is presented in English, the accuracy of the translation might have some misunderstandings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Semi-structured interview

About Tutors and the supplementary institution:

1. How long have you been a tutor? 你当辅导老师多长时间了。
2. How long have you been with this institution? 你在这家机构工作多长时间了?
3. What areas and grade levels do you teach? 你教 哪一个领域的科目?
英语和数学。 哪个年级?
4. How many students do you have? How many students are in one class on average? 你有多少个学生? 平均一个班有多少个学生?
5. What class types does this institution offer? 这个机构有哪些班级类型?
6. How many lessons do you have in a week? What time is your last lesson?
你一周有几节课? 你最晚的一节课是什么时候?

Do you have any course curriculums? Can you share the details about the content? 你有课程大纲吗? 你可以分享一下大纲内容吗?
7. Do you have admissions ads? How much are the tuition fee? 你们有招生广告吗? 学费是多少?

About the policy:

8. Have you noticed the *Double Reduction*? 你有注意到双减 政策吗?
9. How do you understand the policy? 你是怎么理解这个政策的?
10. What do you think the policy influence the supplementary institutions?
How does it influence and why do you think so? 你觉得这个政策对机构有影响吗? 怎么影响的? 为什么这么说。

双减前你有多少个学生? 一周几节课?
11. What do you think of the prospects for supplementary institutions' development? 你怎么看补习机构的发展前景?
12. What do you think of the prospects for your own career? 你怎么看自己的职业前景?
13. What do you think are the reasons for the government published *Double Reduction*? 你觉得政府发布双减 政策的原因是什么?
14. Do you have any suggestions for the policy? 你对这个政策有建议吗?

有需求就会有市场吗?
15. Do you think the after-school activity/private tutoring/mask tutoring will be the new trend in tutoring institutions? 放学后的补课模式会是新的发展趋势吗

Appendix B:

Chinese Schooling System

WES WENR World Education News + Reviews

EDUCATION IN CHINA

QUICK FACTS

- Population:** 1.44 billion
- Compulsory Education:** Completion of grade 9
- Language of Instruction:** Mandarin
- Academic Year:** September–July

CHINESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE U.S.

2017/18
Total: 363,341

2018/19
Total: 369,548

Source: Institute of International Education

GRADING SCALES & WES CONVERSIONS

Most Common Higher Education Grading Scales					
Grade Range	85–100	75–84	60–74	0–59	-
Descriptor	Excellent	Good	Fair, Satisfactory	Fail	-
Letter Grade	A	B	C	F	-
WES Conversion	A	B	C	F	-
Grade Range (Variation)	90–100	75–89	64–74	60–63	0–59
Descriptor (Variation)	Excellent	Good	Fair, Satisfactory	Pass	Fail
Letter Grade (Variation)	A	B	C	D	F
WES Conversion	A	B	C	C	F

Institutions may use "" and "**" designations

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Note: Not all awards or study patterns are included.

Source: NUFFIC

wenr.wes.org

Appendix C:

Advertisements:

Translation:

Sunflower Training School

Summer Vacation Class Enrollment Begins

1. The first round of classes began on 18/06, and the Chinese, Math and English were taught.
2. Transition from kindergarten to primary school courses, Grade one to Grade two, special price registration starts on 03/07.
3. Classes of all other grades and subjects will continue to start on July 3rd.




198RMB to learn calligraphy, learn art, long-term effective.




Register early to grab a learning position.

Tuition discounts are available.



Course introduction Please message me.


  向日葵  培训学校
 暑假班  开始招生啦 




①小升初  6月18日首轮开课  语数英全科教学 




②幼小衔接、一升二  特价报读  7月  3日开课

③其他各年级各学科  7月  3日持续开课

  198元学书法 学美术 长期有效

提前报名抢占学位 

 可享受学费优惠  

课程介绍请私信我了解哟   

收起



1小时前



Translation:

Summer class enrollment

New semester, New beginning, New dream, New harvest

Fast improvement, high efficiency, good method

Enhance 6 steps scientific rigorous and efficient implementation



Translation:

Strengthen basic learning and sprint to elite schools.

Come on (“Come on” and “at home” harmony in the Chinese, and there are fourth grade to fifth grade students at home),

And see you in August. For more information, please inquire:



东辰培训明老师

强基计划冲刺名校

加油(家有)四升五

八月，我们不见不散!

详情  咨询: 



9小时前

