

Research of the Current Situation and Policy Suggestions of "Shadow Education" in Urban Low-income Families

—Taking Jinan as an example

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Abstract—Based on the sample survey data and in-depth interview data of Jinan City, this paper conducts an empirical study on the participation of children in low-income families in "shadow education" and proposes relevant policy recommendations. The research content of this paper includes the following two parts: First, based on interview data, empirical analysis of the current situation of children participating in "shadow education" in urban low-income families, including the differences in content structure, input level and practice mode of participating in "shadow education". The second is to reflect on and analyze the participation in the content structure, input level and practice mode of "Shadow Education". Deeply understand the inequality of education, find out the inadequacy of existing children's education welfare policy, and propose policy recommendations for developing compensatory education and welfare for low-income families in urban.

Keywords—Shadow education; Qualitative research; Urban low-income families; Child welfare

I. INTRODUCTION

With the acceleration of industrialization and urbanization, the gap between the rich and the poor in China's cities has widened, and the weakness of urban low-income families has become increasingly apparent. Good education is an effective means for low-income families to get rid of difficulties, recover and develop social functions, and prevent intergenerational transmission of poverty. It is generally believed that education mainly depends on the two ways of school formal education and family education. However, since the late 1990s, tutoring education called "shadow education" (narrow sense) in the international academic community has developed rapidly in China. Children with rich family culture capital have a higher proportion of "shadow education" and also have an advantage in quality, which in turn gives them the advantage of further education opportunities and employment opportunities.[1]Moreover, domestic research on "shadow education" mostly targets middle-class or high-income families, and there is little research on the status of shadow education participation in low-income families in cities. Therefore, this study focuses on the contemporary changes in the participation of shadow education in low-income urban families. Through

case study, this paper will deeply explore the new transformation of shadow education participation status of urban low-income families in China, and discuss the deficiencies of urban low-income families in the transformation process and put forward Suggestions. It will help us understand the phenomenon of educational inequality and class differentiation, improve the existing policies on children's education and welfare, ensure the fairness of education, and maintain social stability.

II. RESEARCH CONCEPT AND RESEARCH METHOD

There are many definitions of "shadow education" at home and abroad, but they generally agree that "shadow education" is a series of educational activities that take place outside of formal school education and aim to improve students' academic performance.[2]From the perspective of cultural reproduction, this paper expands the connotation of the concept of "shadow education", and holds that shadow education is an educational activity that takes family education and remedial education as the core and takes place outside the formal school education. Parents will pass on their learning attitude, learning skills and other cultural capital to their children through scientific parenting methods, so as to improve their children's knowledge, attitude and ability to cope with future competition.

Low-income families refer to families whose per capita annual income is lower than the average level in their regions, mainly including urban and rural low-income families, single-parent families and poor families caused by various disasters.[3]However, this study takes low-income urban families with children as the research object. The low-income urban families defined in this study are those with household registration in Jinan and the per capita income and property of family members are lower than the low-income standard set by the local government. This research data comes from the project "research on the development account construction of children from poor families in China under the asset construction theory" hosted by my tutor. Representative low-income urban families were selected for in-depth interview, a total of 89 households were interviewed, including 82 valid questionnaires. The author finally selected 12 cases of

low-income families in Jinan. According to academic practice, the names in the articles are pseudonyms.

In the process of field investigation, self-filling questionnaire and in-depth interview are mainly adopted. The questionnaire was designed from the following aspects:

- Structure of content: It includes parent-child companionship, parent-child reading, parent-child interaction activities, children's interest cultivation, extracurricular activities and so on.
- The level of investment in education: From the investment of time, investment in emotion and investment in money to investigate.
- Values: Mainly from the education expectation, the education investment intention, the education investment condition aspect inspects
- Mode of practice: Including the educational agent and the laissez-faire practice model

III. ANALYSIS ON THE STATUS QUO OF "SHADOW EDUCATION" FOR URBAN LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

A. *The "shadow education" of urban low-income families has gradually diversified its contents and enriched its forms*

In addition to formal school education, shadow education can be divided into family education and remedial education. Family education includes parent-child reading, parent-child communication, parent-child activities, words and deeds, etc. Remedial education includes academic tutoring classes, interest classes, summer camps, study Tours, etc. The content of urban low-income families' shadow education participation is gradually diversified and enriched, and the single form is gradually changing. Xiao yu's family is a typical example.

Xiao yu's mother (case HPL20) said in the interview that sometimes children's education is not only dependent on their parents, but also their children can participate in it and make choices. "My daughter is the kind of lively and active as a child, electronic organ, sketch and now reported Latin dance is her own initiative to sign up.60 Yuan per class is still acceptable. After all, children want to learn things is a good thing, we can't stop, I also want to let the children can play chess, calligraphy and painting can understand something. Now the children are learning a lot of things, but later have to let her heart, to sign her up for some academic tutorial class, the sixth grade to try." According to the economic situation of her family, she tries her best to create good educational and learning opportunities for her children, and encourages and supports her children's interest development. And not only through the curriculum to educate children, she said every year within the budget, as far as possible to take the children to travel. "Before it was not convenient to go out to play, now gradually grow up, also have to let the child to increase some experience, can take out some money to travel. When she was in fourth grade, we went to Thailand once and she was very happy." In the process of parent-child companionship, parents' words and deeds, surrounding environment and activities can subtly affect children's cognition, thinking and other abilities. Obviously, xiao yu's mother realized that.

Another parent who values children's education as much as she does is xiao ya's mother (case SLLH26).

Xiao ya's mother is a full-time mother. She quit her job to take care of Xiao ya and her sister at home since she was ill. She says the focus of her life now is on her two children, taking care of their lives and their studies. "Now we have two young children, the older one is in the second grade and the younger one is not in school. Usually, when Xiao ya does her homework, I accompany her to read picture books. After checking her homework, we can play games together, read stories to them and chat with them." In addition to creating a good family atmosphere, xiaoya's mother likes to take her children to science and technology museums in her spare time on weekends. "Anyway, all are free, go to the science and technology museum, museum of what, is always good for the cultivation of the child interest."

B. *The expectation of education is raised, the level of investment in education is raised, and the proportion of investment time, money and emotion is not balanced*

Chinese parents are influenced by the traditional concept of "expecting children to become successful". No matter middle class or urban low-income families, parents generally have high expectations for their children's education.[4] During the interview, most of the parents expressed their hope that their children can obtain a high degree and pay more and more attention to the investment of shadow education. Although they have high expectations for their children and a strong willingness to invest in education, parents of urban low-income families lack a systematic and clear plan for their children's education due to the family's economic situation, their own educational level and other factors. Although the level of investment in education has been improved, there is an imbalance in the investment of time, money and emotion.

Xiao shu's mother (case HPL8) is a single mother. Now her grandmother helps to take care of her child. "Usually work earn enough busy, I am generally to check his homework, thanks to the community has" 3:30 class "to help look after the children's homework, or the child grandmother can't help. Xiao shu's mother is in charge of the family's income and expenses. She is busy with her work in order to create better educational conditions for her children." I signed him up for calligraphy lessons, and piano lessons, and table tennis lessons. I don't know about that, but kids need to know a little, even if it means a lot. Fortunately, he did well in his studies. Otherwise, the burden would be even heavier and I would have no choice." This is common among low-income urban families. Parents are too busy making a living to devote too much time and emotion to their children in order to give them a rich material life.

There is another situation is that although there is no enough money investment, no cram school, no tutorial class, but still pay attention to the education of children, parents through their own way of education to accompany the children and invest more emotion. "I think parents are the best teachers for their children. What you want your children to do, as long as you guide them well, they can make it. I prefer literature. Sometimes we read novels together in bed. The last time we climbed, just the Chinese teacher asked to recite the ancient poems about the mountains. During this period, we passed the

ancient poems in the text. I think it is necessary to learn in happiness. Nowadays, children are involved in many interest classes, how tired is it, and what is the use? While maintaining academic performance, it is sufficient to learn more useful knowledge." Xiaohui's mother (case DL14) is a typical case in our interview. She almost treats her child's education as a hobby; she enjoys growing up with her children and progressing together. Instead of blindly reporting to the various classes, she chose to use her own methods to educate and guide her children.

*C. Participation practice model of "shadow education":
"education broker type" and "laissez-faire type"*

"Education broker" means that parents need to give play to a series of functions, such as operating information and social network, understanding the needs of education market products and target schools, customizing personalized learning routes, planning shadow education learning time, and personally integrating educational resources, so as to help children strive for superior resources in the fierce educational competition in the future.[5]

Xiao cong's mother (case HPL19) is currently working as a consultant in an overseas study institution. "I didn't think there would be a parent who cared so much about their child's education," she says. "Although I have only been in this business for one year, I also understand that children's education should be prepared in advance. I want to send the child to go abroad later, the child is small now, we make money hard later, still can send her to study abroad. I have more specific goals and more convenient conditions than other parents in terms of what remedial classes my children will attend, which school they will choose and what they will learn in the future." There is no doubt that xiao cong's mother drew a good blueprint for her child's future education by virtue of the advantages brought by her career. Although her family could not provide the effective resources needed for education competition, she still mobilized the social network building ability brought by her professional experience to open up resources, maintain circles and let information flow. She fits the "education broker" category perfectly.

In addition, there is the laissez-faire parent. They lack a systematic and clear plan for their children's education, do not think that education investment plays an important role in their children's future, and do not care about their children's learning and education. Their educational philosophy believes that laissez-faire is good for children, and they lack the sense of systematic education investment. They lose the responsibility for children's education and growth, and make children in a spontaneous and natural state. "Laissez-faire" practice mode can be divided into "intentionally laissez-faire" practice mode and "ignorantly laissez-faire" practice mode.

Xiao rui's mother (SLLH1 case) is a stay-at-home mother. For her daughter's study, she knows that she is not as attentive as before, time and energy are mainly focused on the second child. And the father is usually busy and has no time to accompany the child. For children's education, although they do not have a clear plan, but still consciously chose a dance class for children. "The child has nothing to do is to play, it is better to let her to learn something, other children learn more

things, we learn less". It can be seen from this that the urban low-income families have insufficient participation in shadow education. Education consciousness is strong, but practice is little, belong to "intentionally laissez-faire" practice mode.

"Ignorantly laissez-faire" practice mode is an irresponsible type that is indifferent to children's learning and education. Due to their low level of education and the pressure of living economy, parents often neglect their children's education obligations and fail to assume corresponding responsibilities, let alone participate in shadow education. However, the proportion of this part of parents is getting smaller and smaller, and most low-income families in cities gradually attach importance to the participation of shadow education.

IV. REFLECTION AND SUGGESTIONS

A. The status quo of urban low-income families' participation in "shadow education" is affected by their parents' educational level, family income and family structure

Family is one of the most important places for children's socialization, and also the foundation for children to contact social life. The participation level of urban low-income families is influenced by parents' education level, family income and family structure.[6]According to the influencing factors of shadow education status of urban low-income families, the government can play the following roles. Shadow education is not only the formal school education, but also an important part of the national education system. Governments at all levels should fully recognize the importance and urgency of developing shadow education. The government should actively expand educational resources, rectify educational institutions and ensure the quality of education. At the same time, governments at all levels should clearly adopt various means to expand the welfare policy assistance funds for children from low-income families in cities.

B. Parents of urban low-income families have a one-sided understanding of shadow education, and their behaviors are somewhat blind

Most parents still have a one-sided understanding of shadow education, focusing on remedial education and academic performance, ignoring family education and lacking parent-child interaction and company. At present, the phenomenon of heavy study is becoming more and more serious. Blindly follow the trend, forcing children to learn knowledge beyond their ability; parents do not pay attention to the cultivation of children's interests. In addition, parents arbitrarily choose interest classes and ignore whether they are suitable for children. Lack of communication with children, blindly make education plans for children. Parents of low-income families should understand that shadow education is not only supplementary education, but family education as the foundation is more important. Don't just rely on teachers; parents should set a good example for their children by leading by example in study and life.

C. Urban low-income children in China are faced with the problems of insufficient investment in shadow education and unbalanced distribution of educational resources

It is worth noting that China has not yet developed a comprehensive welfare assistance policy for children. In particular, there is a lack of welfare policies on shadow education for children from low-income families. This shows that children from low-income families are facing more serious difficulties in participating in shadow education. At present, the practical problems faced by children from low-income families include obvious shortage of economic investment, unscientific allocation of investment, limited time investment and lack of parent-child interaction. Therefore, the government should not only focus on the short-term basic living needs of children from poor families. Invest in the ability of children from low-income families. Based on the experience of western countries and the theory of asset hypothesis, the child development account of poor families in China should be established as soon as possible.[7]

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the in-depth interview with low-income families in cities, this paper sorts out and analyzes the research data. This paper summarizes the current situation of shadow education for children from low-income families in cities from the aspects of content structure, investment level and practice mode. It also discusses the family structure, cultural capital, social and economic status of urban low-income families. And put forward a lot of policy Suggestions, for example, strictly rectify the education guidance market, expand funds for children's education and welfare assistance, correct parents' one-sided understanding of shadow education, avoid blindly following the trend, and promote the policy shift from focusing on basic living security to investing in children's development ability.

The development of children is related to the future of the country and the hope of the nation, and is related to social equity and justice. Promoting the ability development of children from poor families is the internal requirement of

establishing a long-term anti-poverty mechanism and the fundamental way to cut off the intergenerational transmission of poverty.[8]This paper makes an in-depth analysis of the main impact of low-income families on shadow education, finds the deficiencies of children's education and welfare policies, and discusses relevant policy Suggestions on the development of compensatory education and welfare for low-income children.

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