

IJREE

International
Journal
for
Research
on
Extended
Education

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Stephan Kielblock

“Schools can ignore what lies beyond their gates, but they cannot escape it!”

Colleen Cummings, Alan Dyson, & Liz Todd: *Beyond the School Gates.*

Can Full Service and Extended Schools Overcome Disadvantage?

Oxford: Routledge 2011 101

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Editorial

Many countries now place an increasing importance on activities that support learning and academic achievement outside of the formal school day. Examples include extracurricular activities at schools, sport and academic clubs, after-school activities or community based programmes. In parallel with the increasing demand for the extended education these activities provide, both public and private funding to support these programmes has risen continuously in recent years.

In several countries these out-of-school and extracurricular educational activities are studied as non-formal learning contexts/opportunities, designed activities, extracurricular activities or organised activities. Since all these terms and concepts refer to the extension or supplementation of traditional educational institutions and their forms of instruction such as 'classical' classroom teaching in schools, the term '*extended education*' has established itself internationally for this field of education.

Although the goal and organisation of such extended education programmes vary from country to country, they have many common institutional features as well as a number of parallel education-related pedagogical problems regardless of whether they are for example extracurricular activities at German all-day schools, summer camps in the United States or the activities at Swedish leisure-time centres. Thus, international research focusses on similar problems and similar features of these educational settings. Overall research can best be described by how they differ from formal educational activities.

As with classroom teaching, activities in the area of extended education are (as a rule) a pedagogical setting designed by adults which is (often) supervised by schools or community institutions and focused on definable – albeit broad and certainly diverging – learning goals both in the cognitive as well as psychology, socio-emotional, and health and fitness (*support orientation* of programmes and activities).

Extracurricular and out-of-school activities allow for, among other things, new and different possibilities for learning and development within but also outside curriculum-mandated school topic areas and subjects. Cooperation and collaboration between schools and out-of school partners which are often part of out-of-school activities additionally usually helps strengthen the lifeworld-orientation and take the interests and aptitudes of students better into account.

In recent years a high demand for scientific information in the area of extended education has risen with the extensive implementation of such state and private programmes and activities. For example the effectiveness of such activities and programmes, their successful pedagogical design (quality) and also possible consequences for education policy are brought into focus. While educational research in several countries increasingly deals with the potential and problem areas of those activities referred to as "extended education", so far there has been no continuous exchange on an international level especially of scientific information in this field. After the initiation of an international research network on extended education in

November 2010, another building block to further establish this field of educational research now follows with the launch of the International Journal for Research on Extended Education, which is supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG)

The aims and purpose of the new journal is to create international visibility and a stronger scientific profile for the research field of extended education. The International Journal for Research on Extended Education is published by a group of internationally renowned educational researchers. To ensure a high scientific standard it is subject to a rigorous peer review process. Theoretical papers, basic empirical research, and applied research aimed at addressing practical and policy issues are welcome from researchers from the widest range of disciplines including psychology, education, sociology, political science, and education economics.

The first issue of the International Journal for Research on Extended Education focuses on an overview of national programs concerning the research on, and implementation of, out-of-school education. This overview of national reports will be concluded in the second issue of the IJREE.

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The Editors, September 2013

Extended Education in the Netherlands

Manuela du Bois-Reymond

Abstract: The article deals with the concept of extended education as it is applied in Dutch primary and secondary schools. While the development of “the brede school” (broad school – BS) in the primary sector is now part of all schools, the introduction of BS in secondary education did not proceed with the same speed. The main argument of the article is that in the BS the formal and the non-formal curriculum remain largely at a distance from each other, less so in the primary and more so in the secondary sector, and that is disadvantageous for the development of a learning biography. The article accrues research findings supporting this argument.

Keywords: learning biography, Dutch “brede school”, transitions, teacher training

1 Introduction

Educational politics have become an ever more urgent issue in the European member states and at European (EU) level. Rising figures of youth unemployment and early school leaving are serious problems for most national education systems and labour markets.¹ Problems are aggravated for students and young people with migrant backgrounds.² EU benchmarks in the field of education and training for 2010 and the coming decennium are the reduction of early school leavers and a substantial decrease of the percentage of low achieving pupils in reading and literacy. EU politicians – who are, one should not forget, also national politicians – strive to have at least 85 per cent of young people complete upper secondary education (EC 2009, p. 14; Education and Training 2010, 2020).

At the heart of the proposed educational reform lie two prominent discourses, one might call them the “Big Two”: lifelong learning and non-formal education. Both pertain to the knowledge society which demands an ever better qualified workforce (Sachs, 2008). The concept of lifelong learning points to the evident fact that schooling is not restricted any longer to a well defined age group, as it was in past times and covered the age brackets 6–15 years for most children and young people in practically all European countries. For present generations, learning has become a

- 1 About 20 % of all young Europeans 15–24 year are unemployed (Social Agenda – July 2011: 13); in the Netherlands it is about 12 % (CBS, 2012).
- 2 It is estimated that between 25 % and 40 % of 15 year old first and second generation immigrant students perform below level 2 – established as minimum qualification by the EU – in at least one basic school subject (see PISA, 2006; Council of the European Union, 2008).

life task. A complementary development concerns the places and ways of learning. It is not only within the classroom and the traditional subjects that pupils and students are supposed to learn but also outside school and in various settings of formal and non-formal combinations.

Although the Netherlands belongs to the most prosperous member states of the Union, it has educational problems as well. In this article we will discuss the concept of the extended school, which in Dutch is called “brede school” (broad school), and its implementation in the educational landscape within the larger frame of new learning imperatives in and for knowledge societies. Section 2 deals with the notion of life long learning and its implications for young learners in contemporary schools. In the main part, section 3, the development of the Dutch “brede school” and its educational tenets come in focus. Section 4 discusses the relationship between formal and non-formal education and learning; section 5 takes up the notion of non-disruptive learning trajectories and organizational structures of the broad school, including teacher training, and section 6 opens the vista again for a European perspective.³

2 Learning Biographies

In past years education is perceived by European and national politicians and pedagogical professionals as a process which has to span the whole trajectory from preschool to upper secondary and, preferably, higher education. Early and primary education has become one of the prime areas of attention. To combat social and educational disadvantage and, as a consequence, social exclusion, children should start at the age of three at the latest with their learning career, in free and playful as well as structured learning environments and guided by well trained competent caregivers. Amplified efforts and initiatives of extended education in the pre-primary sector by most EU member states, to which the Netherlands belongs, testify to the recognition of quality education for the little ones.

Already in their early years children should be enabled to develop a *learning habitus*; habitus understood quite in the sense Bourdieu (1977) uses it: as dispositions individuals acquire when they live and act and make experiences in their every day environments. This disposition is the process *and* outcome of the interaction between a person’s agency and the social structures which provide opportunities as well as restrictions for acting and experiencing.

It is this acquisition of a learning habitus which makes learning in preschool and primary school so hugely important as is pointed out in learning theories and experiences with compensatory and enriching education programs. If students later leave education too early, it is because they have not been able – or given the chance – to develop a learning habitus as basis for their further learning biography (Pohl et al. 2006). Learning, they would report, was not stimulating to them, they were missing intrinsic motivation. The school is experienced by discouraged learners not as a place to learn but rather as determined by systemic properties which do not connect to the life world and state of mind of the students (Stauber, 2007). Across the EU, more than ten per cent of native young people and twice as many migrant youth

3 The article is partly based on du Bois-Reymond 2012.

abandon school early (EUROPA – Press Releases, 2011). It is very hard for educational systems to regain these young native and migrant men and women as learners (Walther et al., 2006).

The Netherlands, besides Germany and Austria, belongs to the European countries with a rigid tracking system, selecting pupils at an early age (12 years in Germany and Austria, 10 years in the Netherlands) into different learning levels: vocational and general education. That break is disadvantageous for the education system as well as for the individual learner as much talent is lost for further general and professional education. In view of demands for lifelong learning and in many different learning environments (see Bekerman et al., 2006), the institutionalized breach between high (general) and low (vocational) education is outdated; concepts of extended education are supposed to bridge that breach and integrate different learning modes.

By comparison, selective systems are generally regarded as less prone to the learner's potentials than comprehensive systems which give the learner more room to develop and deploy his or her talents before choosing their further school career. While the latter system accounts for a rather effortless transition into lower secondary school and the students do not have to adjust to a totally new school regiment, in selective systems that transition is harsh, dividing the student population into "theoretical" vs. "practical learners".

But that does not mean that systems with an early start of vocational education are in all respects disadvantageous to learners' needs. Member states with dual vocation schools, like Germany, generally succeed better in providing successful school to work transitions than educational systems which decouple vocational education from work experience.⁴ Yet both systems have difficulties working out sensible strategies to prepare students for a life in knowledge societies and globalizing labour markets.

Under conditions of uncertain labour market conditions young people cannot develop long-term anticipation of their future and working life. They only know that they will have to adopt an attitude of flexibility ("generation flex") in order to swiftly adapt to unexpected situations. At the same time they are urged by their teachers (and parents) to make a career plan and find out what further steps to take that will lead them to the aspired goal knowing that the plan might not work out – and what to do then.

In this situation it is not just the accumulation of knowledge which counts but the acquisition of a set of social and personal competences (Rychen and Salganik, 2003). Discourses about competencies pertain to formal as well as non-formal and informal learning and have entered the school curricula as well as teacher training. The learners are supposed to develop the competence to work productively within groups, communicate competently with diverse interlocutors, present themselves convincingly to others (teachers; employers), be able to negotiate their own interests, acquire social diligence and deploy an attitude of self-assuredness.

In short: the concept of competencies is based on a broadening of knowledge, opening "hard" subjects to domains of "soft" subjects like music and arts as well as "soft" competencies, the most important of which is to organize their own learning

4 For an extended discussion about the pro's and con's of the respective education systems see Allmendinger 1989; also Schoon & Silbereisen 2009.

paths (EFA, 2008: 21). Extended school models are supposed to supply the learners with these kinds of new learning imperatives.

3 The Dutch “Brede School” (BS)

In contrast to other countries like Germany, the discussion about extended education in the Netherlands is characterized by a pragmatic and “down to earth” approach. There is not much theorizing and politicizing about the desirability or undesirability of the introduction of the BS as was the case in the 1970s when the concept of an all-day comprehensive school (“middenschool”) was discussed so fiercely among politicians, parents and educationalists. That discussion faded away in the 1980s and the concept as such was not revitalized by any party. Instead various models of partly integrated schools were established, with two or three bridging years after primary school and before further tracking. In practice that led to three school types: gymnasium without bridge classes, schools with options for vocational or general secondary education after the bridge classes, and schools with predominately vocational education. Primary education was extended to eight groups/classes (5–12 years) and open for four-year olds to enter, which almost all parents choose to do.

The Dutch version of extended education developed independently from these school models. They were quite other reasons that boosted the expansion of the BS. One main pull factor was the inadequate infrastructure of caregiving arrangements for preschoolers. Until the 1990 it was quite accepted by society and families that women would spend the first years of their children’s lives at home and interrupt their working careers. During the last two decades though it became evident that the labour market could not do without women labour and the young women themselves exerted pressure on politicians to establish more and better facilities for preschoolers to enable them to combine work and family obligations.⁵ For that reason the BS was first introduced in the primary sector. It had two broad goals: connect preschool care with the primary school and enrich the curriculum for preschoolers and primary school children in order to support disadvantaged pupils, among them immigrants.

The development of the BS in the primary sector proceeded quickly and could rely on broad societal consensus. Meanwhile every primary school is required by law to offer young parents preschool and after school care facilities which are connected to the school directly or by contract with private organizations.⁶ Pedagogical targets are to provide optimal conditions for the development of children, to create a non-disruptive learning trajectory from pre-school entry throughout obligatory education (5–16 years), and to increase non-formal activities. Behind such targets lie more general expectations of fostering social cohesion and security in the neighborhood, especially in cities with high percentages of migrants (“new Nederlanders”).

Ideally the BS functions as a network school: the primary school forms the centre in a net of all actors and institutions in the neighborhood and municipality which would contribute with their respective resources and knowledge to the work of the

5 The author was engaged in an EU-financed project which evaluated the “combination problems” of young families in six member states, among them NL (du Bois-Reymond et al., 2008).

6 Of a total of 7000 primary schools, 2000 are part of a BS; growth has significantly slowed down in the meantime (Jaarbericht, 2009).

BS, like libraries, cultural centers, health and child well-being services, including parent advice, traffic and security education etc. This ideal is implemented by very few BS. Most schools can and will only use some of these cooperation forms and respond first (and often only) to the desire of parents to extend care hours. Parents should be drawn closer to the school and be asked for their commitment, a development fostered by the BS as the parents enter the schools daily when bringing and fetching their children.

BS schools in the primary sector are evenly spread in the country, big and small municipalities, but are mostly concentrated in disadvantaged neighborhoods, often with substantial amounts of migrant families (Jaarbericht 2009, p. 11). The need to engage the parents in school affairs and enhance the educational opportunities of their children is most urgent in such communities.⁷

The situation is quite different in secondary education. There the BS has spread less effectively, and with different features. Secondary schools in the Netherlands are usually large organizations, often consisting of several hundred if not thousands of students and complex management structures and an array of different professionals, inside and outside school. Schools are usually housed in big locations outside the neighborhood where the students and their families live. Therefore the concept of neighborhood school in the primary sector is applicable only to a certain extent and also the cooperation with the parents is more distant; the students are at an age when they do not need parental support in getting to and from school. Their school day extends into the afternoon hours already with the formal curriculum and many students do not like after school activities in school; they have their own leisure agendas.

Most BS schools started in the early years of 2000; about 40 % are still in the phase of consolidation.⁸ One third of all secondary schools are part of a BS (Jaarbericht, 2011: 11). As in the primary sector, there are more restricted and rather broad BS which adhere to the concept of network school and would cooperate with many different partners, from libraries, sport, art, music and other leisure clubs to social work, police, health service and youth welfare. But most secondary BS schools focus on language proficiency and preparing students for their future career in work and society.

An important drive sphere for schools to offer non-formal activities is to compete with other schools in attracting students and prettifying their school profile. This development points to the fierce struggle to secure personnel when means are cut and evaluations of students' insufficient academic accomplishments endanger the future of the school. BS schools advertise themselves with the following five profiles (not mutually exclusive):

- Enrichment curricula in the fields of language, nature and science, art and culture, sport, ICT;
- Enlargement of educational opportunities;
- Offering specific care arrangements for special students;
- Connecting to the neighborhood;
- Offering out of school care.

⁷ We do not go further in the development and the curriculum of the BS in the primary sector in this article; see Doornebal et al 2012; du Bois-Reymond 2009.

⁸ Gymnasias do not partake in BS.

In a bi-annually repeated study⁹ BS schools are asked which profile they identify with and want to develop further. Curriculum enrichment is the most often chosen form of BS in secondary schools (76 %). They concentrate on subjects like art, culture and sport. That profile is followed by “enlargement of educational opportunities” and “special care arrangements”. Least developed are neighborhood schools (24 %) and offers of care after school (15 %); (Jaarbericht 2011: 50/1).

For secondary schools, cooperation with parents is vital. Lacking contacts are especially detrimental for students with migrant backgrounds whose families are even harder to reach through the established communication channels than native Dutch parents. The problems are aggravated if the school is populated by up to thirty or more different migrant groups, which is more rule than exception in many Dutch towns, certainly in the four large cities Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht and Den Haag.¹⁰ There are secondary BS schools which do run parent programs, that offer language courses or organize information evenings where specialists offer information on healthy food, drug prevention, and any other issue that might interest (migrant) parents. Yet it does not seem that BS schools differ much from non-BS schools in their difficulties to realize and maintain vital parent-school contacts.

BS-activities of the enrichment profile take place irregularly, between a few times per year or weekly; only additional educational offers usually take place weekly. BS schools are free to determine the frequency and kind of the activities. Most schools contract sport clubs, music schools or theatre groups to enrich the curriculum. As many other secondary schools do the same – again on a larger or smaller scale – it is difficult to define what exactly discerns a BS from a non-BS school.

4 Formal and Non-Formal Education and Learning

Extra curricular activities are an integral part of a BS only to a limited degree. About half of the BS schools have extra activities organized outside the regular curriculum while the other half has them integrated in the formal curriculum. In the former case the activities take place after school time (and are therefore voluntary), in the latter case during school time (and are therefore obligatory).

If we look at the relationships between the school and the non-formal partners, we see a corresponding picture: about half of the BS schools work with their respective partners “face to face” which means they communicate with each other only as far as necessary to keep the organization running. But “one cannot speak of close cooperation or mutual use of facilities” and in about one fifth of the cases the partners work even “back to back” which means that the participating organizations do not know about each other’s work and do not share facilities – or only incidentally. Only in 1 % of all BS secondary schools is there close cooperation between inside and outside school partners in all respects (Jaarbericht 2011: 56).

⁹ Done by the independent research bureau Oberon which publishes its findings in “Jaarberichten”.

¹⁰ In the latest edition of the OECD report “Education at a Glance” 2012, 33.7 % of all students in the Netherlands have immigrant backgrounds (table A5.2). The percentage is over 70 % in disadvantaged schools as defined by low educational level of the mother, and from low occupational status families (40.6 % of non-immigrant students) (table A5.3).

The more functionaries and professionals within and outside the formal curriculum have to work together, the more important coordination becomes. Teachers are overburdened with such tasks. Therefore secondary BS schools engage so called BS-coordinators; about 40 % do so, the rest do not. BS-coordinators are usually engaged for half a day to two days per week, to be paid from the regular school budget. The continuity and further development of the BS is much dependent on a coordinator for well functioning, as he or she has knowledge of all participating members and can channel and bundle information. Where such coordination does not exist, a BS school has great difficulties in guaranteeing cooperation and will probably refrain from including too many different parties. About fifty per cent of BS schools don't have regular meetings and only in 15 % all partners take part (Jaarbericht 2011: 58).

Although a main goal of the BS movement is to find new combinations of formal and non-formal/informal education, it was never intended to integrate formal and non-formal curricula in such a way that they would form one coherent curricular scheme. The dominant position of the "formal school" with its emphasis on cognitive achievement in separate subject disciplines is in no way questioned. In that sense a thorough renewal of the formal curriculum cannot be expected. This is all the more unlikely as there is, as in other countries and further boosted by PISA and other international comparisons of educational performance, a growing tendency of going back-to-basics in the formal curriculum with emphasis on reading, writing, mathematics and science subjects.¹¹

The fact that about half of the secondary BS schools have integrated non-formal activities in the formal curriculum, as we saw above, together with everything but well staffed and functioning interdepartmental coordination leads us to the conclusion that the Dutch version of extended education is *additional* rather than integrative. That impression is supported by the outcome of a self evaluation of the BS. Only about half of the BS schools are of the opinion that their extra curricular program has demonstrable effects on the students. What these effects are, precisely, and how to measure them, is not clear. Also unclear and not measured is the relationship between the supposed positive effects in the extra-curricular sphere and the formal curriculum. In other words: if students use non-formal education offers, what kind of influence does that have on their overall achievements and school career? Or even, if BS schools run educative programs for disadvantaged students, are there long-term effects to be seen in their academic performances or transitions to further education?

These kinds of questions cannot be answered by the presently applied evaluation method.

11 According to a recent report of the school inspection, test scores in English, math and Dutch in *all* secondary school types have dramatically deteriorated and one in ten teachers in secondary schools does not have the capacities to teach effectively and competently while 18 % of the teachers has not got the required degree and qualification (Ministerie OCW, 2011).

5 Non-Disruptive Learning Trajectories and Organizational Structures

Whereas the threshold between kindergarten/preschool and primary school has been lowered considerably, even to the extent that practically all children begin their school career at the age of four and stay together until they are 11/12 years old, the transition from primary to secondary school still forms a major hurdle for many pupils. The nationally administered CITO test¹² at the end of primary school forms a deep censure in the school career of every child because of the tracking system in secondary education, be that a BS or regular school.

There is only incidental cooperation between primary and secondary schools to realize a non-disruptive learning trajectory, regardless if the schools are BS or not. The advancement of such trajectories simply does not belong to the aims of regular or extended education and are being noticed only in the administrative sphere by national educational policy. More generally (vaguely) a general increase of educational opportunities is expected by municipalities when they stimulate the development of BS schools. When they enumerate “non-disruptive lines” as one of the main goals, they do not refer to vertical lines (primary – secondary – further education) but to *horizontal* lines which mean the cooperation between formal and non-formal professionals. That is a remarkable change, as vertical lines were emphasized in a former report (Jaarbericht, 2009). And even horizontal lines are weak because there are only sparse out of school facilities for teenage students.

The other crucial transition, from lower to upper secondary (vocational or general) education, does not belong to the spear point of BS schools either – exceptions excluded, although it is this transition which is so extremely important for the further school career of a student. Lacking support in this respect draws the attention of national education policies though, but again without particularly referring to under-used resources of extended education and non-formal learning.

Municipalities realize that the cooperation between the different formal and non-formal professionals is sub-optimal and regard better cooperation to be of great importance, not only for the individual school but within the whole education and youth policy of the municipality. About one third of municipalities have appointed a project manager for all BS schools who must help regular schools develop into extended schools and about half of municipalities have established above that a so called steering group which is responsible for the general policy and course of the BS in the city or region.

It is the intention of the Dutch government to integrate special education in regular education and reduce special education schools. Although teachers and principals are not per se against such integration, schools are fiercely against the measure if it is not accompanied by more and specialized professionals and financial compensation. It is noticeable that the BS development is not explicitly used to facilitate the intended integration.

Municipalities are asked to evaluate the development of BS within their overall social integration policy. Municipal functionaries are most content with offers of extra curricula activities and least content with the cooperation between parents and

12 CITO: Centraal Instituut voor Toets Ontwikkeling (Central Institute for Test Development).

school and neighborhood activation. For the near future they see the BS evolving in the direction of an efficiently governed organization which would connect all educational, child and youth services in a municipality.

One might expect that teacher training would be in step with the development of BS. That is not the case however although teacher training institutes are in the course of renewal. Future teachers, it is claimed by the government and educationalists, must become better professionals to face the challenges of schools in a knowledge society (Cramer et al., 2011). It is then all the more astounding that teacher training curricula do not pay systematic attention to the concept of extended education. Non-formal learning as an ever more salient part of the learning biographies of students as such is not addressed in teacher training; nor are the strengths and weaknesses of existing BS schools (although it must be emphasized that teacher training institutes in the Netherlands are autonomous to regulate their curriculum so it might be that there are institutes which do pay attention also to BS and non-formal education).

At the same time teacher training curricula are modernized by specifying the *competencies* the students must acquire during their studies. Competencies are specified per subject discipline but cover also social and managerial skills needed to master classroom tasks, deal with parents and function in the school as an organization. Only after a student becomes a teacher in a BS school, or has served in-service periods during studies at such a school, does he get the chance to get acquainted with the specific structures and aims of extended education. If they are assigned to a BS school in a disadvantaged neighborhood, young teachers will be confronted with social and learning problems which they might realize cannot be solved by formal learning arrangements alone.

6 Education in European Perspective Revisited

The European-wide “Big Two” rhetoric – lifelong learning; non-formal education – referring to the all-round, flexible, vocationally as well as generally sufficiently if not better educated individual who is self-assured and competent economically as well as socially; who is, in short a responsible citizen – that rhetoric falls short when confronted with the reality of multi-problem neighborhoods and families, of housing segregation and white flight in cities and schools, and of unresponsive labour markets and employers unwilling to accept low-achievers.

It is not easy to find convincing answers to the pressing question, which confronts contemporary education and educational politicians: how to find a sound balance between urgently needed reforms for more integration of different learning modes on the one hand, and facing the equally urgent challenge of competing with international quality standards on the other.

National education systems steer a middle course between two extreme positions. Either they opt for comprehensive schools with a fully integrated curriculum of formal and non-formal learning for all students, or they bend towards a stiff course of back-to-basics and selection. The Netherlands has decided to keep its selective system but back it up with extended education.

We have argued in favor of an integration of various and different learning modes and against the present reality in Dutch BS of merely adding non-formal activities to the formal curriculum, be that within or outside school. Adding instead of convincingly integrating curriculum subjects essentially means continuing the split between general and vocational education. The former is superior to the latter and therefore results in a discrimination against students who attend vocational tracks. That so many vocational students dislike the so called theory subjects has precisely to do with the separation of these different knowledge forms. Students will never develop a *learning habit* and become lifelong learners if they are not convinced by the sense and sensibility of what they have to learn and if they don't do that without intrinsic motivation. It is, apart from subjective frustration, socially and economically a very expensive way of organizing an education system as insufficiently prepared students produce many follow-up problems, such as early school leaving, expensive re-integration trajectories, endangered social inclusion of minority groups, and permanent exclusion from the first or even second labour market for the educationally disadvantaged.

One compensatory strategy to prevent, or at least mitigate such problems is the creation of vertical non-disruptive learning trajectories, from preschool to the end of obligatory education. We have seen that aim was more or less abandoned in favor of horizontal trajectories to warrant workable formal – non-formal curriculum schedules. Further development of vertical trajectories would ease the school careers particularly of disadvantaged students, among them those with migrant backgrounds, who cannot rely on social and cultural capital to the same degree as their non-migrant contemporaries. As we have seen, the BS has realized that crucial aim at the transition point from preschool to primary school, and it has become a success; a success with a “but” attached to it though. Already during primary school a pre-CITO test is administered, the outcomes of which are influential for the further education of the child. In fact that pre-test overshadows the last years of primary school and begins to quasi-separate children. Enrichment and other BS-offers can only partly compensate for that early pre-selection.

Apart from that, the kind of learning and working forms the pupils got used to during their primary school period, and which are freer and more integrative, certainly at BS, have to be abandoned when they enter secondary school. For one, it is by no means certain that they will continue their educational career at a BS, and even if they do they will find a more separated program between the formal and non-formal curriculum inherent in all secondary schools. The disruption between primary and secondary school is by no means mediated through extended education.

The other disruption occurs at the transition point when the students enter upper secondary education and when extended education stops altogether.

We thought it important to pay, if only aside, attention to teacher training. There is no systematic feedback from the experiences with BS to teacher training institutions. The reason for that unwanted situation is nevertheless explicable: there is simply no unified theory and only scattered discussion among educationalists in the Netherlands referring to non-formal learning in the framework of formal education and BS.

As we have shown, the extended program of a school consists of an array of more or less combined elements and activities; some offered regularly, others irregularly, some within, some outside the formal curriculum, some administered by the

regular teaching staff, some by hired additional personnel. And each school does it differently and with different financial means (Jaarbericht, 2011).

Perceiving the pedagogical process as a holistic human undertaking interconnecting generations, one must ask what the effects on that undertaking are if ever more pedagogical functions are “outsourced” to other than teaching professionals. Must one not be afraid of a creeping de-professionalization of the teaching profession by that outsourcing? Modern secondary schools have become enterprises which are run according to economic logic rather than pedagogical principles. Regular as well as BS schools work with a highly differentiated staff, consisting of professional teachers, teaching assistants, social-pedagogical and social workers, numerous – and often changing – out of school functionaries, commercial care and leisure as well as labour agencies, etc. The question of how to establish *governance models* which are appropriate to deal with these kinds of complexities is, we would argue, one of the most urgent demands for the further development of extended education in the Netherlands, as well as in other countries.

Thinking about a research agenda for the nearby future, the following themes and problems come to mind:

First and foremost: the scientific discussion about *integrative learning-teaching models* should go on to overcome the historically outdated separation of formal, non-formal and informal education. That discussion – and research – must become more inclusive in that it must include all actors involved in the different educational fields.

Secondly: The discussion and research findings on extended education miss out on *connecting organizational models with the motivational needs* (and frustrations) of pupils and students (and their parents). Obviously, that disconnection has to do with different disciplinary research traditions. But viable teaching-learning models can only come into existence and survive if organizational (and financial) rational does not overrule the specificities of the work of teachers and learners.

From that follows, thirdly, that *new governance models* have to be designed and experimentally put to the test in various and different field settings. Such models should be tested in national as well as international-comparative contexts, and here I see the main challenge for IJREE.

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Swiss National Report on Research on Extended Education

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to give an overview of research on extended education in Switzerland and to point out the gaps in the field. In Switzerland official education statistics and research on extended education are still in their infancy. This is directly associated with the fact that extended education has only been widely discussed within the last 10 years and has begun to be implemented within the last five years. Some studies on extended education are available in Switzerland in four areas: (1) data on official education statistics and studies on availability and use of and demand for extended education, (2) evaluations of all-day schools, (3) studies on quality and effectiveness of all-day schools, and (4) studies on collaboration in all-day schools.

Keywords: Research review, extended education, all-day schools, extracurricular activities, Switzerland

1 Extended Education in Switzerland: An Introduction

In Switzerland, extended education of school-age children and adolescents has been an important topic for about 10 years now. There are economic-political, socio-political, and educational-political grounds for the expansion of these offerings. An important education policy argument is that extended education can better facilitate positive development of children with their individual strengths and competencies and in addition can provide more educational opportunities for children at risk. A differentiated range of various time models is in the process of being established in the schools or supplementary to school. This variety is also reflected in the terms currently used in the context of education and care. In documents issued by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education¹ (EDK) and the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Social Affairs (SODK), for example, the term *Tagesstrukturen* (or ‘day structures’ in English) is used. Day structures are defined as all extra-family care services meeting the needs of children and adolescents from birth to the end of compulsory schooling (or in special education to the age of 20) (EDK/SODK, 2008, p. 1). Day structures comprise early child care and education services and extended

¹ Switzerland is divided into 26 cantons, or states.

education offerings for school-age children. In the following, our discussion on extended education focuses on extracurricular offerings for school-age children.

In 2007 in the framework of national educational reform to harmonize compulsory schooling in Switzerland (cf. EDK, 2007) all cantons were obligated to provide (mainly fee-based) extended education offerings meeting the needs of children. The cantons are obligated to cooperate with the federal government on education matters, but they have the right to organize their education structures independently (cf. EDK/SODK, 2008). The education system in federalist, multi-language Switzerland stands out with its strong anchoring in the local commune, canton, and language region. The main responsibility for education is in the hands of the 26 cantons. For this reason there are also no national guidelines on the organization of extended education. Some cantons, such as the Canton of Basel-Stadt, Bern, and Zurich, have regulated extended education offerings in their cantonal public school laws. In other cantons, this is not yet the case. As a result of this leeway, different forms of extended education offerings are being set up across the cantons, and similar offerings are referred to by different names.

There are also important differences among the three large language regions of Switzerland.² In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, there are extended education offerings from public and private providers, whereby the majority of the public offerings are in the form of what is called ‘all-day schools.’ An all-day school is a school with an all-day program consisting of the regular hours of school instruction plus extended education offerings. This means that in addition to regular instruction, the school provides morning, lunchtime, and afternoon education and care (cf. Schüpbach, 2010). As to their organization, in Switzerland as in Germany a distinction is made between all-day schools with “open” or “compulsory” all-day attendance (*offene/gebundene Ganztagschule*). The compulsory attendance all-day school has fixed obligatory school hours in the morning and afternoon, in part rhythmized, for all students and is usually a public school. The open all-day school has fixed regular hours of school instruction plus optional offerings attended by a part of the students, mostly concentrated on lunchtime, games, sports, and recreational activities and homework help from teaching and social pedagogy staff. These extracurricular activities can be provided by the school or an outside organization (cf. Holtappels/Heerdegen, 2005). Current developments in Switzerland show a trend towards the establishment of mostly open attendance all-day schools. Other providers of extended education in the German-speaking part of Switzerland are, for instance, clubs/associations (sports, music, other), churches, or neighborhood organizations. Quite common are after school care clubs with homework help, recreational activities, and lunch clubs (cf. Schüpbach/Jutzi/Thomann, 2012).

In French-speaking Switzerland, the greater part of the extended education offerings established is not offered by the school but rather by other public and private providers. These are usually lunchtime and after school programs that children (and parents) can choose to attend and that can be combined flexibly (cf. IRDP, 2012). They are largely comparable to the extended education offerings offered by non-school providers in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The names for these vary from canton to canton also in French-speaking Switzerland. For example, the

2 The four national languages of Switzerland (official languages at the national level within the Federal Administration of the Swiss Confederation) are German, French, Italian, and Romansch (which is spoken only by an exceedingly small segment of the population).

term *animation parascolaire* [extracurricular animation] is used in the Canton of Geneva, and *unités d'accueil pour écoliers* [unity center day care for school-age children] is common in the Canton of Vaud (cf. Chavez, 2004).

In the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland (the Canton of Ticino), there are lunchtime offerings for school-age children called *servizio pasti a mezzogiorno* [lunch service] and also after school care offerings called *servizio di orario prolungato* [after-school service] (cf. Branca/Paglia, 2011). In the school year 2011/12, these two services were offered at more than two-thirds of all schools in Ticino. Particularly the lunch programs have been expanded in the last few years: In the school year 2005/2006 they were offered at 44 % of the schools, and now they are available at 67 % of schools (cf. Branca/Paglia, 2011). The staff persons for these extended education offerings are sometimes the teachers themselves but are mostly other education professionals.

2 Research Overview: Studies on Extended Education in Switzerland

In this section we present an overview of research on extended education. In Switzerland, studies in this young field of research have been conducted in four areas:

- data on official education statistics and studies on availability and use of and demand for extended education (section 2.2)
- evaluations of all-day schools (section 2.3)
- studies on quality and effectiveness of all-day schools (section 2.4)
- studies on collaboration in all-day schools (section 2.5).

Review Method

We conducted an extensive review of the literature on extended education, carrying out searches using relevant search terms in German, French, and Italian in different education databases (pedocs, FIS-Bildung, ERIC), library catalogues (IDS BaselBern, swissbib, Springer EBooks), online search engines (Google Scholar, E-Journalliste), and websites on national, official education statistics (www.bfs.ch; www.edk.ch). The searches revealed that little national data exists and that the studies available were conducted mainly in the German-speaking part of the country. For this reason, we contacted experts in the French and Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland and asked them if there were any studies that our searches had not located. However, as the following overview shows, there are in fact no studies available up to now on this topic in either of those two parts of the country.

Data on Official Education Statistics and Studies on Availability and Use of and Demand for Extended Education

In Switzerland, the availability and use of extended education is captured in the framework of the national, official education statistics. The data is available from the Federal Statistical Office (FSO) and in part from the EDK. In addition, findings are available from a study on the demand for extended education.

Official Education Statistics on Availability and Use of Offerings

When investigating the availability and use of extended education offerings, the different services and the different terms used in different parts of the country pose a challenge for education statistics. Also, the different political authorities in the individual cantons must be taken into account. At the cantonal level, the authorities in charge may be located in the social services department and/or the department of education. What complicates this even more is that the responsibilities of the preschool and the school – which are often reported together in the official statistics – can also be differentiated. These are probably the main reasons why the data on extended education offerings are rather sparse in Switzerland (cf. SKBF, 2011).

The FSO collects household data at regular intervals on the use of extra-family child care services for preschool and school-age children (cf. FSO, 2010). The data show basically that the number of households using extra-family child care services has increased in recent years. Whereas in 1991 14 % of all households with children under the age of 15 used extra-family child care services, the corresponding figure had increased to 30 % about 10 years later, and in 2009 it was over 39 % (cf. FSO, 2010). The FSO also records the use of institutional services by families with children and adolescents under the age of 15. Institutional services include services for early childhood and preschool and school-age children, which in 2009 were used by 28.7 % of all households with children under the age of 15. In addition, the EDK – usually the information and documentation center (IDES) affiliated with the EDK – collects data on the cantons' status regarding various indicators for the education system in Switzerland. Since only recently, a specific survey on the availability of extended education is also conducted. In the school year 2011–2012, about one-fifth of all cantons offered extended education at all primary schools. In about one-half of the cantons, extended education offerings are available at some schools, and in some cantons, no extended services are available (cf. EDK, 2012). The very heterogeneous and imprecise data from many cantons shows that data collection for this indicator is not yet sufficiently differentiated in most of the cantonal education statistics.

Demand for Offerings for Extended Education

Extended education offerings for school-age children have increased in recent years. But the availability varies greatly across regions and provision is not yet sufficient to cover all children (cf. Schüpbach, 2010). On behalf of the four cantons Aargau, Basel-Landschaft, Basel-Stadt, and Solothurn, the consulting group INFRAS produced estimates and forecasts of future demand for extended education provision.

Future demand was defined as the demand that parents would express if they had a free choice between private child care and different extended education offerings (cf. Infrass/Mecop/Tassinari, 2008). Using a simulation model for an econometric estimate and based on empirical data from a survey with a representative sample of families with children between the ages of 4 and 16 ($N = 905$), current and future demand were estimated for families with children from age 4 to 12. The highest potential future demand was found for the Canton of Basel-Stadt, a city canton: 79 % of these families would utilize lunch offerings twice per week and child. 74 % would use after school care. The lowest potential future demand was found for the Canton of Solothurn, which is a rather rural canton (66 % would use lunchtime care, 51 % after school care). The results of the demand study showed that there is a significant demand for extended education offerings (Infrass/Mecop/Tassinari, 2008). This was also confirmed by analyses conducted in 2005 by the FSO in the context of the Swiss Labor Force Survey (SLFS/SAKE). 26 % of working mothers with at least one child must limit their work-time percentage due to their family care responsibilities. 44 % stated that lack of extra-family child care services was a reason for not working or for not extending their work-time percentage (cf. FDHA/FSO, 2008). There are no studies available on demand for extended education offerings in the French or Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland.

Evaluations of All-Day Schools

In the wake of discussions on the establishment of extended education offerings, particularly all-day schools, a number of all-day schools have been evaluated in recent years in the German-speaking part of Switzerland (cf. Baier et al., 2009; Fraiss/Roth 2009; Forrer/Schuler, 2010). We know of no such evaluations in the French and Italian-speaking parts of the country. In the German-speaking region, largely pilot projects were evaluated, and the purpose was to aid local education policy decision-making concerning continued operation and further development of the all-day schools. The evaluation studies used a *cross-sectional design* and collected data mainly by means of questionnaires and interviews. The survey participants were mainly teachers, other education professionals, heads of all-day schools, parents, and in some evaluations also students.

In Basel four pilot schools (preschools and primary) were evaluated in 2008 that were moving towards becoming all-day schools (beginning in 2007). This was one of the broader evaluations conducted (cf. Baier et al., 2009). The evaluation found that over 90 % of teachers and other education professionals were satisfied with their work at the all-day schools. This was the case even though about one-fourth of the staff found the transition to an all-day school a burden. Staff persons were the least satisfied with their pay. About 70 % of parents were satisfied with the infrastructure, organization, and various aspects of the quality of the all-day schools. About two-thirds of all children surveyed were satisfied with their teachers and other education professionals and would have liked to attend the extended education offerings every day (cf. Baier et al., 2009). Overall, all surveys found high acceptance of all-day schools by teachers and parents (cf. Baier et al. 2009; Forrer/Schuler, 2010).

Studies on Quality and Effectiveness of All-Day Schools

In the area of studies on quality and effectiveness of all-day schools in Switzerland, only initial findings are available. In the German-speaking region of Switzerland, the first study on this topic was conducted from 2006 to 2011; in the French and Italian-speaking parts of the country there are no findings available as yet. The available study is the EduCare study (cf. Schüpbach/Herzog/Ignaczewska, 2013) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. This quasi-experimental longitudinal study investigated the quality and effectiveness of extended education for children aged 6 to 9. In the study design there were two comparison groups: students at all-day schools who attended extended education intensively and students who were at schools with regular hours of instruction and who did not attend any extended education offerings. The criterion for intensive participation was attendance at least three days and for a minimum of 7.5 hours a week over a time period of two school years. The sample comprised $N = 295$ students in 43 school classes at 35 primary schools in 11 cantons. Data was collected using questionnaires for students, their parents, teachers and other education professionals at all-day schools and through standardized observations. There were estimated latent linear growth curve models with three measurement time points, using the option ‘type = complex’ in Mplus (cf. Schüpbach/Herzog/Ignaczewska, 2013). The study produced findings in four main areas:

Effects of Extended Education on Student Achievement

Regarding the development of *mathematics achievement* from the end of Grade 1 to the end of Grade 3, the EduCare study found that students who attended extended education intensively showed greater gains than students who attended regular school instruction only and no offerings. Taking into account individual and family background factors (controlled for IQ and family promotion and stimulation³), extended education and intensive participation in those offerings had a positive effect as compared to obligatory hours of school instruction only with no attendance in extended education (Schüpbach/Herzog/Ignaczewska, 2013). Regarding *language achievement*, the study showed that students who attended extended education, starting with significantly lower achievement in language after one school year, showed greater improvement in their language achievement at the end of Grade 3 than students who attended regular school instruction only (controlled for IQ and social background) (cf. Schüpbach, 2012a). That means that students who attend extended education can have better development of mathematics and language achievement. According to the latest findings of studies on all-day schools conducted in Germany, intensive attendance has a positive effect on school grades (Kuhn/Fischer, 2011). Bellin/Tamke (cf. 2010) found the same results when studying the same age group as in the EduCare study. In addition, studies in the United States also found a largely positive association between attendance at after school programs and student achievement (cf. Durlak/Weissberg, 2007). Thus, the EduCare findings agree with the U.S. findings and are even slightly more positive than the latest findings in German-speaking Europe.

3 Familial process quality.

Effects of Extended Education on Social-Emotional Development

The EduCare study found that at the end of Grade 1, children that attended extended education at all-day schools did not have better *social-emotional development* than students that attended regular school instruction only at the end of Grade 3 (controlled for gender, IQ, and social background) (cf. Schüpbach/Ignaczewska/Herzog in press). In a study in Germany on all-day schools, Fischer/Kuhn/Klieme (2009) found that a longer period of regular attendance at extended education offerings of high quality (as rated by attendees) had a positive effect on prosocial behavior. More positive effects than in the EduCare study were found by Fischer/Kuhn/Züchner (2011) regarding problematic social behavior. Studies conducted in the United States found that after school programs can be said to benefit children only when educational quality is taken into account (cf. Mahoney et al., 2005). Thus, the EduCare findings are only in part consistent with the results of international studies.

Effects of the Educational Quality of Extended Education Offerings on Development

The EduCare study also found – when focusing only on students that attended extended education and additionally considering *intensity of attendance* and the *quality of extended education*⁴ – that children who attended extended education intensively in Grade 1 or children who attended good-quality extended education (and particularly children who did both) benefitted in their development of mathematics achievement from the end of Grade 1 to the end of Grade 3 (controlled for IQ, and family promotion and stimulation) (Schüpbach submitted). Intensity of attendance and educational quality also had positive effects on social-emotional development of students that attended extended education. When additionally considering intensity of attendance and the quality of extended education offerings, EduCare found that students who attended extended education intensively and attended a wide range of good quality activities benefitted the most in their development, independently of their social background (controlled for gender, IQ, and social background). Further, students who attended extended education offerings that were well-structured educationally developed greater social-emotional strengths and fewer behavior difficulties, independently of their social background (Schüpbach/Ignaczewska/Herzog in press).

All in all, the findings of the EduCare study confirmed that there is an association between the educational quality of extended education and the development of mathematics achievement in children attending extended education offerings (cf. Mahoney et al., 2005). In line with current research (cf. Fischer/Kuhn/Klieme, 2009), the EduCare study showed that the dosage – that is, the amount of time that children spend participating in extended education – is important. Regarding social-emotional development in particular, however, the study also showed that different quality factors had different effects on the child depending on the developmental area.

4 In this study, quality means “process quality” of the offerings in the six quality areas or subscales space and furnishings, health and safety, activities, interactions, program structure, and staff development (cf. Tietze/Rossbach/Stendel/Wellner, 2005).

Compensatory Effects With Regard to Low Family Promotion

Another question is whether extended education at the start of primary school can compensate for low family promotion and stimulation – the family's process quality – of the child's development and thus primary disparities. In the EduCare study, controlling for individual background variables, in mathematics achievement and language achievement students with low family developmental promotion who attended extended education did not catch up to the other students from the end of Grade 1 to the end of Grade 3. Here there was no compensatory effect of the all-day school in this group of children (cf. Schüpbach, 2012a; Schüpbach/Herzog/Ignaczewska, 2013). Similarly, in Germany Schröder-Lenzen/Mücke (cf. 2010) found that the all-day school had no compensatory effects on primary school children. In a meta-analysis of studies with developmentally at-risk children in the United States, Lauer et al. (cf. 2006) found more positive effects of attendance at after school programs than the EduCare study found for Switzerland.

Studies on Collaboration in All-Day Schools

In the course of the development of extended education in Switzerland as well as in other German-speaking countries, collaboration between different professions and a close connection between instruction and offerings of extended education is becoming a main element of quality and an instrument of innovation in many all-day schools. Multiprofessional collaboration in all-day schools is a topic that is now receiving more and more attention in educational administration and research. Multiprofessional collaboration can refer to collaboration between education professionals in all-day schools (teachers and other pedagogical professionals) and professionals outside the school (such as social workers, youth workers, people working in associations or local industries) in extended education in a community-based setting.

In research in Switzerland, only two studies are available at present on the topic of collaboration in all-day schools: a study by Schüpbach/Jutzi/Thomann (2012) on forms of collaboration and conditions that promote or hinder collaboration at all-day schools, and an evaluation by Forrer/Schuler (2010) (see also section 2.3 above), which also examined forms of collaboration in open and compulsory all-day schools.

The qualitative study by Schüpbach/Jutzi/Thomann (cf. 2012) analyzed 10 all-day schools that showed good collaboration and are located in five different cantons in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The survey was conducted using a problem-centered interview with the school administration and focus group discussions with teachers, other education professionals, and stakeholders in the local communities. The results showed that there were different forms of collaboration at all all-day schools. They differ considerably in their form and intensity. There are student-oriented and situation-specific forms of collaboration between school-based and community-based actors. Informal forms of cooperation, such as discussions between teachers and education professionals, are common. A similar picture is found concerning collaboration with community-based actors. The findings regarding promoting and hindering conditions revealed that three main areas of conditions of collaboration practices – institution, team, and interpersonal processes – proved to be relevant in the whole sample of all-day schools. In comparison with the differ-

ent areas of collaboration (school-based vs. community-based), the study also found three types of collaboration:

(1) *School-oriented type* (Classes and extended education build an organizational unity supported by the community canton. The extended education offerings are on school premises and there is intensive informal collaboration between the different professionals.)

(2) *Mixed/intermediate type* (Extended education offerings are supported by associations, and foundations. They can take place either on school premises or elsewhere, and a contract regulates the collaboration.)

(3) *Community-oriented type* (Classes and extended education can be either an organizational unity supported by the community canton or supported by different supporters. This type is oriented to the community and has collaborations in the school and with professionals outside the school in a community-based setting.)

Additionally, the results showed specific conditions of good collaboration practices inside and outside the school in these different types of schools. A favorable condition for the *school-oriented type* was the infrastructure of the area; teacher and other professionals work in the same school building and can easily network in an informal way. Further, participation of teachers in the offerings was favorable for good collaboration. For the *mixed/intermediate type*, especially formal forms of collaboration were found. Another favorable condition was clarified competencies of the different professionals, e.g. in the case of homework. For the *community-oriented type*, formal and informal forms turned out to be important for good collaboration between different professionals. In this type especially financial support from the canton and/or the community promoted good collaboration practices outside the school. Finally, the communication between the stakeholders was found to be important in all types. One central conclusion of the study was that in many of the schools examined, collaboration was a crucial part of daily interaction and was positively rated in general.

In their evaluation of all-day schools in the city of Zurich, Forrer/ Schuler (2010) additionally examined differences in collaboration between open and compulsory all-day schools. Here Forrer/Schuler (2010) studied all five compulsory and four open all-day schools in Zurich. They conducted focus group interviews with school management, teachers, and other education professionals. They found that in both types of all-day schools, there was collaboration between teachers and other education professionals. Whereas at the open all-day schools teachers were seldom present during extended education offerings, for which other education professionals were responsible, at compulsory all-day schools teachers were also involved in extended education, and they worked more closely with the other education professionals. This collaboration reduced perceived burden (Forrer/Schuler, 2010).

The two studies mentioned above provide the first information on collaboration in the schools and also outside the school in Switzerland, which is not as widespread as in Germany, for instance. The findings on forms of collaboration and on conditions promoting and hindering collaboration are largely in line with current findings in German and English-speaking countries (cf. Speck et al., 2011).

3 Research Gaps and Perspectives in Research in Switzerland

In Switzerland official education statistics and research on extended education are still in their infancy. This is directly associated with the fact that extended education has only been widely discussed within the last 10 years and has begun to be implemented within the last five years. However, Switzerland is undergoing rapid development in this area at present. Regarding research, this means that there is a great need for description of the situation today and for examination of the mechanisms at work between the educational quality of the offerings, professionalization of education personnel, and students' development. In federalist Switzerland, a country with four national languages, there is a need for research in all language regions. Our overview of existing research revealed that up to now, studies have been conducted mainly in the German-speaking part of Switzerland and that this field of research is lying fallow in the other regions.

In the national but also cantonal official education statistics there is a need for differentiated clarification of concepts and precise description of the terms being used in the area of extended education. There is also a need for homogenization of the terms used for extended education offerings across cantons. This is important for both the EDK and FSO. Further, we deem it necessary in the education statistics on child care and education from age 0–16 years to differentiate between the ages of the children and between young children in early childhood, preschoolers, and school-age children. This would align with the differentiation that is already made in other, existing topic areas in education statistics and provide a good basis for education research on extended education in Switzerland.

Evaluations in the area of education can provide important decision-making bases for education policy and also school development, such as all-day schools with extended education. In the phase of establishing extended education in Switzerland, future evaluations will most likely be concerned with school development. For research, these evaluations, which are mainly conducted at individual schools or a few schools and with very small samples, have not been/will not be very significant and informative.

As for the research focus on quality and effectiveness, which is especially interesting in this context, one large study has been conducted to date, the EduCare study at the University of Bern. The study provides findings on the quality and effectiveness of all-day schools in an implementation phase of extended education in Switzerland. Future studies should in addition differentiate between all-day schools with open or compulsory attendance at extracurricular offerings. Also needed is special investigation of extended education offerings for students at the secondary level, which since recently have become increasingly available. Previous research showed that quality aspects of extended education can have different effects depending on the developmental area. Further, more differentiated research is needed, and with larger samples, to investigate the multiple aspects of educational quality of extended education and their effects and mechanisms. The research project *EduCare-TaSe – Tagesschule und Schulerfolg?* [EduCare-TaSe – All-Day School and School Success?], supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation, has been designed to address these research needs (Schüpbach, 2012b).

Research on multiprofessional collaboration in all-day schools between teachers and other educational professionals is very new and just developing currently. Two qualitative case studies are available so far. As a next step, there is a need for broader investigation by means of (intervention) studies with a longitudinal design on (development of) collaboration and on different effects of collaboration (including decreasing and increasing the burden, effects on children, range of offering).

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Research on Extended Education in Germany – A General Model with All-Day Schooling and Private Tutoring as Two Examples

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Abstract: Although research on extended education is similar to school-focused research in some respects, in other respects it involves new research perspectives and questions. Our article presents an analytical model on extended education that is based on school-effectiveness research and the work of Fischer and Klieme (2013). We summarise selected research findings in two areas of extended education: all-day schooling and private tutoring. While much research has been done in the first area, there is a considerable lack in the second. Our model and the findings that we are reporting can be used to guide further research in the field of extended education.

Keywords: research on extended education, all-day schools, private tutoring, educational effectiveness

1 Introduction

From early childhood to late adolescence, young people in Germany are enrolled in various institutional and non-institutional, public or private forms of educational arrangements. Some of them, particularly pre-school-aged children, attend kindergarten or participate in early learning courses. School-aged children often participate in school- or community-based programmes, forms of private tutoring or after-school activities such as art courses or academic clubs, or they attend extracurricular activities at all-day schools. While these activities and programmes are usually summarised as *non-formal learning environments* in German-speaking countries, Anglo-American countries use terms like after-school programmes, organised activities, designed activities or “structured informal contexts” (Vadeboncoeur 2006, p. 240). In as far as these activities and programmes focus on the *social, emotional* and *academic development* of children and young people and are *pedagogically structured* to make it easier for the participants to learn specific contents (whatever they may be), we use the term *extended education* to encompass all forms of educational contexts that are focused and designed in this way.

There are certain indicators to prove that there has been overall growth in the field of extended education in Germany within the last decades. For example, the number of German all-day schools – in a sense a prototype of extended education programmes and activities (see section 3) – nearly tripled from 4,951 in 2002 to 15,349 in 2011 (KMK 2013) and the number of child daycare facilities (kindergarten) increased from 45,252 (2006) to 47,929 in 2011. This increase is largely due to an increase in child day care facilities for children under the age of 3 (see Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung 2012, p. 239, Table C2-1A).¹ In addition, we have observed a rise in community- and state-run programmes such as holiday camps that foster children outside of the school hours (cf. Hessisches Kultusministerium 2013).

This development in the field of extended education holds true not only for Germany but for nearly all modern countries (see Stecher & Maschke 2013; Ecarius, Klieme, Stecher, & Woods, 2013). Furthermore, a private market for extended education has been established in most countries in addition to the state-run and official educational programmes and initiatives. An extensive market in the area of private tutoring (i.e. Schülerhilfe and Studienkreis²) has evolved in the last two decades in Germany. Dohmen, Erbes, Fuchs & Günzel assume that more than 25 per cent of German students have participated at least once in private tutoring before leaving school (2007, p. 24). According to preliminary data from the National Panel Educational Study (NEPS), more than one out of three 5th graders attends courses outside of school – in most cases these are music classes (Stecher & Preis, 2013). Furthermore, new commercial programmes for fostering children have arisen within the past decade such as FasTrackKids, which is a programme to foster academic learning for 3- to 8-year olds.³

In summary, it is striking that the field of extended education has increased – particularly since the beginning of this century.⁴ In accordance with this development the demand for research on the effectiveness of programmes and activities is also on the rise. Our paper will cover some of the research that has been carried out in this field. Although research on extended education in general has a lifelong perspective, we will focus only on childhood and adolescence with an emphasis on all-day schooling and private tutoring. We selected these two topics because they are largely interlinked with schooling and topics related to schools; consequently, they can be viewed as two central pillars in the extended education system in Germany.

We start with a *general model of educational effectiveness in the research field of extended education*. This model guides our report in the two fields of extended education that we will examine in this paper and is applicable to all other forms of extended education. It can therefore serve as a general framework to guide further research in this field.

1 Parallel to this development the discussion has shifted from questions of care and upbringing to questions of academic education in general and school-related development in particular (such as stimulating early numeracy or literacy; see Drieschner 2010 for this discussion).

2 Schülerhilfe and Studienkreis are two of the largest commercial suppliers in the field of private tutoring in Germany.

3 See <http://www.fastrackkids.com/prekafterschool>.

4 For the details of this development and its background, see Stecher and Maschke (2013).

2 Extended Education and a Model of Educational Effectiveness

As Ecarius et al. summarise in their work (2013, p. 8), extended education arrangements are different from formal contexts such as the curriculum-mandated lessons at school in certain ways:

- “In some countries they are not taught by teachers (in the stricter sense),
- there is generally no performance assessment with grades,
- they are often organised in mixed-aged groups,
- they are usually only subject to a low level of curricular requirements, and
- they often offer children and youths more freedom of choice than school.”

At the same time these extended education activities and programmes have much in common with school or classroom teaching.

They are offered by an organisation in some cases – but not all (for example, see section 5). In the field of (extended) education, this means that the activities and programmes must be oriented towards educational outcomes and simultaneously must be client-oriented (oriented towards the client’s success and satisfaction). This holds true not only to private organisations but to some extent also to public organisations in every case where participation is voluntary for children and adolescents.

In as far as educational outcomes and client-oriented outcomes are measurable and based on successful, pedagogical intentional behaviour of the caregiver/instructor, they are open to questions of educational effectiveness.

Based on American research, Miller (2003) designed a model of effectiveness for after-school activities. This model was interlinked with research conducted by Klieme and his colleagues on educational quality (Klieme & Rakoczy, 2008). Radisch, Stecher, Klieme & Kühnbach (2008), Stecher, Radisch, Fischer & Klieme (2007) and Fischer & Klieme (2013) adapted the model to extracurricular activities in German all-day schools. As Stecher (2007) argue, this model is applicable to most of the activities and programmes in the field of extended education.

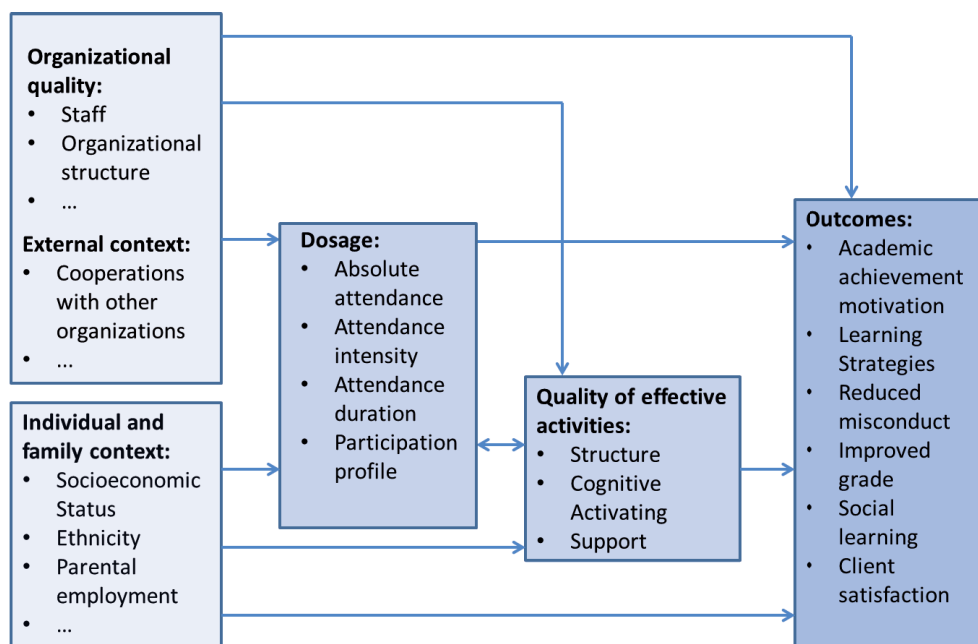


Figure 1: A general model of educational effectiveness in the field of extended education (based on Fischer & Klieme 2013, p. 33)

The model is divided into three sections that are familiar from school effectiveness research models: the input level, the process level (or throughput) and the output level (or outcome).

Very similar to school effectiveness research, the field of extended education at the input level encompasses research questions about the structure of the organisation providing the activities and programmes, the aims of the organisation and the educational/pedagogical proficiencies of the staff. But research on extended education must deal with some questions that are different in some way when compared to school effectiveness research. For example, a focus on research regarding teachers/instructors in extended education usually requires dealing with a considerably *greater heterogeneity of the personnel's qualification level* than is the case for school effectiveness research. Höhmann, Bergmann & Gebauer (2008, p. 84) point out that for example nearly 56 per cent of the staff engaged in extracurricular activities at all-day schools have no university degree (which is usually required for teachers).

In additional, the input perspective focuses on the socio-economic, ethnic and family background of the students enrolled in the extracurricular and out-of-school activities. These aspects take into account the variety of initial or starting conditions that an organisation's work is based on, which is a perspective very similar to school effectiveness research.

What makes research on extended education quite different from school effectiveness research is that students usually participate voluntarily in the activities and programmes, whereas schools require that all students attend the formal curriculum. That means that research in the field of extended education must take into account that the dosage of instructional time varies among students. Some of them do not

participate at all, some participate (only) in leisure-time activities like sports and some participate in academic remedial programmes on one or more days a week. According to Fiester, Simpkins & Bouffard (2005), research must differentiate between *absolute attendance* (participation vs. no participation), *attendance intensity* (days per week/per month), *attendance duration* (short term vs. long term participation) and the *participation profile* (what kind of activities the children are enrolled in – for example, leisure time vs. learning activities). As Fischer, Kuhn & Klieme (2009, pp. 162) summarise in their analysis of representative longitudinal data (see section 4), positive effects of extracurricular activities at all-day schools are due not only to the students' absolute attendance but also to the attendance duration; the higher the long-term dosage of extended education activities, the better the educational outcomes.

An essential aspect of school effectiveness models is the focus on the educational quality of pedagogical interaction, that is to say the quality of classroom teaching. This aspect also plays an important role in the extended educational effectiveness model. Based on the work by Klieme and his colleagues related to classroom teaching, this model adapts Klieme's three-dimensional model of effective classroom teaching (see Klieme, Lipowsky & Rakoczy, 2006; Klieme, Pauli & Reusser, 2009) to extracurricular and out-of-school activities. It is based on the conviction that the following factors enhance learning processes regardless of the learning environment's nature – formal, non-formal or informal:

- a highly structured learning environment – no matter if this involves school lessons or out-of-school pedagogically designed leisure-time activities – “providing, for example, safeness, stability, or clarity of rules to the learner” [*Structure Dimension*];
- a learning environment that enables “positive emotional relations to peers and adults [...], understanding, feedback, support for autonomy and competence and social embedding” [*Support Dimension*];
- a learning environment that provides “tasks that are not too demanding but also not too simple to be solved by the learner, thus leading her or him to a ‘zone of proximal development’” [*Cognitive Activation Dimension*] (Bäumer et al. 2011, p. 93).

Radisch et al. (2008) even went so far as to say that these three dimensions are also applicable to learning processes within the family (for example, parental support for homework). For a detailed description on the perspective of process quality applied to different learning environments, see the fourth issue of the *Journal for Sociology of Education and Socialization* 2007 (Stecher 2007). A research team in the German National Educational Panel Study (NEPS) is currently applying the model to the occupational training of adolescents and adults, school-related internships (Preis & Stecher 2009), and academic courses in which children and adolescents are enrolled outside of school (Stecher & Preis 2013).

On the outcome level – the third section in the model – school effectiveness research usually focuses on academic achievement, learning strategies or features of the personality that are connected with learning success. While research on the effectiveness of extended education also concentrates on these variables, the focus is enlarged to other aspects of student development including social learning, intercultural learning or a positive academic self-concept. Out-of-school educational research deals with various areas of competencies and proficiencies at different levels

that usually cannot be deduced from a generally valid and approved curriculum such as is the case in school effectiveness research. Consequently, competency models must be designed differently. Standardised testing tools currently are not available for some of these aspects.

3 Research on Extended Education

As we mentioned above, extended education encompasses a wide array of research fields. If we focus on childhood and adolescence, this area includes kindergarten, academic or sports clubs, programmes of music or cultural education or all-day schools. This paper focuses on the research about all-day schooling – in more precise terms, it examines the research on extracurricular activities at all-day schools – and private tutoring. One of the pro arguments put forward as part of the educational discussions in favour of extracurricular activities at all-day schools is that they have the potential to support students with needs in a new and effective way of learning (cf. Holtappels 2005, pp. 8). According to this argument, all-day schools should be able to *reduce* the gap in academic achievement that is caused by differences in the children's socio-economic background. Supporting students is also an essential argument for why families provide their children with private tutoring lessons. However, in contrast to all-day schools, families must pay for private tutoring lessons and – as Klemm & Klemm argue (2010) – this may *enlarge* the social gap between students from different socio-economic backgrounds and partly counteract the compensating potential of all-day schools. Based on these findings and this hypothesis, research on all-day schooling and private tutoring does not only concern research on education but simultaneously research on social inequality and the role that extended education programmes and activities play within this context.

A second point in favour of focussing on and starting with all-day school research is that most research in the field of extended education during the past decade in Germany was definitely conducted on all-day schooling. That at least holds true with regard to the general effectiveness model shown in Figure 1.

From our point of view – as we mentioned briefly in the introduction – all-day schooling can be seen as a prototype of extended education programmes and activities. This perspective is based on the fact that on the one hand extracurricular activities at all-day schools do encompass a wide array of activities – from leisure-time oriented to curriculum-mandated learning activities – and on the other hand in all-day schools formal and non-formal educational processes, curricular and extracurricular learning are interlinked. While according to the former aspect the heterogeneity of extended education activities is almost completely covered, according to the latter the combined effects of curricular and extracurricular learning can be researched as well as the different effects of both learning fields.

Taking all aspects mentioned in this section together, from our point of view all-day school research can currently be seen as the basic pillar of research on extended education.

4 Research on All-Day Schooling

Although there has been some research in Germany since the beginning of the 1960s that deals with all-day schooling and related topics (for an overview, see Holtappels, Klieme, Radisch, Rauschenbach & Stecher, 2008a), systematic and representative research was not initiated until 2005. This is when the “Study on the Development of All-Day Schools” (StEG) was launched. StEG is funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) as part of the “A Future for Education and Care” (Investitionsprogramm Zukunft Bildung und Betreuung, IZBB) investment programme. Within this programme, the German federal government provided a total of 4 billion euros to the federal states from 2003 to 2010 for the development and expansion of all-day schools. StEG is part of the accompanying research strategy of this investment programme. A research consortium consisting of four well-known research institutes is in charge of the study (see Holtappels, Klieme, Radisch, Rauschenbach & Stecher, 2008b; Fischer et al. 2011).

StEG is the first representative, multi-perspective and longitudinal study on the development of all-day schools in Germany. Due to these features, it is currently one of the most important studies in the field of extended education. StEG focuses on a wide array of topics such as the processes of school development, staff collaboration and professionalism, parental satisfaction and students’ outcomes. More than 300 principals, 600 external cooperation partners of schools, more than 6,000 teachers, 1,500 caregivers (additional staff at all-day schools), 14,000 parents, and nearly 27,000 students were questioned at three points in time – 2005, 2007 and 2009 (see Furthmüller, Neumann, Quellenberg, Steiner & Züchner, 2011).⁵

Partly based on the model of educational effectiveness described in the above section, StEG conducts research related to all-day schooling on all three levels: the input level, the process level and the outcome level. In the following we will focus on participation rates (dosage), educational quality at the process level and students’ outcomes as part of this process.

Participation Rates (Dosage)

Assuming that developing all-day schooling in Germany will foster academic achievement in particular for students who are in need, it is plausible that all-day schools will help to close the gap in academic success of pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds. As PISA data has shown, this gap is high in Germany from an international perspective. A necessary prerequisite for tapping unused learning potential is that all students – regardless of their family background – participate to the same degree in the extracurricular activities of all-day schools. Consequently, StEG is working on basic research questions such as who participates in the ex-

5 StEG has been prolonged until the end of 2015. Based on the findings of the first research phase from 2005 to 2010, StEG is conducting focus studies such as those dealing with specific in-depth research questions in its second phase (for more details, see <http://www.projekt-steg.de/>).

Some other research projects were also funded by the IZBB investment programme. Furthermore, a network on all-day school research was launched in 2005. More than 150 researchers (mostly) from German-speaking countries are working together within this network. A huge body of research literature is available due to these initiatives.

tracurricular activities offered at all-day schools and to what extent these students participate.

Initial StEG data show that about two out of three students participate in extracurricular activities at the primary (3rd grade) level (2005: 65%; 2007: 74%; 2009: 67%); the participating rates at the secondary (5th grade) level are slightly higher (2005: 66%; 2007: 74%; 2009: 71%). The majority of students at primary and secondary level therefore participate in extracurricular activities at least once a week (see Steiner 2011b, p. 66). Since the StEG data is based on all-day schools, this finding applies only to students attending an all-day school. Taking into account the total number of students in Germany (half-day and all-day schools taken together), nearly one out of three German students is currently enrolled in extracurricular activities (KMK 2013, Table 3.1.1).

Further analysis of the StEG data shows that leisure-time activities – sports in particular – are the most appealing to students and that curriculum-mandated learning and remedial academic activities are considerably less appealing. This especially applies to students at the secondary level (see StEG-Konsortium 2010, pp. 9).

Aside from these findings, the StEG data reveals that there is a selection bias in participation according to children's educational and socio-economic background at primary level. While only 52 per cent of the students in the lowest parental educational status group were enrolled in extracurricular activities (in 2009), the rate of students in the highest status group was 72 per cent. According to the categories of socio-economic status, the participating rate for students with low socio-economic status was 62 per cent (in 2009), whereas the participating rate for students of high socio-economic status was 75 per cent (Steiner 2011b, p. 67).

We can assume with due reason that the earlier children are enrolled in extracurricular activities, the better their chances will be later on in their school career. Offering activities and programmes free of charge would especially help children from lower social classes.

Educational Process Quality

As indicated in the general effectiveness model (see Figure 1), input and outcome levels are interlinked by the respective quality of pedagogic interaction between students and teachers or instructors. Research literature in school effectiveness research about this aspect, usually is referred to as *educational process quality*. It shows that when the educational process quality is higher – with respect to the three dimensions of *structure*, *support*, and *challenge* mentioned in section 2 – the students develop better academically. In as far as the extracurricular activities designed to enhance learning and development are structured in a way that is comparable to as classroom teaching, questions of educational process quality also arise (see section 2).

Radisch et al. (2008) use two tools to assess the educational process quality of extracurricular activities. They call the first “student orientation.” It assesses to what extent learning situations in the extracurricular activities are oriented towards active participation by the students, have a clear structure, and are cognitive challenging for the students.⁶ The second tool is called the “student-instructor relationship.” It

6 Confirmatory factor analysis shows that the 15-item tool used by Radisch and his colleagues (2008, pp. 236) is one-dimensional, which supports the finding from school effectiveness research that students' perceptions of

assesses the degree to which the students perceive the instructors as being supportive and interested in the individual's development, as well as how comfortable students feel in the activities.⁷ While the instrument of "student orientation" covers the process quality dimensions of structure and challenge, the instrument of "student-instructor relationship" is related to the dimension of support.

An initial striking finding reported by Radisch et al. (2008, p. 244) is that the quality of the relationship with instructors in extracurricular activities is perceived more positively on the average by the students than the relationship to teachers in the curricular lessons. This finding and the following findings underline the educational potential that extracurricular activities can have in comparison to the regular lessons.

As mentioned above, school effectiveness research proves that the probability of positive developmental and academic outcomes increases with a higher level of process quality perceived by the students. This basic finding also holds true for extracurricular activities. Radisch et al. (2008, pp. 257) show that the better the students perceive the quality of the relationship with their instructors and the more the extracurricular activities are oriented towards the students' needs for structure and challenge, the more the students report that participation in these extracurricular activities is fun, helps them build new social networks and supports them in learning issues and getting better grades. Indeed, Kuhn and Fischer (2011, pp. 222) show – at least with respect to 9th graders – that students participating in extracurricular activities achieve a better grade average than students who do not participate. This achievement is more pronounced the more the activities are oriented towards the students' needs and the better the relationship with the instructors is perceived to be by the students.

In the pedagogical discussion about possible positive effects of extracurricular activities, there is often an assumption that attending new forms of educational contexts will affect not only students' outcomes relating directly to the activities but also students' schooling and learning engagement in general. This "radiation hypothesis" is supported by the StEG data. As the StEG (2010, p. 16.) shows, students who are enrolled in activities characterised by high process quality are more motivated to learn and like school more than students also participating in extracurricular activities but reporting less process quality for these activities. This finding was not only confirmed by Fischer, Brümmer & Kuhn (2011, pp. 242) by using StEG panel data from grades 5 to 9, but also expanded to motivational learning orientations. Students perceiving high quality in the activities that they are enrolled in show more intrinsic motivation to learn how to improve their knowledge, their cognitive abilities and skills than students reporting lower levels of process quality. High intrinsic motivation correlates positively with academic achievement (cf. *ibid.*, p. 228).

From the findings reported in this section, we can conclude that participation alone is not the key to positive student outcomes in most cases. In particular, the process quality of the activities must be taken into account: The higher the process quality of extended education activities, the higher the probability of positive outcomes. Because this finding is very similar to the findings in school effectiveness research, it underlines the basic principle of the StEG consortium's work: In other words, that

classroom teaching have a low level of refinement.

7 This tool encompasses 5 items; as confirmatory factor analysis has shown, this tool is one-dimensional (Radisch et al., 2008, pp. 242).

tools and concepts developed in school effectiveness research are adaptable to most of the effectiveness questions studied in the research on extended education.

Educational Effectiveness (Outcome Perspective)

The StEG assesses a wide array of outcomes that cover not only aspects of academic achievement such as grades in core subjects and retention rates, but also forms of social learning such as learning from other students or supporting others (prosocial behaviour).

As a summary of research conducted since the 1980s by Holtappels et al. (2008, p. 43) demonstrates, the idea that participating in extracurricular activities at all-day schools fosters the social development of children and adolescents appears to be well-established. This finding is confirmed by the StEG consortium (2011, pp. 13). As they grow older, children and adolescents participating on a regular basis in extracurricular activities develop better socially in terms of showing less aggressive and less class-disturbing behaviour than students who do not participate in such activities at all or just do so sporadically. This holds true in particular if the students report a high educational quality of the activities with regard to the general model's three dimensions outlined in Figure 1. The better the activities are structured, the more the students feel comfortable and supported emotionally, and the more the activities are perceived as challenging and cognitively activating, the more beneficial the participation in these activities is for students' social development.

Kuhn and Fischer (2011, p. 156) show that students' social development and academic achievement are interlinked. Students with more appropriate social behaviour – less aggressive and disturbing behaviour and more pro-social behaviour – perform academically better; this better social behaviour develops over the years together with the better academic achievement (grades). In fostering the students' social development, all-day schools indirectly support their academic development. But do all-day schools also affect academic achievement directly?

When the StEG consortium published its first findings in 2007 (Holtappels et al. 2008b), data became available to provide a reliable answer to this question. Most of the research conducted before the StEG shows a very minor positive effect on academic achievement when students attend an all-day school, no matter how academic achievement is measured (cf. Holtappels et al. 2008a, p. 42). But most of the studies conducted in this research area had serious shortcomings. For instance, the dosage of students' participation in extracurricular activities – which we outlined as one of the major distinctions between school effectiveness research and research in the field of extended education – is not taken into account nor is the educational quality of the extracurricular activities (a matter of course in school effectiveness research; cf. Klieme et al. 2005) considered in most studies. In addition, most studies are cross-sectional and this usually makes it impossible to distinguish between sample selection effects (which group of students participates and which group does not) and socialisation effects (effects that are due to participation). Consequently, most of these studies cannot be consulted for answers to questions of effectiveness.

Aside from the fact that the StEG does not assess students' academic performance by means of standardised testing tools (like those used in PISA or comparable studies), StEG data prove for the first time that participating in all-day school activi-

ties is beneficial for academic performance. Based on longitudinal data provided by StEG, Fischer et al. (2009) demonstrate that students who participate in extracurricular activities at the first measuring time perform better in the subjects of mathematics and German (measured by grades) two years later (measuring time 2). This holds true even if the performance level in mathematics and German at measuring time 1 and several other relevant variables affecting academic achievement such as socioeconomic family status, migration background or basic cognitive ability are controlled for. From the perspective of dosage that was discussed in chapter 2, the data show that while absolute attendance (participation vs. non-participation) and attendance duration (sporadic vs. long-term participation) affect academic performance in mathematics and German significantly, this is not the case with respect to attendance intensity. However, an additional analysis by Kuhn and Fischer (2011) revealed that attendance intensity has an influence on the development of the grade average, but that effect becomes evident only in higher grades: the more days per week 9th graders are enrolled in extracurricular activities, the better their grade average develops. This finding does not apply to 5th and 7th graders. Whether these differential findings are due to different participation profiles (see Figure 1) of 5th/7th and 9th graders has to be shown in further research.

Steiner (2011a, p. 203) shows that participating in extracurricular activities regularly (for at least two of the three measuring times in the StEG study = attendance duration) decreases the risk of not being promoted to the next class. Taking into account other relevant variables such as average grades (in mathematics and German) or family background does not affect the finding. To demonstrate this result, Steiner proved that this effect is not due to the structural effects of all-day schools on the basis of their retention practice.

Moreover, Fischer et al. (2009) and the StEG consortium (2011) report that the achievement goal orientation of students – a prerequisite for good academic performance – develops in quite the same way. Other prerequisites for performing well academically such as liking school and learning motivation develop positively for students who also attend extracurricular activities at all-day schools. This holds true particularly if the activities have a high educational quality (cf. StEG consortium 2010, p. 16).

Furthermore, Radisch et al. (2008, p. 254) discovered that the more days per week students are enrolled in extracurricular activities, the more they are convinced that participating in these activities is beneficial for their learning progress and their academic achievement at school. Academic gain reported by the students reflects the positive effects that were previously reported.

The basic findings of this section can be summarised in the words of Fischer and Klieme (2013, p. 46): “On the whole, StEG results indicate that all-day schools can contribute to improving academic and non-academic achievement, given that students regularly make use of the additional activities and dependent on activity and school quality.”

Yet, we must take the shortcomings of the StEG analysis into account for the complete perspective.

In most cases, the type of extracurricular activity in which the student is enrolled (attendance profile) has not been taken into account. Therefore, most findings published by the StEG team do not differentiate between the enrolment of the students who are being researched in curriculum-mandated activities and leisure-time activi-

ties. While there is a hypothesis that all forms of activities provided at all-day schools – directly or indirectly – affect the academic achievement of students (Stecher et al., 2009), we can assume that curriculum-mandated and remedial academic activities may especially foster academic achievement. Therefore the positive effects of participating in extracurricular activities at all-day schools reported by the StEG team would be more convincing if they took into account the different forms of activities in which the students are enrolled. More analysis in this direction is required.

A second shortcoming of the StEG data is that only grade point average, retention rates and self-reported data by the students – related to how strongly they believe participating in extracurricular activities supports them in terms of learning progress and passing exams – are available to measure academic achievement. No objective and standardised measuring tools were employed, so it is not possible to report findings based on test scores. As a consequence of this shortcoming, StEG is currently conducting research on the effects of extracurricular activities on academic achievement based on standardised testing tools and a quasi-experimental intervention design. Initial data will be available in 2014.

5 Private Tutoring

South Korea (cf. Koinzer 2011) can be used as an international example. Similar to the Japanese Juku schools (cf. Schubert 2002), South Korea has an extensive system of private learning and tutoring institutes that – among other things – prepare students for the central exam at the transition to university studies. However, such institutes are attended already during elementary school for learning support. The official figures for South Korea show that approximately 73 per cent of elementary school children are involved in such private educational activities (Ham 2007). According to these figures of prevalence, South Korean researchers refer to the private tutoring sector as a “shadow educational system” (cf. Bae & Jeon 2013). Germany’s situation is not yet comparable to South Korea, but an extensive market in the area of private tutoring has also been established here (Klemm & Klemm 2010; Dohmen et al. 2007). The current annual volume is estimated between 1.0 and 1.3 billion euros. About 1.1 million students from 1st to 12th/13th grade are enrolled in private tutoring (in 2007; cf. Klemm & Klemm 2010, p. 20). Parallel to the increasing significance of private tutoring in the field of extended education (cf. Rauschenbach et al. 2004, p. 335), research efforts have also increased. For the current research, also see Hollenbach & Meier (2004), Schneider (2005) Jürgens & Diekmann (2007), Klemm & Klemm (2010), Koinzer (2011), Streber (2011) and Guill (2012). Examples of overviews are Dohmen et al. (2007), Jürgens (2008) and Guill (2012). According to the model described in section 2, we will present a short overview of some selected findings on private tutoring such as participating rates, process quality and outcome effects.

Research on Private Tutoring

The term “private tutoring” is not as easy to define as might be assumed. According to Koinzer (2011, p. 34) private tutoring is a “continuum” extending from informal parental support “at the kitchen table” to enrolment in private organisations of the non-formal sector such as the German Schülerhilfe or Studienkreis. According to this variance, the circle of persons acting as instructors is broad. It can extend from (retired) teachers to university students or laypeople such as the neighbour’s children or parents. The result is that the professional background of the instructors varies. That is one of the distinctions to school effectiveness research that must be taken into account for research in the field of extended education – as emphasised by our theoretical model in section 2.

In nearly every case, tutoring focuses on supporting pupils’ learning according to curriculum-mandated school topic areas and subjects. In order to define private tutoring in a broader sense, we must first look at the educational (intentional) goal that tutoring activities and programmes are focused on and the content with which they are associated.

A third aspect to define private tutoring is that the children/the families must pay for it (Klemm & Klemm 2010). Which however does not apply in every case (for example, see tutoring activities at community service centres).

Due to the focus of this paper on educational processes within the field of extended education and in accordance with the available research literature (Klemm & Klemm 2010; Dohmen et al. 2007), parental support at home will be excluded in the following. We will also exclude tutoring and remedial lessons at schools, as well as other forms of private learning support such as activities and programmes for pre-school children (like FasTracKids) or community after-school programmes (which sometimes include support for school-age children in doing their homework and preparing them for exams). Although these activities and programmes are all part of extended education and are important research fields that have been neglected up to now in most cases, we cannot cover all these topics because of the limited space for this article.

As Koinzer (2011, p. 37) states, commercial institutes have a share in the business volume of private tutoring that ranges from 20 to 30 per cent. In most cases, this means that private tutoring is offered outside of an organisational structure and outside of educational effectiveness control. Very little is currently known about private tutoring outside of commercial institutes as a research field (Streber 2011, p. 60). The findings we presenting in the following cover both fields of tutoring.

Participation Rates (Dosage)

Based on the definition of private tutoring mentioned in the previous section and summarising a huge body of studies conducted in this field, Dohmen et al. assume that “approximately every eighth to tenth student (at the primary level) currently makes use of tutoring; for students at the secondary levels I and II, this is probably even almost every fourth. Furthermore, we can say that every third to fourth student has had tutoring over the entire course of his/her schooling” (2007, p. 24; own translation). Further research shows that most students enrolled in private tutoring

courses are participating not just sporadically but for at least several months during the school year (*ibid.*, p. 25).

Based on a change in parental motives related to signing their children up for private tutoring lessons, we can forecast an increasing demand for private tutoring in the near future (Stecher & Maschke 2013; Stecher & Preis 2013). In former decades, parents only enrolled children in these activities if they were in danger of not being promoted to the next class; but now the average grade of children enrolled has decreased from 4.9 to 3.9⁸, as Dohmen et al. (2007, p. 27) report. Only one third of the parents who were asked why they registered their children for private tutoring lessons explicitly specify the danger of not being promoted, but more than 90 per cent mention the general aim of improving their children's grades (*ibid.*, p. 31). This finding is in line with the fact that students attending *Realschule* and especially students attending *Gymnasium* (the highest tracks in the formal school system of Germany) are enrolled to a higher degree in activities of private tutoring than other students (*ibid.*, p. 34).⁹ From our perspective, this means that private tutoring is increasingly becoming not only a compensation strategy for students at risk but a general strategy for improving the competitiveness of (average) students (see also Klemm & Klemm 2010, p. 9). This hypothesis is supported by PISA 2000 data. On the one hand, as shown by Hollenbach and Meier (2004, pp. 180), there is very *little correlation* between grade average, PISA test scores (in mathematics and German language) and the probability of participating in private tutoring. On the other hand, participating rates increase with the increasing economic wealth of the family and – as Schneider (2005, p. 377) states, at least for West Germany – with a higher degree of parents' educational aspirations.

Despite the fact that the probability of participating in private tutoring increases with higher household income – which means that participation in private tutoring may widen the achievement gap between students of different socio-economic backgrounds – it seems that the parental educational level does not play an important role (Schneider, 2005, p. 377). According to the latter, we can assume that private tutoring may reduce the achievement gap, at least with regard to the degree that gap is due to differences in parents' education. But taking into account that Guill (2012) shows that with a higher parents' educational level and higher family income the probability of children's enrolment in private tutoring decreases – and that this holds true only for German language, but not for mathematics and English language – taking together both findings the role of private tutoring in prolonging educational inequality cannot be assessed conclusively (see also Stecher & Preis 2013).

Educational Process Quality

As described in section 4, the perspective of process quality is emphasised in research on all-day schooling. But compared to all-day school research, very little research on the process quality of private tutoring is available. On the one hand, the relevant representative data describing the process of instruction during private

8 In Germany school grades reach from 1=very good to 6 = insufficient.

9 It has to be taken into account that students attending *Hauptschule* (the lowest educational track in the formal school system in Germany) on average do not have sufficient economic resources for enrolling their children in private tutoring.

tutoring lessons is missing. On the other hand, the data at hand is rarely based on educational effectiveness models like in all-day school research. So little is known about private tutoring lessons, their structure, and assistance that they provide and the extent to which they are cognitively challenging. This especially holds true for tutoring outside of commercial organisations.

There are some studies though that can serve as an initial reference point for the fact that the process quality of private tutoring lessons is assessed higher by students and parents in terms of the instructors' diagnostic (cf. teaching and didactical skills, classroom management) and psycho-social competences (cf. providing emotional support and taking students' needs seriously) than in the regular subject-mandated instruction during lessons at school conducted by teachers (Jürgens, 2008, p. 417; own translation). This finding is analogous to the findings mentioned in section 4 with regard to the quality of extracurricular activities. It indicates that these forms of extended education have a specific educational potential. For private tutoring lessons – and in some cases, also for extracurricular activities – we can attribute this finding partly to the better instructor-student ratio that allows a more individual-oriented interaction (for example, see Arbeitskreis Qualitätsmanagement Studienkreis, 2002, p. 11).

Since it is an essential condition for customer satisfaction, the high educational quality of the offers is an essential condition for the economic success of commercial institutes. Therefore some institutes set quality guidelines for tutoring lessons. For example, the Studienkreis released an internal paper containing the basic pedagogical framework and some didactical aspects intended to guide the instructors' work (Arbeitskreis Qualitätsmanagement Studienkreis, 2002). In these guidelines, private tutoring is primarily defined as providing services – services based on professional pedagogical knowledge and research on educational effectiveness (ibid., p. 4). According to this scientific foundation, some aspects related to process quality described in our model are also mentioned in these guidelines. For example, the guidelines emphasise that students should be encouraged to solve learning tasks by themselves in an active and creative way. Lessons should not be focused on teachers' instruction and lecturing alone; they should allow the students enough time to deal with the subject matter on their own (ibid., p. 11). These aspects are part of the quality dimension that we describe as cognitive activating (*challenge*). Another aspect very similar to the above-mentioned concept of process quality is that tutoring lessons should be based on mutual trust to foster self-confidence and academic self-efficacy of the student (ibid.). There are no representative studies available to assess whether these theoretical guidelines are actually put into practice.

Educational Effectiveness of Private Tutoring

Research literature puts forward a multitude of arguments as to why participating in private tutoring should improve academic achievement (see Dohmen et al., 2007, p. 71). For example, there are arguments – very similar to the discussion about the potential of extracurricular activities at all-day schools in Germany – that private lessons extend the instructional time available for students. When this is additionally based on an instructor-student ratio that is better than at school (in some cases, the ratio is 1:1) and the fact that the learning situation is usually more student-centred

than classroom teaching, it is easier to meet the talent-appropriate needs of the individual student. Furthermore, there is an assumption that participating in private tutoring can be beneficial for developing more appropriate learning motivation and learning strategies.

Aside from these theoretical assumptions about the educational potential, very little empirical research about the effectiveness of private tutoring is available. Although some studies summarised by Dohmen et al. (2007) show that an improvement in school grades and a declining risk in not being promoted for students who attend private tutoring courses, these studies are not based on representative and longitudinal data or on experimental design – prerequisites to differentiate between selection biases in the samples and socialisation effects (educational effectiveness). There is also a lack of studies focused on motivational aspects and learning strategies or studies that measure the gain in competencies based on objective testing instruments.

PISA is the only study that provides data on participation in private tutoring and standardised test scores (in mathematics and German language), which is based on a representative sample (of 15-year-olds). As mentioned above, Hollenbach and Meier (2004) used the PISA 2000 data to determine that there is very little correlation between test scores and the probability of participating in private tutoring. But since the PISA data provides only a cross-sectional perspective, it does not answer the question as to whether this finding is due to participation in selection processes or the effectiveness of attending private tutoring lessons. Longitudinal panel data is necessary in order to differentiate between selection and socialisation effects.

A limited amount of longitudinal data is available. Based on longitudinal research conducted by commercial institutes, Streber (2011) summarises that it is possible to demonstrate how attending commercial private tutoring lessons on a regular basis can also improve students' learning behaviour and school grades. However, as mentioned above, these findings have mostly been provided by the commercial institutes.

Based on the structural model (Figure 1), we can summarise that research on private tutoring only partly covers the relevant research questions in comparison to all-day school research. According to our model, many research questions are still open – that especially holds true for questions about process quality and outcomes.

6 Conclusion

The beginning of our article discussed a general model of educational effectiveness applicable to all forms of activities and programmes in the field of extended education. According to the school effectiveness research it is based on three levels of analysis: the input, the process and the output level. On the basis of this model, we provided a brief overview for two research areas of extended education in Germany – extracurricular activities at all-day schools and private tutoring – under three headings: participation rates (dosage), educational process quality and educational effectiveness (outcome).

We can demonstrate that the participating rates vary with regard to the family socio-economic status at the primary school level in all-day schools. At the secondary level, no such selection effects can be observed. Findings from the “Study on the Development of All-Day Schools” (StEG) additionally show that the higher the students perceive the educational quality of the extracurricular activities to be (in terms of structure, support and cognitive activating), the more positive outcomes are reported. That holds true with regard to academic achievement (grade average and retention rates) and social learning (prosocial behaviour and reduced misconduct).

On the one hand, research on private tutoring reveals that participation rates vary with the economic background of the families. The higher the parents’ income, the higher the probability of attending tutoring lessons will be. In addition, reports prove that private tutoring is used not only as a remedial strategy by families when students are in danger of not being promoted but increasingly as a general strategy for improving the competitiveness of their offspring. On the other hand, participation in private tutoring is not interlinked with their parents’ educational level. Due to these findings, the role of private tutoring in prolonging social inequality cannot be assessed conclusively. With regard to educational process quality and outcomes, we must state that there is a considerable lack of research studies and findings to provide conclusive answers. Much research must be done in this field of extended education.

With regard to the model of education effectiveness in the field of extended education, we find that this model is applicable to all forms of out-of-school time and extracurricular learning environments. Further research must be done to prove whether this assumption holds true in every case or if and how the model must be refined according to the various learning contexts.

From our perspective, research on extended education is a new chapter in educational research – a chapter that will become increasingly important within the near future. On the one hand, we can expect that increasingly more community and state-run activities and programmes will be offered to tap the educational potential of the younger generations, independent of the socio-economic background of the children and adolescents, as an approach to factors such as demographic changes. On the other hand, increasingly more families will use extended education offers to support their children’s academic achievement. Private institutes and organisations will satisfy this growing demand. The importance of out-of-school and extracurricular activities and programmes will increase on the whole. This will shift the balance between traditional schooling and extended education in the favour of extended education. Educational research will have to shift its focus to the area of extended education.

Research in this area must deal with research questions that are only partly – or in some cases, not at all – covered by the educational research focussed on the classical school. To summarise some of the aspects mentioned in the previous sections: This difference is based on elements such as the fact that research on extended education must take into account the various levels of instructor professionalism and proficiency, that participation is voluntary for the students in most cases, that the dosage of educational instruction time may therefore vary between the children and adolescents and that extended education activities broaden the research focus on educational outcomes apart from academic achievement such as social competences and social learning or value orientations.

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Research on Afterschool Programs in Korea: Trends and Outcomes

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Abstract: Afterschool programs in Korea have been widespread and even regarded as being institutionalized recently. A clear evidence of this phenomenon is that quite a number of students and parents choose afterschool programs as the alternative to private tutoring. Therefore, this study aims to explore the recent research trends and outcomes on afterschool programs in Korea. The researchers reviewed and analyzed approximately one hundred recent studies on afterschool programs in Korea. One outstanding trend of research on afterschool program is, despite dominance of the studies using personally-collected data, the number of studies by using large-scaled national data has increased since the latter half of the 2000s. In addition, recent studies tend to be substantial in research topics and method; many of recent studies have examined the impact of afterschool participation on academic improvement and the reduction of private tutoring expenditure by using statistical methods. Those studies generally presented positive effects of afterschool participation on students' academic achievement and the reduction of private education expenditure.

Keywords: research on afterschool programs, educational effectiveness, afterschool participation, academic achievement

1 Introduction

During the past few decades, Korea's education has made significant progress both in quantity and quality. It is also widely agreed that the rapid economic growth and social development of Korea has been intimately associated with the timely and ever-increasing investment to education both at the family and national levels (Choi, 2009; Kim, S.B., 2007). As Korean students have continued to show remarkable achievements in the international assessments such as PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) and TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study), Korea's education is increasingly considered an exemplary model not only by developing countries but also advanced countries (McGaw, 2005).

One outstanding feature of Korea's education system, which draws greater attention of educational leaders and researchers of the world, may be that it has constantly developed and evolved responding to its ever-changing environment (Lee, C.J., 2007). It seems that the dynamics of Korean education are derived not only from

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education policies continuously and ambitiously initiated by the government but also various educational attempts made by Korean parents who are willing to sacrifice their life for the sake of their children's success and thus invest their time and money for their children's education as much as they can. In this context, discussing Korean education, one may not overemphasize the tension between public schooling and private supplementary tutoring that Korean parents purchase to help their children improve test scores and develop their talents. Thanks to the traditionally strong belief in the power of education as the means for upward social mobility, energy, time, and money that Korean people generally spend for education is incalculable.

A compatible relation between public education and private tutoring is mostly referred to with the concept of 'education fever (Seth, 2002)' and 'shadow education (Bray, 1999; Lee, Park, & Lee, 2009; Stevenson & Baker, 1992).' The two systems have developed into a unique rivalry structure in Korea's education, causing various social, political, and even academic issues – i.e., the heavy financial burden of private tutoring, the erosion of public schools, and gaps in educational opportunities. In particular, the Korean government has strived to prevent or minimize the harmful consequences derived from the epidemic of private tutoring outside schools which is often claimed to weaken public schooling and contribute to increase the education gap among regions and classes (Bae, Oh, Kim, Lee, and Oh, 2010; Lee et al., 2009)

Among many attempts to strengthen public education and decrease private tutoring outside of schools, a new form of the educational system – afterschool programs – has emerged. Researchers (Bae, Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2009) claimed that afterschool programs in Korea have developed with the strength of both public education and private tutoring. The programs are mostly run within schools and provide students with educational services as good as those that private institutions usually offer (Bae, Kim, & Yang, 2010; Chae, Lim, & Woo, 2009). While still being controversial, afterschool programs in Korea seem to be being institutionalized as one of the education systems. Namely, it is now becoming one of the three pillars constituting Korea's education – public schooling, private tutoring, and afterschool programs. Not surprisingly, in recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on afterschool programs in Korea.

This study aims to explore the research trends and outcomes in afterschool programs since the programs have influenced and been changing the landscape of education in Korea. Despite a relatively short history, research on afterschool programs in Korea has been vigorously conducted more recently ever since the Lee Myung Bak administration took office in 2008. By looking into the trends and outcomes of various studies, one can discern the dynamics of Korean education as well as strengths and weaknesses of afterschool programs in Korea. In the following sections, the definition and concepts of afterschool programs in Korea will be presented. Then, the history and development of afterschool programs in Korea will be examined thoroughly. Finally, research trends and accomplishments on the topic will be summarized and analyzed.

2 Definition, Concepts, and Aims

The official definition of afterschool programs in Korea is “a set of student-centered learning and development activities which are school-based operations but are not a part of the regular curriculum (Ministry of Education and Science and Technology [MEST], 2012).” This definition seems not ostensibly different from that of the afterschool programs in other countries (Park, Byun & Jo, 2012). However, as seen in figure 1, the concepts of the afterschool programs and how they are practically run are distinctive as they are, in short, aimed to make up for the weakness of the public schooling and hold private supplementary tutoring, sometimes called ‘shadow education’, in check.

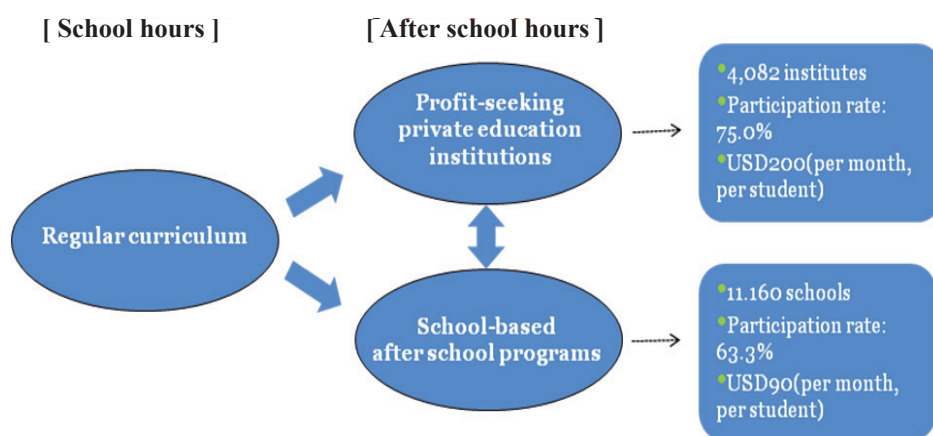


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Korean Students' Learning Activity (Bae & Jeon, 2011)

During the school hours, Korean students generally stay and learn at schools. After school hours, however, students are able to choose to attend private tutoring and/or afterschool programs. In reality, diverse constraints including larger class size, less-open and less-flexible national curriculum, and college entrance examination prevent public education from providing student-centered, high quality learning opportunities (Bae & Jeon, 2011). Consequently, Korean students could not but head for *hakwon* (for-profit private educational institutes) after school, seeking supplementary tutoring and quality education geared towards their particular needs and talents. Limitations and distrust in public schooling, as a result, caused so-called ‘education fever’ in Korea, having Korean parents spend tremendous amounts of money and efforts to make up for public education. Afterschool programs in Korea, therefore, are basically intended to respond to students’ needs and interests within the realm of the public education system.

Since afterschool programs in Korea are mostly run within schools, they could be renamed as ‘school-based afterschool programs (Bae et al., 2009).’ ‘School-based’ does not only mean the programs’ locational feature, but it also involves the programs’ policy intentions that attempt to incorporate afterschool programs in the domain of public education. Most programs are run at school, while only a few are operated at other public educational facilities such as museums, gymnasium, and college facilities nearby students’ homes. As the programs are mainly implemented

by and within school, they cannot but be supported and regulated by the government for program contents and management. This may be the biggest difference between school-based afterschool programs and profit-seeking private tutoring that exists in the market outside schools and thus is relatively free from the government regulations.

School-based afterschool programs can be categorized into three types: after-school child care, enrichment programs, and academic programs (MEST, 2012). The Korean government has supported afterschool programs, aiming at improving public education by resolving educational and social issues within public schools. In this context, while afterschool programs in other countries are usually enrichment or development programs, those in Korea distinctively includes day-care and academic programs. For instance, since caring for children of working mothers has been a social issue as the number of working women has increased year by year in Korea, the government planned child care programs within public schools. Child care programs are often provided in 1st through 3rd grade in the elementary level and have kept increasing. On the other hand, enrichment programs aim to develop students' creativity and meet their interests and needs. These programs, therefore, include arts and crafts, music, sports, English for conversational purpose, cultural programs, etc. As most enrichment programs are non-academic, they are generally more popular among the elementary students, who have fewer burdens on entrance examinations compared to middle and high school students. Among middle and high school students, however, academic programs are dominant as they are typically subject-based, aiming to satisfy students' academic needs. Those academic programs are also intended to narrow achievement gaps among students of different social groups as the gaps are regarded to be derived from the differences in learning opportunities after school and specifically expenditure on private supplementary tutoring (Bae, Kim, & Yang, 2010) – the richer people are, the more they generally spend in private tutoring after school (Bae & Jeon, 2011; Lee et al., 2009).

3 Development and History

Afterschool programs in Korea have a relatively short development history compared to those in other countries. However, ever since *the May 31 Education Reform* which was a comprehensive education reform initiated by the Presidential Education Reform Committee in May 31, 1995, they have developed and expanded substantially (Jeong, 2007). Nowadays, more than 65 % of all students enroll in at least one afterschool program and the number is growing year by year. In compliance with each administration's ideological orientation, the programs have been adjusted, evolved, and even fairly institutionalized (Bae & Jeon, 2011). With vast financial support from both the central and local governments, afterschool programs could have retained their position as third party institutions that have equal footing with both regular and private tutoring (Bae, Song, & Kim, 2012).

The first developmental period of afterschool programs in Korea began in 1995 when the May 31 Education Reform Initiatives were announced by the Kim Young Sam administration (Jeong, 2007). Based upon neo-liberalism, the new policy aimed

to provide more ‘student-centered’ educational services which public schools have difficulties in offering (Heo, 2007). In other words, the advent of afterschool programs in Korea may be better understood as part of the student-centered education reform movement. With more emphasis on student choice, students could attend enrichment programs and cultural activities which had not been provided in the regular curriculum before. These early afterschool programs, in addition, were mostly run in the elementary level due to excessive competition for highly ranked colleges and universities at the secondary education level.

The second period continued between the Kim Dae Joong (1998–2003) and the Roh Moo Hyun (2003–2008) administrations. Both of the administrations were left-wing governments which favored equality over efficiency and excellence in education. The two administrations employed afterschool programs as a means to solve educational inequality, social disparities, and soaring expenditure on private tutoring (Bae, Oh, Kim, et al., 2010). The Roh Moo Hyun administration provided students from low income families or in rural areas with additional opportunities to have more diverse and quality educational experiences via afterschool programs. As schools were greatly encouraged to offer academic programs especially for the disadvantaged students, participation rates of high school students have steadily increased in this period. Moreover, since 2006, both a steep rise in government investment in afterschool programs and publication of afterschool vouchers were provided to the disadvantaged students who could not afford expensive private tutoring outside school. Consequently, as K. K. Kim (2007) argues, afterschool programs began their role as ‘the fixer’ of educational inequality and social disparities.

The third developmental period of afterschool programs began with the Lee Myung Bak Administration in 2008. The current Korean administration continues the tradition of supporting and developing afterschool programs. Like his predecessors, President Lee Myung Bak, since his inauguration, has encouraged afterschool programs as a means to rectify educational inequality which prevails nationwide. However, this government made a new attempt unlike the previous administrations. The Lee administration differentiates its afterschool programs from those in the past that intended to run the programs within the public education framework as feasibly as they could. The government announced to broaden the boundaries of afterschool programs and invite the private education vendors to improve the quality of the programs and provide more diverse programs (MEST, 2012). This announcement was quite epoch-making since public education and private education providers had been traditionally regarded as competitors in Korea before.

The inflow of quality programs and instructors from the private sector has helped schools provide their students with inexpensive but quality programs (MEST, 2011). Although there still exists animosity in Korean society to open the school door to the private sector, the Lee administration asserts that involvement of the private vendors in afterschool programs not only increased the quality of education but also decreased the burden of the teachers at school (MEST, 2011, 2012). Before the third period, schools and their individual teachers were mainly responsible for providing afterschool programs within their schools. This was because public schools were regarded as a sanctuary from the *evil* of private tutoring.² However, some research-

2 Private education in Korea has been often considered as ‘a necessary evil’ since it amplifies educational consumption and contributes to increase overall academic ability of Korean students, but also has been believed to intensify the competition among students and increase social as well as academic disparities.

ers (Han, 2011; Kim, M. H., 2006; Kim, 2008; Woo, Kim, Kang, & Yang, 2011) presented that resources from outside of schools have somewhat raised the quality of public education. Moreover, other studies (Bae & Jeon, 2011; Jeon & Kim, 2011; Heo, 2007) also displayed that afterschool programs as ‘a school within a school’ have increased the overall satisfaction of all education participants including students, teachers, parents and even the community.

Although it is still disputable, involvement of the private sector in afterschool programs has now become a fait accompli. For instance, social ventures established by universities and news media actively and eagerly run, or help public schools operate afterschool programs. As of 2012, there exist 15 university-driven and 22 news media-driven social ventures working in the afterschool domain. Moreover, the programs that they are offering are very popular among students and, thus, the participation rate has steeply increased year by year (MEST, 2012). In brief, although afterschool programs in Korea have a relatively short history of approximately two decades, in reflection of distinctive conditions of Korean education, the afterschool programs have evolved and still are developing.

4 Research Trends and Outcomes

Ever since the first implementation of afterschool policy in 1997, researchers have exerted themselves to examine effectiveness of afterschool programs concerning academic, social, and political aspects. However, since the middle of Roh’s administration, more vigorous research activities have been done regarding the topic as the government emphasizes the significance of the programs. In this section, research trends and outcomes in afterschool programs in Korea will be summarized after review and analysis of several tens of related studies including journal papers, personal theses and dissertations, and policy reports.

Research Trends

As previously seen in the history and development of afterschool programs, the recent form of afterschool programs in Korea – i.e. *school-based afterschool programs* – was initiated since 2004 after President Roh Moo Hyun was inaugurated. The Roh administration split the existing afterschool programs into three types: child care, enrichment, and academic programs. President Lee Myung Bak, then, poured oil on the flames: the Lee’s administration has innovatively reinforced afterschool programs by inviting the private providers into the public education. Programs run by private vendors are providing diverse learning experiences that public schools may not be able to offer. As afterschool programs were highlighted as one significant means to resolve educational and social problems by the two governments, studies on the topic has naturally ridden the crest of the boom. For example, over one hundred studies have been conducted only in the last five years regarding the topic including master’s thesis and doctoral dissertations.

Research trends in afterschool programs in Korea may be examined in two criteria: theme and data. For instance, researchers of different academic interests in-

investigate different research questions such as psychological influence of afterschool participation on elementary students and effects of afterschool participation on reduction of private education expenditure. Furthermore, researchers use different kinds of data to study afterschool programs. Some researchers analyze large-scaled national data such as Korea Educational Longitudinal Study (KELS), Private Education Expenditures Survey (PEES), and Korean Education & Employment Panel (KEEP), while the others may use individually collected data. Therefore, to grasp the research trends of afterschool programs thoroughly, it may be necessary to explore the topic by considering both of the criteria.

Research on afterschool programs may be divided into two time periods: before and after 2008. Studies on afterschool programs before the Lee administration tend to be exploratory (Kim, Han, & Han, 2007; Lee, B. Y., 2007; Lee, Kim, Hong, & Min, 2007), trying to seek alternatives to establish or perfect the programs. Therefore, the majority of studies on afterschool programs published before 2008 introduced and compared foreign models (Lee, J. A., 2007; Yoo, 2005), conducted demand survey analyses (Kim, J. S., 2006; Lee et al., 2007), developed afterschool programs (Lee, B. Y., 2007; Shin, Yu, & Yi, 2007), and conducted case studies in elementary or middle schools (Byun, 2007; Yoon, 2007). Moreover, before 2008, most academic studies were conducted at an individual level by using personally collected data, while most policy reports were likely to be demand survey analysis or case study reports. Furthermore, those studies dealt with enrichment programs rather than academic ones since academic programs began to be included in 2004, yet stressed in earnest since 2008.

Looking into dozens of studies which have been conducted ever since the inauguration of President Lee, one can discern distinctive changes in the trends of research in afterschool programs. One outstanding feature is the usage of large-scaled national data. As large-scaled national data such as Korea Educational Longitudinal Study (KELS), Korea Education and Employment Panel (KEEP), and Private Education Expenditures Survey (PEES) were initiated in the mid 2000s, studies by using those large data sets have naturally emerged. Studies by using those large data sets, moreover, are inclined to be interested in verifying the effects of afterschool participation and outcomes of the afterschool program policy at the national level (Back, 2012; Bae, Oh, Kim, et al., 2010; Byun, Hwang, & Kim, 2011; Cha, Shin, & Min, 2011; Kim & Hwang, 2009; Kim, H. S. 2012; Kim, J. Y. 2012; ; Seo, 2011). Application of those large data sets not only broadened the scope of both the academic and policy field of study, but also changed the point of research interests from exploratory to substantial and empirical. Those large-scaled data sets have enabled the researchers to demonstrate the effect of afterschool program participation on academic improvement and reduction of private education expenditure (Bae, Oh, Kim, et al., 2010; Bae, Kim, & Yang, 2010; Byun & Kim, 2010; Byun et al., 2011; Kim, J. Y., 2012; Kim, H. S., 2012). Variables in the national data often used in those studies are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Variables in Large-scaled national data used in studies on afterschool programs

Data	Variables	
KELS	5 Afterschool programs	6 Participation in afterschool programs (Yes/No) 7 Subject area of afterschool programs 8 Hours & expenditure on afterschool programs per week per subject 9 Reason why participate/not participate in afterschool program
	10 Education Broadcasting System (EBS)	11 Buying EBS books (Yes/No) 12 Expenditure on EBS books
	13 Private education	14 Participation in private education (Yes/No) 15 Expenditure on private education per subject 16 Form of private education
KEEP	17 Afterschool programs	18 Participation in afterschool programs (Yes/No) 19 Expenditure on afterschool programs per week per subject 20 Reason why participate/not participate in afterschool program
	21 Private education	22 Participation in private education (Yes/No) 23 Expenditure on private education per month 24 Reason why participate/not participate in afterschool program
PEES	25 Afterschool programs	26 Participation in afterschool programs (Yes/No) 27 Hours & expenditure on afterschool programs per week
	28 Education Broadcasting System (EBS)	29 Watching EBS (Yes/No) 30 Expenditure on EBS books
	31 Private education	32 Participation in private education 33 Reason why participating in private education 34 Hours and expenditure on private education per week 35 Participation in art and cultural activities 36 Hours & Expenditure on art & cultural activities

The other feature of research trends in afterschool programs is a change of the research theme. Before 2008, although academic programs were already included in 2004, the main purpose of afterschool programs before the Lee administration was to help students have diverse non-academic or non-curricula experiences. Therefore, enrichment programs such as art and cultural activities accounted for most afterschool programs in Korea. However, as the aim and focus of the policy were changed, research interests have shifted as well. As mentioned above, most studies using the national data examined the influence of afterschool participation on academic improvement and private education reduction. While the number of research studies using the national data has been increasing, studies using personally collected data still hold a large majority. Those studies using personally collected data have a wide variety of research topics from a simple report of the present conditions of afterschool programs (Kim, 2012; Shin & Lee, 2010; Woo, 2008; Woo et al., 2011; Yang, 2011) to causal analysis of afterschool programs on different outcomes including social and emotional development of children who participated in the programs,

(Kim & Han, 2008; Kim & Park, 2008; Jo, Kim, & Byun, 2010). More detailed research outcomes will be addressed in the next section.

Research Outcomes

As afterschool programs brought an innovative structural change in Korean education, it is necessary to examine what the outcomes of the implementation of the programs and participation in the programs are. When addressing the influence and effects of afterschool participation, three aspects should be considered: demographic, academic, and socio-political outcomes. Demographic outcomes mainly deal with current conditions of the programs such as how many students participated in the programs, their socioeconomic status, and how many and what types of programs are offered. Academic outcomes include the effects of after school participation on student academic achievement. Socio-political outcome concerns if people are satisfied with the policy and how afterschool programs have contributed to the reduction of private tutoring expenses, particularly for low income families. The majority of the studies on afterschool programs examined the research topics under these three categories.

Demographic Outcomes

Studies dealing with demographic outcomes are often conducted by using large-scaled national data. In addition, those studies tend to be sponsored by the government. Those studies are interested in inquiring into the current conditions of afterschool programs such as students and school participation rate, number of programs offered in individual schools, locally, and nationally, number of participating teachers/instructors. In addition they also look into how the trend has changed.

As seen in table 2, almost 100 % of all schools are participating in afterschool programs as of 2010 (Kim & Yang, 2011). Student participation rate has increased yearly as well from 49.8 % in 2007 to 65.2 % in 2011. In 2012, according to the report of MEST (2012), 71.9 % of students were reported to be involved in at least one afterschool program. One notable change is that participation of high school students has increased steadily. Before the inclusion of academic programs, the majority of high school students tended to rely on private tutoring outside schools for complementary learning.

Table 2: Afterschool participation rate of schools and student

	Elementary	Middle	High	Total	Past years			
					2010	2009	2008	2007
Number of schools	5,878	3,151	2,278	11,307	11,226	11,149	11,076	10,941
Ratio (%)	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.8
Students (thousand)	1,937	1,173	1,449	4,559	4,573	4,276	4,096	3,831
Ratio (%)	61.8	61.4	74.5	65.2	63.3	57.6	54.3	49.8

Source: Kim, H. S. & Yang, A. K. (2011)

The number of programs also has increased since 2007. In 2007, 159,216 programs were provided nationally while more than three times the number of programs were provided in 2011. As seen in table 3, enrichment programs are mainly offered in elementary schools, while academic programs are mostly in high schools. This phenomenon can be interpreted that afterschool programs have gained credentials as a means to stand up to expensive private tutoring (Bae et al., 2011; Bae & Jeon, 2011).

Table 3: Number of afterschool programs between 2007–2011

		Elementary	Middle	High	Total 2010	Past years			
						2009	2008	2007	
Total	No. of programs	201,586	144,421	184,643	530,650	494,965	285,929	230,339	159,216
Academic	No. of programs	70,852	115,058	169,248	355,158	338,891	161,348	117,534	68,403
	Ratio (%)	35.1	79.7	91.7	66.9	68.5	56.4	51.0	43.0
Enrichment	No. of programs	130,734	29,363	15,395	175,492	156,074	124,581	112,805	90,813
	Ratio (%)	64.9	20.3	8.3	33.1	31.5	43.6	49.0	57.0

Source: Kim, H. S. & Yang, A. K. (2011)

The average number of afterschool program courses taken by a student per month was 2.8 in 2011. When afterschool programs were first introduced and established in Korea, only elementary school students participated in the programs. However, the current number of courses taken by high school students is 4.1 in 2011 as in table 4. This also means afterschool programs have absorbed the function of private education to a substantial extent.

Table 4: Number of afterschool program classes taken per month

	Elementary	Middle	High	Total	Past years			
					2010	2009	2008	2007
Number of courses	1.6	3.1	4.1	2.8	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.4

Source: Kim, H. S. & Yang, A. K. (2011)

Table 5 presents the number of teachers/instructors who contribute to afterschool programs. As the number of programs has increased, that of teachers and instructors has also grown. 142, 737 teachers/instructors took part in the programs in 2006 and the number increased to 274,842 in 2010 which is almost double the number. Once inclusion of the private sector was legalized, the number of instructors from outside of school has drastically increased from 52,062 to 90,011.

Table 5: Number of teachers/instructors participating in afterschool programs

	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006
Total number of teachers/ instructors	274,842	219,157	186,448	178,379	142,737
teachers	184,831	149,247	121,469	109,730	90,675
instructors	90,011	69,910	64,979	68,648	52,062

Source: Kim, H. S. & Yang, A. K. (2011)

Academic Outcomes

Among different research outcomes, researchers may be most interested in academic outcomes of afterschool programs. However, not many studies so far were conducted to investigate the relationship between afterschool participation and academic achievement. In those studies, grades and college entrance examination scores are often used as a barometer for academic achievement. Since large-scaled national data usually have variables of those scores, some studies after 2008 were done to investigate the research question (Bae et al., 2010; Byun & Kim, 2010; Jo et al., 2010; Byun et al., 2011; Back, 2012; Chae et al., 2009; Park, 2008; Kim, H.S. 2012; Kim, J. Y. 2012). Generally, those studies proved participation in afterschool programs, to some extent, are associated positively with academic achievement in a positive way.

For example, Bae and his colleagues (2010) found that afterschool programs had a positive impact on student academic performance. The effects were strongest in high school since more academic-centered afterschool programs were provided and emphasized preparation for college entrance. In addition, it is notable that the positive relation between afterschool participation and academic achievement tended to be greatest for low-income students. Their findings can be interpreted that the higher participation rate of low-income students in afterschool programs may contribute to reducing achievement gaps among students of different socio-economic groups. Chae et al. (2009) also found taking afterschool programs had a positive influence on high school students' trial test of the Korea Scholastic Ability Test (KSAT). Byun et al. (2010) analyzed KELS: 2006–2007 data and found middle school students in rural areas who attend afterschool programs tended to have improved Korean and English scores. Kim et al. (2010) studied the data of National Assessment of Educational Achievement (NAEA). Their study presented 6th grade, 9th grade, and 10th-grade students who participated in afterschool programs generally showed higher academic achievement than those who did not participate in the programs. Their study, in particular, found top-graded students were likely to take supplementary and advanced academic programs.

Socio-political Outcomes

Among the three categories of afterschool program outcomes, studies related to socio-political outcomes are largest in number. The main focus of studies on socio-political outcomes is whether and how afterschool programs are related to calm the

craze for private tutoring. Many of the studies on this topic generally demonstrate afterschool programs somewhat contribute to the reduction of private tutoring expenditure. According to the results of Private Education Expenditures Survey (PEES) by Statistics Korea, students who took part in any afterschool programs spent 530,000 won (USD 480) less per year than those who did not in 2010. Studies based upon the statistical data of PEES also showed similar research outcomes.

Kim et al. (2008) analyzed the 2010 data and found afterschool programs are related to the decrease of participation in private tutoring in all school levels, locations, and income brackets. According to their study, expenditure on private tutoring was reduced by 36.69 % in elementary schools, 19.7 % in middle schools, and 25.38% in high schools. In addition, the reducing effect is greater in the student groups of low income families. Bae, Oh, Kim, et al. (2010) also displayed similar findings as Kim and his colleagues that students who spend more on afterschool programs tended to spend relatively less on private tutoring. In addition, they also found the higher the school level and family income, the less students tended to spend on private education. Their study suggests that parents have an affirmative attitude toward afterschool programs. Lee and his colleagues' study (2009) and Sung & Hong's Study (2008) also found a reduction of private tutoring expenditure in all school levels. Kim (2012) found the substitution effect of afterschool programs on private education is greater in middle school level and the non-Kangnam area.³ He also found the substitution effect is highest on the students from middle class families and they have higher grades in school.

Another group of studies were conducted by using KELS. They also presented that afterschool programs have a reduction effect on private tutoring expenditure. For example, Byun et al. (2011) examined KELS data: 2006~2008 and found participation of afterschool programs has a substitution effect on private education participation. In addition, they also found parents perceived the positive effect of afterschool programs that alleviated private tutoring expenditure. Other studies also found afterschool programs contributed to the reduction of private education participation and expenditure (Kim & Yang, 2011; Lim et al., 2010; Woo & Lee, 2010).

On the contrary, there are some studies that show afterschool programs didn't have a positive influence on reduction of private tutoring participation and expenditure (Byun et al., 2009; Chae et al., 2009; Kim, 2012; Park, 2008). These studies used either PEES or KELS data. Their studies commonly argue that afterschool programs have little or no substitution effect on private tutoring. For example, Byun and Kim studied KELS and found that continuous participation in afterschool programs generally has a positive relation to private education reduction. However, according to their findings, when students are simply divided into two groups, those who participate in any afterschool programs or those who participate in no afterschool programs, afterschool program participation is positively related to higher private tutoring expenditure.

3 Kangnam is usually referred to a combined area of three districts in Seoul: Kangnam, Seocho, and Songpa where the residents' socio-economic status is higher than any other areas in Korea.

5 Conclusion

Thanks to the traditionally strong belief in education for social upward mobility, education in Korea has always been overheated. However, the country has seemingly been in a furnace for the last two decades as the craze in education is getting closer to its peak than at any other time. Thus, President Lee Myung Bak pledged to cool off the fever upon his inauguration in 2008. As one of the means to reduce prevalent private supplementary tutoring and normalize the crippled public education, the government reinforced the school-based afterschool programs more than ever. With its policy intension, the school-based afterschool programs have been widespread and almost all schools in Korea now provide at least one afterschool program.

As the hugest budget and social interest ever was allocated to the afterschool program policy, researchers as well as policymakers became interested in the effectiveness of the policy. This changed the landscape of research in afterschool programs in Korea during the Lee administration. Before 2008, the majority of the studies on afterschool programs were rather qualitative and exploratory; researchers often introduced and compared foreign cases, did individual school-based case studies, or conducted demand survey analyses. Moreover, those studies were likely to be conducted and analyzed with individually collected data including interviews, simple surveys, and different documents. Furthermore, before 2008, academic programs were rarely (before the Roh administration) or partially (after the Roh administration) provided. Therefore, it was difficult for the researchers to prove the actual influence of afterschool participation on students' academic attainment and private tutoring expenses.

However, the Lee government strongly encouraged schools at all levels to provide their students with diverse programs including 'private-educational-institution-like' academic programs. In addition, the development of nationally-collected large-scaled data around the mid-2000s enabled researchers to investigate afterschool programs more quantitatively and scientifically. Studies since 2008 largely tend to examine the impact of afterschool program participation on reduction of private tutoring expenditure and academic improvement by using those large data sets such as KELS, KEEP, and PEES. Outcomes of those recent studies could be categorized into three groups: demographic, academic, and socio-political. Studies on demographic outcomes show an increase in quantity. Academic and socio-political outcomes, according to those studies, present a positive relation between afterschool program participation and higher academic achievement and less expenditure on private education.

Although afterschool programs in Korea have a relatively short history they have developed dramatically for the last seventeen years by forming their unique features. Like the prior governments did, the new government, beginning in March 2013 is expected to invest in and support afterschool programs extensively as well. Moreover, as people already take the recent form of afterschool programs for granted (Bae & Jeon, 2011; Bae et al., 2012), it will be quite interesting to continuously look at the development and evolution of afterschool programs in Korea, particularly as the third education institution in comparison with public schooling and private tutoring. For example, since the government enhanced participation of social ventures and other private sectors, their participation will consequently increase and change the

landscape of public schooling in Korea. Accordingly, studies on afterschool programs in Korea are also expected to increase in number and research questions will become more versatile.

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Patterns of Out-Of-School Time Use Around the World: Do They Help to Explain International Differences in Mathematics and Science Achievement

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Abstract: International studies suggest that the U.S. ranks below many Asian and European countries in the 21st century in terms of mathematics and science achievement. Few have looked beyond the classroom to understand these differences. Absolute and relative time spent in various out-of-school time (OST) activities may provide one explanation. This study used the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), which includes data on the OST and achievement of 8th graders from nearly 50 countries worldwide. OST variables included technology-based (e.g., using the internet), labor (e.g., chores), and leisure activities (e.g., sports, playing with friends). Students completed an internationally standardized mathematics and science achievement test. Results for absolute OST suggest that, beyond the large contribution of a country's human development index, OST is an important predictor of achievement. Further, relative OST is an important predictor, such that, those countries whose profile of time use was highest in technology also had the highest achievement scores. Future research should consider a broader view of education and related contexts that includes understanding the variability in OST use both within and between nations.

Keywords: out-of-school time activities, academic achievement, TIMSS, international comparison

International studies suggest that there are large differences in mathematics and science achievement around the world. For example, Asian countries, such as Japan and Korea, and European countries, such as Czech Republic and Hungary, score higher than the United States (U.S.) in mathematics and science achievement at the junior high and high school grade levels (Beaton et al., 1996a; Beaton et al., 1996b; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2011). These differences initiated an education crisis in the U.S. in the early 1990's and have directly influenced education policies since; however, recent reviews suggest little change over the years in the international rankings of U.S. students (e.g., OECD, 2011). In fact, the most recent international achievement studies, the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the OECD's Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA), suggest that the U.S. still ranks below many Asian and European countries in the 21st century (OECD, 2011; Olson, Martin, & Mullis, 2008). Researchers have considered educational, psychological, and sociological explanations for these differences, but few have looked beyond the classroom

to understand achievement. The goal of this study is to examine the relation between out-of-school time (OST) use and achievement in mathematics and science in multiple nations around the world. We begin by discussing theoretical considerations and empirical evidence for the link between OST and achievement. Next we consider the potential importance of distinguishing between absolute and relative time in out-of-school activities. Then, we provide a brief overview of research on international differences in various OST domains. Finally, we consider some alternative explanations for the OST-achievement relation that are addressed in this investigation.

1 Theoretical Considerations for OST and Academic Achievement

Not surprisingly, most research has focused on classroom settings to explain achievement. National and international studies suggest that school-level (e.g., demographic composition) and classroom-level factors (e.g., teaching and learning strategies) matter for achievement (e.g., Chiu, Chow, & McBride-Chang, 2007), but few have tested whether OST matters for achievement. Several theories suggest that OST matters for academic achievement. Rogoff's (1995) theory of learning in sociocultural contexts suggests that youth's environments cannot be separated from the ways in which they learn. That is, youth develop cognitive skills through the activities in which they engage, not just through formal learning in the classroom. Rogoff (1995) suggests that youth develop as they participate with others in shared activities reflecting their cultural traditions. This suggests that many of youth's learning opportunities transcend formal classroom learning and occur during youth's OST. In fact, similar theoretical notions were suggested by Larson and Verma in their 1999 study of global OST. Larson and Verma (1999) viewed OST as a proxy for a particular set of socialization experiences. That is, how youth spend their OST influences their socialization experiences and in turn, their development more broadly. Different skills, cognitions, and motivational beliefs are associated with OST versus classroom settings (Larson, 2000). For example, adolescents develop initiative, or the independent ability to achieve a goal, in some of these settings, but not others. Intrinsic motivation and concentration are necessary components of initiative, both of which are associated with structured OST settings, but not classroom settings (Larson, 2000). The Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective is in line with these notions, such that OST settings provide a safe context in which youth may practice social and cognitive skills that are useful in academic settings (Lerner, Phelps, Forman, & Bowers, 2009). The unique skills that youth learn in OST settings can be transferred to formal academic settings, thus, improving youth's academic achievement. OST may have a substantial impact on academic achievement.

Although research on international OST and academic achievement is limited, within nation studies provide support concerning the positive relations between OST and academic achievement. On average, research suggests that participation in high quality organized out-of-school activities and skill-building informal activities are effective in facilitating youth's academic achievement across childhood and adolescence (Mahoney, Vandell, Simpkins, & Zarrett, 2009; Simpkins, Davis-Kean, & Ec-

cles, 2006). Several reviews and meta-analyses support that time spent participating in organized out-of-school activities is linked with increased academic achievement (e.g., Bohnert, Fredricks, & Randall, 2010; Durlak, Weissberg, & Pachan, 2010; Farb & Matjasko, 2012). Indeed, more time spent participating in organized out-of-school activities is related to higher degree completion, school self-esteem, and problem-solving skills, as well as more school enjoyment (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2007; Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001; Simpkins, Ripke, Huston, & Eccles, 2005). Time spent in academically-oriented, informal skill-based activities, such as mathematics, science and reading, is associated with increased achievement (Simpkins et al., 2006). Contrary, time spent in informal activities that are not academically oriented or lack skill-building components, such as watching television or doing household chores, is associated with lower achievement (Goodnow, 1988). Thus, how youth spend their OST across a variety of domains may influence how well they achieve in the classroom.

2 Absolute Versus Relative OST

There is empirical support for the notion that the absolute amount of time spent in different out-of-school activities matters for academic achievement. For example, the most recent collection of data from the OECD's PISA (2006) study included an intensive examination of OST learning (OECD, 2011). Researchers collected mathematics and science achievement data, as well as self-reported time spent inside and outside of school learning these subjects, from upwards of 50 countries around the world. The major findings of this report were surprising, suggesting that increases in OST spent learning mathematics and science was related to decreases in average country-level achievement in these subjects. One obvious explanation for this finding is that students who achieve poorly may increase their OST spent on remedial learning experiences, rather than learning for the sake of enrichment. Given the cross-sectional nature of the PISA data, it is impossible to disentangle the direction of causality in this case.

Nevertheless, OECD researchers performed a series of supplemental analyses to further explain this discrepancy. The authors found that *absolute* time spent learning is less important than *relative* time spent learning. That is, achievement is higher in countries where a large proportion of their total learning time (inside and outside of school) is spent learning these subjects, than in countries where they spend relatively little time learning these subjects. In other words, the absolute time spent learning may not matter as much as the relative time spent across different learning activities. There is empirical evidence in the OST literature that the absolute amount of time spent in out-of-school activities versus the relative pattern of participation across various types of out-of-school activities each provided unique information in relation to youth's developmental outcomes. Zarrett and colleagues (2009) found that although the amount of time spent participating in sports was related to positive developmental outcomes, this effect was stronger for those who participated in sports plus youth development programs compared to those who participated in only sports. Thus, rather than exploring absolute time spent in various OST domains, the

patterns of time spent across these domains may be informative. An exploratory goal of this study is to examine the relation between patterns of OST around the world and achievement in mathematics and science. Specifically, we assess whether, and in what direction, international differences in absolute and relative time spent in different categories of out-of-school activities relate to mathematics and science achievement.

3 Variation in OST Domains Around the World

Youth engage in a variety of different activities during their OST. The most basic distinction between different categories of out-of-school activities is whether the activities are obligatory (Larson & Verma, 1999). Youth's obligatory activities include labor devoted to either the family (e.g., household chores) or to school (e.g., homework). Youth often engage in these activities to contribute to the family or to acquire skills for their own future livelihood. Conversely, youth's leisure activities are typically voluntary and can be active or sedentary in nature. Sedentary activities include technology-based activities (e.g., watching television, surfing the internet) or solitary activities, such as reading. Active leisure activities include playing sports or playing with friends.

There is much variability in time spent in these various OST domains around the world. This variability may be due to the differential cultural value placed on these domains. Non-industrial countries place high emphasis on labor domains, whereas post-industrial countries place high emphasis on self-sufficiency and independence through schoolwork and leisure settings (Flammer, Alsaker, & Noack, 1999; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992; Verma & Larson, 2003). Further, OST settings are differentially related to developmental outcomes. Time spent on household chores is related to poor development both in the U.S. and internationally (Bachman, Safron, Sy, & Schulenberg, 2003; Goodnow, 1988). Contrary, time spent in active leisure domains, such as sports and hanging out with friends, is related to positive development (Flammer et al., 1999; Larson, 2000). It is unclear whether and how time spent in various OST domains is related to achievement globally.

4 Alternative Explanations

One alternative explanation for international achievement differences, based on economic theory, suggests that academic achievement is determined by the level at which education systems are financed. That is, an index of the human development status of the country that incorporates health, education, and living standards may best explain international achievement differences. Empirical research supports these notions, such that, the average academic achievement of underdeveloped countries is typically lower than that of developing or developed nations (Mullis & Martin, 2007; OECD, 2011). To our knowledge, the role of country-level human development status has seldom been examined with regard to OST and academic achieve-

ment. OECD took strides to include proxy variables for indicators of economic or developmental status of schools in PISA. However, PISA neither examined OST broadly, nor did it include a proxy of economic development, either at the school or country level. In this study, we test the relation between OST and academic achievement, above and beyond countries' human development index (HDI).

5 Summary and Study Goals

The U.S. trails behind many European and Asian countries in terms of mathematics and science achievement at the junior high school level. Many explanations for this difference have been attributed to school- and classroom-level factors (e.g., Chiu et al., 2007), but few have tested whether OST matters for achievement. This study has two goals: (1) to test relations between absolute OST and mathematics and science achievement using variable-based analyses, and (2) to test relations between relative OST and mathematics and science achievement using nation-centered pattern analyses. The examination of OST takes a nation-centered approach, such that, the unit of analysis is the country, rather than the individual. All analyses examine the relations between OST and achievement above and beyond the HDI of the country.

6 Method

Dataset and Participants

Data for this study come from the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) which began in 1995. TIMSS reports every four years on the mathematics and science achievement, as well as extensive background information, of 4th and 8th graders in 59 countries worldwide. Sampling weights from the TIMSS were used to ensure that the sample means were representative of their respective national populations and the sampling variances were estimated correctly (Joncas, 2008a; Joncas, 2008b). Data for this study come from the most recent wave of 8th grade data collected in 2007 and includes 49 countries (N range = 3,060–7,377 students per nation).

Measures

Mean-level achievement for each country was determined from student performance on an *internationally standardized mathematics and science achievement test* administered by TIMSS. The achievement tests covered multiple content areas and were intended to represent mathematics and science proficiency in general (e.g., mathematics: algebra, geometry; science: biology, chemistry). Due to the heavy burden of administering tests to such a large sample, every student did not complete every section of the tests. Rather, the TIMSS database provides five separate im-

puted scores for the mathematics and science proficiency scales. Mathematics and science achievement in this study is the standardized raw score averaged across the five plausible values for each student and then averaged by country across students (Range = 288.0–599.2).

OST variables included self-reported time spent in eight out-of-school activities: watching television, computer games, internet, playing with friends, sports, chores, reading, and homework (1 = none, 5 = >4 hours per day).

The *Human Development Index* (HDI) from the United Nations (U.N.) provides relative ratings of countries around the world with respect to health, education and living standards (Range = .467–.902, $M = .75$, $SD = 0.11$). HDI is calculated by the U.N. based on data from multiple organizations as a frame of reference for social and economic development worldwide (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2010).

7 Results

The results are described in three sections. First, we provide descriptive information that demonstrates the raw associations between study variables. Next, we employ hierarchical regression analysis to evaluate whether the absolute amount of time spent in OST relates to international differences in mathematics and science achievement. Finally, we examine whether the relative amount of time spent in out-of-school activities, as assessed by national patterns of OST use, predicts international differences in mathematics and science achievement.

Descriptive Information

Bivariate correlations between all study variables are presented in Table 1. Several of the OST domains were positively correlated with mathematics and science achievement. Specifically, technology-based activities (i.e., watching television, using the computer and internet) were all moderately and positively correlated with achievement, whereas labor domains (i.e., doing jobs at home, doing homework) were moderately and negatively correlated with achievement. Leisure domains demonstrated less consistency with relations to achievement. That is, time with friends was positively correlated with achievement, whereas reading books was negatively correlated with achievement. Playing sports was not correlated with either achievement variable. All variables showed similar bivariate relations to both achievement variables (i.e., mathematics and science).

Absolute OST and Achievement

Hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to examine the contribution of the eight OST variables to mathematics and science achievement, controlling for HDI (Table 2). These variable-based analyses suggested that, beyond the large contribution of HDI to mathematics and science achievement (i.e., $r^2 = 40.1\%$ and 42.1% ,

respectively; Mathematics: $F(1, 42)=28.13$, $p<.001$; Science: $F(1, 42)=30.49$, $p<.001$), OST variables as a set were significantly related to international differences in achievement ($r^2\Delta=18.4\%$ and 13.7% ; Mathematics: $F(9,34)=5.33$, $p<.001$; Science: $F(9,34)=4.78$, $p<.001$). A closer examination of Cohen's d effect sizes suggests that one technology domain (i.e., internet use), one labor domain (i.e., homework), and all leisure domains were associated with a medium effect size on achievement, but in different directions. Internet, as well as two of the leisure domains (i.e., hanging out with friends and playing sports) positively predicted achievement, whereas the remaining leisure domain (i.e., reading books) and one of the labor domains (i.e., homework) were negatively related to achievement.

Relative OST and Achievement

Finally, we explored national profiles of OST across the eight variables using SLEIPNER v2.1 (Bergman & El-Khoury, 2002). A five-pattern solution was chosen for its conceptual meaningfulness and distinctness. This solution explained 62 % of the variance in the OST variables. The identified patterns of OST use demonstrated some geographic heterogeneity; however, many were clearly tied to geographic region (Figure 1).

Whether the identified profiles consisted of unique patterns of OST variables was assessed with ANOVAs and whether these profiles differentially predicted achievement with ANCOVAs (Table 3). ANOVA findings suggest that there were differences across the five profiles of OST for all eight of the OST variables and HDI. Profiles were labeled according to these patterns of OST (see Table 3). OST profiles were related to achievement, such that, those profiles highest in technology use (i.e., technology and leisure and technology only profiles) demonstrated the highest levels of achievement, above and beyond HDI (Table 3).

8 Discussion

This appears to be one of the first empirical studies to consider OST from a global perspective. Theory and empirical findings suggest that learning transcends the classroom and that OST matters for mathematics and science achievement (e.g., Chiu et al., 2007). Although the developmental status of the nation explains the bulk of variation in international achievement differences, how youth spend their OST tells us something more and very different. This new information supports the need to view adolescent education in broader terms that transcend the classroom and include OST. Adolescents may be learning the skills necessary for in-classroom learning in OST settings. OST contexts promote social learning, teamwork, personal goal-setting, and critical thinking (Larson, 2000). For example, adolescents experience more concentration and intrinsic motivation (i.e., components necessary for exemplar learning experiences) in structured voluntary settings (e.g., sports, hobbies) compared to classroom settings (Larson, 2000). Adolescents can learn to apply these skills to classroom settings and promote learning. In this study, internet use and some leisure domains were related to academic achievement, whereas time spent in labor domains

was negatively related to achievement, at least in terms of OST. Both absolute and relative OST were predictive of international differences in mathematics and science achievement and this held after controlling for HDI. Therefore, efforts to understand how youth spend their OST around the world may help us to develop the most effective education policies and practices.

Not only is it important for researchers to begin thinking about whether OST matters for achievement, but it is also important for researchers to consider how to study global OST. Existing studies of international time use tend to group countries together based on geographic location and study mean-level OST in geographic regions (e.g., Larson & Verma, 1999). Few researchers have taken an empirical approach to determine the similarity of countries within geographic proximity. Profiles examined in this study exhibited some geographic heterogeneity, however, many profiles contained geographically proximal countries. Thus, geographic proximity may be an indicator of similarity between countries, but it is not the only indicator. Just as with academic achievement (e.g., OECD, 2011), adolescents in nations sharing geographic proximity do not always share similar patterns of OST. Researchers should begin to think about what factors are important for characterizing global OST. For example, countries have different resources available for out-of-school activities and place different cultural values on such activities (e.g., Larson & Verma, 1999). One avenue for future research may be to examine what meaning and value parents and youth attribute to various OST domains. For example, a recent qualitative study about international time use found that although European and North American parents place similar emphasis on the family, they attribute this value to different types of activities (Harkness et al., 2011). Spanish families attribute familial value to dinner time, whereas North American parents attribute familial value to time spent going on family outings. Some countries may share similar profiles, yet have different reasons for the ways in which their youth spend their OST, which may also matter for achievement. Gaining a more nuanced perspective on how youth spend their OST and why may better explain international achievement differences.

Finally, there is much to be learned from the findings on how absolute and relative OST predicted mathematics versus science achievement. The findings for relative OST present a clear pattern across these achievement domains. Those OST profiles that were highest in technology use demonstrated the highest levels of achievement. This finding may be due, in part, to the types of achievement considered. This study considered mathematics and science achievement, but not overall academic achievement. Technology-based activities are more likely to involve mathematics and science learning and reasoning than other types of activities considered in this study. Academic achievement and school success defined in broader terms may be able to capture both a range of academic subject matter, as well as those cognitive and social skills deemed critical for success in the 21st century (e.g., critical thinking, social networking). Unfortunately, this sort of global achievement was not available in TIMSS; however, future research may find that the positive features of profiles low in technology-use may come into focus when considering a more global academic achievement outcome.

One unique finding about absolute OST and achievement was that reading books was not related to mathematics, but was negatively related to science achievement. It is important to note that this finding must be interpreted in light of the measure used. The item is worded to capture youth's reading for enjoyment. One possibility is that

this negative relation may reflect youth's interests rather than reading comprehension ability. According to the internal/external frame of reference model (I/E model), youth's interests or abilities in one domain is based in part on comparisons of their interests or abilities across multiple domains (Marsh, Walker, & Debus, 1991). For example, Marsh and colleagues (1991) found that mathematics self-concept of ability negatively predicted English ability. Youth who read books for enjoyment may be more oriented towards the arts (e.g., English, humanities) than the sciences. We also found that a similar domain, homework, was negatively related to achievement. Another aspect of the TIMSS items worth exploring is that the items measure time spent in the domain rather than the content of the domain. Previous research suggests that time is not a good indicator of the benefits of homework (Cooper & Valentine, 1999). Rather, one needs to know what the homework consisted of and how well the student did. Future research will benefit from exploring more intricate methods to measure OST in various domains.

Limitations

This study is one of the first to our knowledge to consider global OST as an explanation for international achievement differences. This study provides interesting preliminary findings about how OST matters for achievement; however, it does not come without limitations. There are several considerations for measures that best capture global OST. The measures used in this study are basic and broad. For example, the item for television viewing could encompass both television programs and watching movies. Previous research suggests that time spent watching television is negatively related to academic achievement (e.g., Duckworth & Seligman, 1991). The lack of refinement of these measures may explain the discrepancies in findings related to these variables. In other words, the finding that television viewing was not related to academic achievement may become clearer if we disentangle television programs from movies.

Our sample may also present some potential shortcomings. Our unit of analysis was the country, rather than the individuals within the country. Thus, given our small sample size (49 countries), we focused our attention on effect sizes rather than absolute probability values. This study was designed as such to present a broad overview of this emerging area. Once we begin to define the big picture with regard to OST and achievement, future research may benefit from more intricate analytic plans, such as multi-level models. These sorts of analytic models may better capture the variance in achievement within countries, as well as between countries.

Finally, the design of the study also comprises limitations. As with similar international studies, such as PISA, this study is cross-sectional. Although we allude to the potential processes or mechanisms explaining the relation between OST and achievement, we do not suggest directionality. In other words, we cannot determine whether selection or influence explain these findings. For example, youth who spend their OST in structured activities (e.g., school clubs) achieve higher academically than youth who spend time in unstructured activities (e.g., hanging out with friends; Larson, 2000). However, it is unclear whether this is because youth who are more academically oriented select to participate in structured activities or whether structured activities bolster (i.e., influence) academic achievement. Although several

within-nation longitudinal studies have shown that OST predicts the development of student achievement (for a review, see Mahoney et al., 2009), international studies with longitudinal data are needed in general, and particularly to examine the contribution of OST to academic achievement globally.

Conclusion

Future research should consider a broader view of education and related contexts that includes understanding the variability in OST use both within and between nations. Further, researchers should explore methodological approaches best able to capture dimensions of OST participation from a global perspective. Finally, although HDI is an important predictor of a country's mean-level achievement, OST is also an important predictor. Researchers should design more globally-centered studies, rather than nation-centered studies, in order to gain knowledge of how OST matters for achievement within and between different nations and around the world.

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Table 1: Bivariate Correlations between all Study Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Math achievement	--	.92	.63	.47	.49	.40	-.43	.00	-.34	.46	-.51
2	Science achievement		--	.65	.52	.45	.43	-.39	.10	-.49	.44	-.48
3	HDI			--	.75	.67	.57	-.55	.37	-.71	.77	-.54
4	Watch television				--	.59	.50	-.37	.32	-.51	.53	-.28
5	Use computer					--	.47	-.60	.13	-.50	.82	-.33
6	Time with friends						--	-.05	.64	-.53	.55	-.35
7	Jobs at home							--	.07	.47	-.56	.40
8	Play sports								--	-.46	.32	-.14
9	Read books									--	-.63	.38
10	Use internet										--	-.51
11	Do homework											--

Note: HDI = Human Development Index. Pearson's r correlation effect sizes: Large= $>.50$; Medium= $.30-.50$; Small= $.10-.30$.

Table 2: Standardized Hierarchical Linear Regression Coefficients of the Human Development Index (HDI) and Out of School Time Use on Achievement

Variable	Dependent variable					
	Mathematics achievement			Science achievement		
	β	d	R^2	β	d	R^2
			$\Delta=.184$			$\Delta=.137$
1. HDI	.63*	1.62	.401	.65*	1.68	.421
2. Time use			.585			.558
Watch television	-.03	.05		.03	.05	
Use computer	.17	.21		.14	.17	
Time with friends	.38	.63		.29	.46	
Jobs at home	-.08	.14		.01	.01	
Play sports	.34	.66		.27	.51	
Read books	.03	.06		-.26	.44	
Use internet	.42	.49		.45	.51	
Do homework	-.23	.50		-.18	.37	

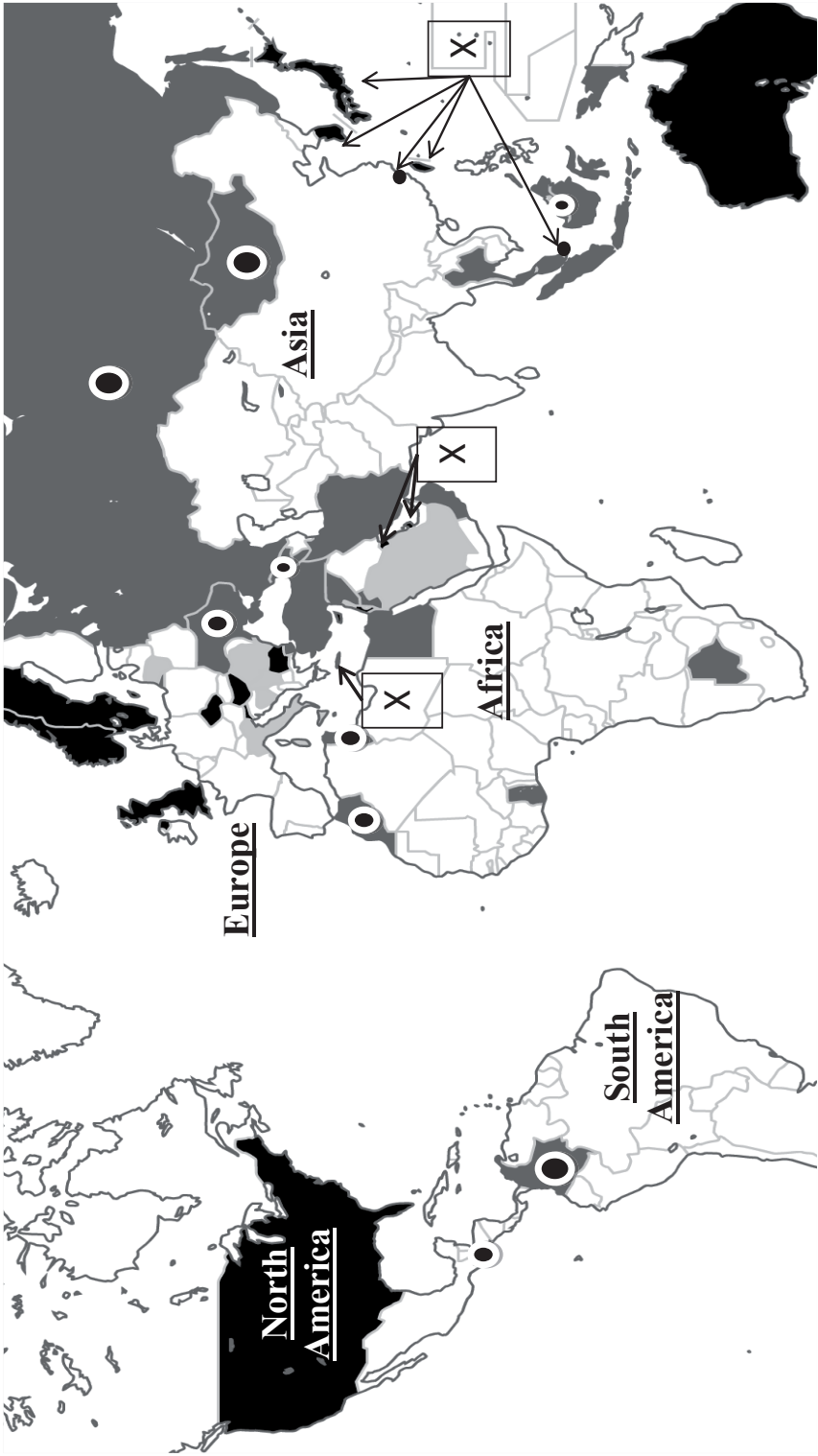
Note: HDI = Human Development Index. Cohen's d effect sizes: Large= $>.80$; Medium= $.50-.80$; Small= $.20-.50$. * $p<.05$.

Table 3: ANOVA and ANCOVA Results (Including Standardized Means) for OST Variables for Adolescents in Five OST Clusters

OST variable	Clusters and countries				Significance test	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Technology and leisure (n=12: Australia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, Norway, Scotland, Slovenia, Sweden, U.S., United Kingdom)	Technology only (n=9: Bahrain, Chinese Taipei, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Kuwait, Malta, Qatar, Singapore)	Active labor (n=10: Botswana, Colombia, El Salvador, Georgia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Morocco, Russia, Tunisia, Ukraine)	Moderate labor, inactive technology and leisure (n=11: Armenia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Oman, Palestine, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Egypt)	Moderate in all (n=7: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy, Lebanon, Lithuania, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Serbia)	
Television	0.56 _b	0.70 _b	-0.25 _b	-1.15 _a	0.31 _b $F(4,44) = 11.67^{***}$	2.06
Computer	0.68 _b	0.81 _b	-0.87 _a	-0.89 _a	0.43 _{bc} $F(4,44) = 19.47^{***}$	2.66
Friends	1.14 _d	-0.47 _{ab}	-0.04 _{bc}	-1.08 _a	0.40 _{cd} $F(4,44) = 21.71^{***}$	2.81
Jobs at home	-0.30 _b	-1.18 _a	1.40 _c	0.15 _b	-0.20 _b $F(4,44) = 27.45^{***}$	3.16
Sports	1.08 _c	-0.76 _a	0.09 _{ab}	-0.76 _a	0.18 _{bc} $F(4,44) = 13.44^{***}$	2.21
Books	-0.88 _a	-0.20 _{ab}	0.91 _c	0.62 _{bc}	-0.50 _a $F(4,44) = 11.15^{***}$	2.01
Internet	1.09 _c	0.82 _c	-0.93 _a	-0.99 _a	-0.05 _b $F(4,44) = 56.49^{***}$	4.53
Homework	-0.94 _a	-0.40 _{ab}	1.02 _c	0.39 _{bc}	0.06 _b $F(4,44) = 11.61^{***}$	2.05
Controls						
HDI	0.97 _c	0.75 _{bc}	-0.74 _a	-1.12 _a	0.14 _b $F(4,39) = 27.65^{***}$	3.17
Outcomes						
Math SAS	0.52 _a	0.61 _a	-0.48 _{ab}	-0.65 _b	0.04 _{ab} $F(4,44) = 4.31^{**}$	1.25
Science SAS	0.65 _a	0.40 _{ab}	-0.53 _b	-0.53 _b	-0.05 _{ab} $F(4,44) = 3.85^{**}$	1.18

Note: Means in the same row that do not share subscripts differ at $p < .05$ in Tukey's post-hoc differences comparison. F-values correspond to the cluster variable and do not represent the full model. All Cohen's *d* effect sizes are large effects. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. SAS = Standardized Achievement Score.

Figure 1: Graphic representation of the five OST clusters (specific countries are listed for each cluster in Table 3).



Note. Black marked with "X" and an arrow = Technology only. Black without marks = Technology and leisure. Medium grey marked with a black circle (outlined white) = Active labor. Medium grey without marks = Moderate labor. Light grey = Moderate in all.

Governance and Voluntariness for Children in Swedish Leisure-Time Centres: Leisure-Time Teachers Interpreting Their Tasks and Everyday Practice

Maria Hjalmarsson

Abstract: The aim of this article is to explore and discuss the tension between certain aspects of governance and voluntariness for children in the context of Swedish leisure-time centres meant for younger school children. The data consists of interviews with leisure-time teachers in five settings. The results show that there appears to be a paradox in that not offering children organized activities may be interpreted as childminding while at the same time the leisure-time teachers emphasize the importance of letting the children choose which activities they wish to be involved in. This may be a question of how the leisure-time teachers interpret and understand the concept of leisure and its consequences in everyday practice. In absence of a task to evaluate the learning outcomes of the children, the leisure-time teachers need to find other ways to describe and show the high quality of the activities offered. Working with carrying out quality reports may be such a means.

Keywords: Leisure-time centre, leisure-time teacher, quality, children, voluntariness, governance, teacher professionalism

1 Introduction

The aim of this article is to explore and discuss the tension between certain aspects of governance and voluntariness for children in the context of Swedish leisure-time centres meant for younger school children. It is voluntary for children to be enrolled in leisure-time centres, but in practice children often lack the option of deciding whether or not to participate, due to their parents' work situation or studies. Today leisure-time centres are in demand for the parents of approximately 85 % of the younger school children. Leisure-time centres are governed by the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and the Curriculum for the Compulsory School, Preschool Class and the Leisure-time Centre (Skolverket, 2011). The primary task is to complement the school by offering a different kind of pedagogical content, promoting children's physical, social and intellectual development and learning, and offering children meaningful recreational or leisure-time activities. None the less, in contrast to the school, leisure-time centres only have goals to strive for according to the curriculum,

not ones they are required to attain. The concepts of *leisure* and *meaningful leisure time* in the context of leisure-time centres are not defined or discussed in the Education Act (SFS 2010: 800) or the curriculum (Skolverket, 2011).

Henceforward the concepts 'leisure-time teacher' and 'leisure-time centre' will be abbreviated as LtT and LtC are used.

2 Conditions of Leisure-Time Centres

During the past decade there has been serious criticism of LtCs in evaluations, inspections and mappings, not least during the last few years. The Swedish National Agency for Education's (2000) 'Evaluation of Quality in Leisure-Time Centres' points to negative factors like large groups of children, poor facilities and staff lacking an adequate educational background and knowledge about the task of the LtC. The evaluation highlights the importance of children learning how to create meaningful leisure time for themselves, how to behave in relationships with others and how to compromise. The LtCs included in the evaluation were to find ways to be able to handle these aspects, but they only partly, or not at all, managed to live up to their task as formulated in the policy documents. The full title of the evaluation includes the question 'Do Leisure-Time Centres Exist?' and the author of the evaluation puts forth that the answer to this question depends on one's definition of LtC. The answer is 'yes' if your definition is of a place where are given the opportunity to play with each other before and after school. But the task embraces several other aspects, for example supporting children's physical, social, intellectual and emotional development. To give LtCs a reasonable chance to fulfil these tasks, the number of children per group has to decrease.

Results of an inspection by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate (Skolinspektionen, 2010) of 77 LtCs indicate that the majority to a larger extent have to manage to contribute to children's development and learning but also support them with tools to use when they have become too old for LtCs. Most of these LtCs do not base their pedagogy on the fact that every child is unique, with his or her specific interests and experiences. At some of the LtCs the afternoon activities are not planned but static and perfunctory, with the children mostly engaging in play and games initiated by themselves. The absence of pedagogical ambitions among the staff is explained as a consequence of the fact that they spend a great deal of time and energy in the school, with the LtCs paying the price.

The delineated picture is rather gloomy. It is obvious that not all LtCs live up to the task as formulated in policy documents. This may be discussed as a tension between ideal and reality. Johansson (2011) explains that the picture of LtCs is created in two arenas. In one arena formulations in policy documents of the task of LtCs shape the ideals of 'good' LtCs. The other arena is where the everyday practice of LtCs takes place. The ideals should be guidelines for quality, but the reality is affected by conditions such as the specific group of children, the educational background and work experience of the staff, economic realities and parents' expectations and comprehensions. This means that the relationship between ideal and reality may be

problematic, which is confirmed by the referred to evaluations, inspections and mappings.

3 Leisure in the Context of Leisure-Time Centres

Children's 'leisure' has been affected by perceptions and norms of the ideal childhood. Central aspects seem to be the relationship between the children's possibilities to shape their own leisure versus adult's governance of children's leisure. Haglund (2009) discusses a number of overlapping perspectives of the concept of leisure. From one perspective it is seen as interesting to investigate *the individual's experiences* of leisure and to what extent the individuals value their power to handle recreation time as they wish. In this matter, leisure may be described as a mental condition that depends on the individual's comprehension on the possibilities to act and participate in the activities chosen. From another point of view leisure can be defined as *time remaining* when commitments connected to family life and work is completed. Leisure is in this sense to be seen as quantity of time that may be separated from other segments of time. Further, leisure can be viewed as *time for activities* chosen by the individual during his or her leisure time without an explicit ambition that the activities shall be developing to the individual. Linked to this understanding is leisure as time for *useful activities*; useful to the individual and/or to society in general and imply a possibility to achieve socially desired goals. This definition highlights the question how leisure is used. Haglund clarifies that the previous policy documents did not state which definition of leisure the LtC activities were supposed to be based upon. He explains that an understanding of leisure that focuses on the *individual's experiences* should imply that children at LtCs are free to choose how to spend their leisure time and which activities they would like to engage in. If leisure, on the other hand, is defined as *remaining time* LtCs run the risk of being viewed as a kind of storage unit, where children are kept during the time between when school ends and other activities, such as sports, begin. The interpretation of leisure as *time for activities* chosen by the individual would in the context of LtCs mean that the children's play and activities has a value in its own right and is motivated by an inner motivation of the individual. The definition of leisure as time for *useful activities* would imply significant demands on the staff's educational background and professional competence and their contribution to children's development and learning.

Children enrolled in Swedish LtCs should feel free to choose whether they wish to participate in the organized activities or not. Otherwise, Haglund (2009) states, the children may view leisure in LtCs as a space of time they can not influence. According to the policy document the activities should be meaningful to the children and stimulate their development in various ways. Results from an action-learning project (Hjalmarsson & Söderström, 2012) show that while the LtTs take it for granted that the children have a similar comprehension of everyday practices to the one they have themselves, various and differing understandings may exist.

A study by Saar, Löfdahl and Hjalmarsson (2012) shows that the LtTs strive to offer the children a variety of activities. Their ambition is to present planned and organized activities which are more or less voluntary to the children every day. The

work of the LtTs deals to a large extent with planning, organizing and presenting these offers. The selection of potential offers is related to certain ideals, in other words comprehensions of what should be viewed as appropriate and developing activities for children. A factor of importance is the accentuated focus on quality and reports of this quality. The LtTs dwell upon the increased work of writing quality reports and state that this work supports professionalism and makes the purpose of leisure-time activities clear. It seems as if being goal-orientated may be more important than the content as such. Aspects that previously were part of core content have now been transformed to a vital goal.

4 The Empirical Data

The data consists of interviews with nine LtTs working in five settings in a small municipality and a middle-sized town in a rural part of Sweden. These LtCs were selected with the purpose to contribute to breadth and variation in the data material regarding aspects such as locality, organization of the daily work and the number of children per group.

Through the research process the ethical requirements and recommendations of research formulated by the Swedish Research Council has been taken into consideration (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). Contact was initially made with the LtTs via their head teachers. Everyone involved received information about the study in advance, including the voluntariness of their participation and their right to discontinue participation at any time without questions. All of the LtTs gave their verbal consent.

The length of the LtTs' work experience varied. Some of them had received their certificate ten years ago while others had more than thirty years of work experience. The LtTs were interviewed individually but also in focus groups. The partially structured interviews took place at the LtCs and were digitally recorded and transcribed word for word. The themes discussed dealt with the task of the LtC and the daily work of the LtTs, as well as aspects of freedom, leisure and voluntariness in the centres' activities. Each interview took between 45 and 90 minutes. For the purpose of this article the transcripts have been translated from Swedish into English and during the translating process the aim has been to depict the everyday talk of the LtTs to as high a degree as possible. The data material is not seen as representing 'facts' about the world, nor authentic experiences, but as having been mutually constructed in the interplay between me the researcher and the LtTs in the interview situations (Silverman, 2006). Guided by the various definitions of 'leisure' discussed by Haglund (2009) the themes elaborated in the article have been extracted from the empirical data, and analyzed and discussed in relation to quality and teacher professionalism.

5 Leisure-Time Teachers Interpreting Certain Aspects of Governance and Voluntariness

During the interviews the LtTs discussed the task of the LtC as well as the pedagogical content of the activities in the everyday practice. The discussions actualize certain aspects of governance and voluntariness and relate to comprehensions on quality and teacher professionalism. With the purpose to present the everyday talk of the LtTs' excerpts from the interviews is shown in *italics*.

Interpreting the Relation Between the Tasks and the Realities of Everyday Practice

When the LtTs discuss the commissions of leisure-time centers some of them refer to the commissions described in the Education Act and the Curriculum:

Elisabeth: *The activities of the leisure-time center shall be based upon scientific ground and well-tried experience, or how is it formulated? Our commission is also to foster the adults of tomorrow so they are comfortable enough to create a good life for themselves and be good members of society. Oh, that sounded charming (ironic smile)...*

Birgitta: *I think of encouraging children to try different activities...*

The LtT's using direct formulations of policy documents may be viewed as a way to make clear that they are familiar with their commission. Highfaluting and well-known concepts may underline the need and importance of their daily work, but combined with an ironic smile it is reasonable to interpret Elisabeth as that she indicate a disharmony between the formulations of the policy documents and the realities of the everyday practices of the leisure-time center. The LtTs give examples from the everyday practice, which may be understood as a way to highlight a sort of clash between the ideals and realities of leisure-time centers. Malin argues:

The head teacher emphasizes increased quality and status of the leisure-time center. But my commission is to cover up where I am needed the most/.../ During the mornings I am engaged in a specific child and during the afternoons I am responsible for the activities at the leisure-time center, but in reality it doesn't go that way. To get the children to eat and avoid a great chaos, that is my priority.

The organization and division of work tasks and responsibilities as well as the specific group of children affect to what degree the LtTs view themselves as fulfilling the commissions of the policy documents and high quality activities. They are aware of the expectations on themselves as LtTs but at the same time aspects in the daily work condition their actions in practice. There seems to be a paradox revealed in Malin's statement when she on one the hand refers to a wish on increased quality of leisure-time centers initiated and discussed by the head teacher, and on the other hand reports that in her daily work she is often assigned to shoulder an assistant role to a specific child at the expense of the quality of the leisure-time center activities.

Interpreting 'Leisure' in the Context of Leisure-Time Centres

The LtTs have a hard time deciding whether the time children spend at the LtC is to be seen as their leisure time. Malin describes how it is her *'goal to accept the children's suggestions and wishes. But it's not really free none the less'*. The LtTs often emphasize that they offer children certain activities, some of which are only almost voluntary:

Birgitta: *It is important that we offer, that the children are allowed to decide, they shouldn't be forced to participate in the organized activities.*

Annie: *And at the same time, our task is to help stimulate the children's interest in trying different activities. They lack frames of reference and knowledge about what possibilities and options there are.*

There appear to be fluid limitations to what should be seen as compulsory and voluntary to the children in LtCs. Some activities are compulsory for the children to participate in. As a way of legitimizing the fact that the children are only allowed to a certain degree to decide what they should engage in during their time at the LtC, the LtTs refer to their task but also to the limited knowledge of the children as well as the LtT's ability to widen the perspectives of the children.

The LtTs seem to handle a kind of tension between voluntariness and the task to contribute to children's development and offer meaningful leisure time. When they are asked if the organized activities at the LtCs are important they seem to hesitate. Lena answers: *Well, yes and no, one needs to be flexible. The children want to be on their own, which isn't strange. They are engaged in so many things during the school day.* It is obvious that the LtTs not only relate to leisure-time activities that the children are engaged in during late afternoons but also to the demands they face in school when trying to handle aspects of voluntariness and governance in the context of LtCs.

The children should be given the opportunity to exercise influence on the time they spend in the LtC. But at the same time it is important to the LtTs to plan and organize activities that the children can take part in if they want to. Some children protest against being part of for example the assembly that takes place every afternoon, but Annie interprets this circumstance as a protest not against the activity as such but against the governing in general. She says: *These particular children bear an inner conflict and they feel a need to maintain their right of self-determination. Actually, they want to participate but they feel a need to demonstrate that they aren't participating just because I tell them to.* The LtTs do not want to force children to participate in the leisure-time activities and as a way of motivating their actions while still expecting all the children to be part of the assembly, an alternative approach is for them to refer to all children's desire to be included in the fellowship. The attitude of the LtTs may be linked to a view of leisure, as discussed by Haglund (2009) as a time to be engaged in *useful activities* and as a means to attain socially desirable goals as well as a way for them to underline their power as LtTs and adults and show their ability to gather the group of children to take part in a certain event.

It seems that the LtTs try to plan and organize activities that the children will be tempted to join, but at the same time they also try to be sensitive to the children's alleged wishes to be on their own. These ambitions are affected by certain condi-

tions, like the actual group of children and staff-related resources. As Malin explains: *Sometimes we say that everyone is expected to participate in an organized activity in the gymnasium. It is a bit calmer when activities are governed by the adults.* In other words, doing activities planned and organized by the LtTs is also a way of handling large groups of children and creating a calmer environment. The situation described may be linked to Saar, Löfdahl and Hjalmarsson (2012) showing that some activities offered in LtCs border on voluntariness, implying that the children are *almost* free to decide whether to participate or not.

Interpreting 'Meaningful Leisure' in the Context of Leisure-Time Centres

The LtTs were asked to describe how they interpret and understand the concept of meaningful leisure in the context of the task of offering it to children in LtCs. Elisabeth explains: *It means that you offer different activities that are appropriate for the group of children at hand! .../ A smorgasbord of activities, kind of...*

By offering a 'smorgasbord' of activities all children can find an activity that appeals to them. Further, the discussion about the need of varying activities may be a response to the strong criticism directed at LtC activities over the past decade, implying that there is a lack of quality in what the children are offered (Skolinspektionen, 2010; Skolverket, 2000). It seems as if the LtTs want to protect the possibility for children to decide how to spend their leisure time. At the same time it may be difficult to view children 'just hanging around' as part of meaningful leisure. In this case leisure would, in line with Haglund (2009), be synonymous with *remaining time*, implying a risk that the LtC would be viewed as a kind of storage or childminding, with no pedagogical objectives or ambitions. In turn this would impact on the views of the professional skills of the LtTs as well as on the status of the profession. The LtTs may wish for the children to be involved in something but at the same time they stress other aspects as perhaps more important. Lena maintains:

I really struggle with myself on this. Meaningful is maybe interpreted as doing something. But me, I focus on their playing, on their being creative. They are controlled in other activities, in sport and so on. They need freedom under guidance by adults.

The interpretations and understandings by the LtTs of meaningful leisure seem to be influenced by the fact that many children today are engaged in controlled activities, such as sport, during late afternoons. Lena's statement may be understood as that she as a LtT tries to create space for unplanned activities initiated by the children. In this sense meaningful leisure in the context of LtCs may be seen as a period of time where the children are set free from pressure and demands to produce and perform, but also from the governance of adults. Indirectly Lena is safeguarding *the individual's experiences* of leisure and leaving it to the individual child to govern its leisure as he or she wishes (Haglund, 2009).

According to the LtC teachers, drawing and painting is a popular activity for many children, but the LtTs may wonder if this is an activity that is appropriate to spend a lot of time on. Lena handles the dilemma by trying to find positive aspects of the recurrent activities that she does not view as stimulating and challenging in their

own right: *They tend to choose such occupations. Should they just sit there, drawing and drawing, day after day, one might wonder. But they do communicate while they draw.* It seems as if the LtTs on the one hand try to be in tune with the initiatives of the children but on the other hand question whether certain activities correspond to meaningful leisure in the context of LtC activities. In other words, the question deals with whether drawing and panting should be seen as *useful activities* (Haglund, 2009) tied to the leisure of the children.

Interpreting Quality Reports as an Issue of Teacher Professionalism

The LtTs are not only expected to offer activities that boost the goal attendance of the pupils and promote and stimulate their intellectual, social, physical and emotional development, they are also expected to offer activities that appeal to the children, to assure that the LtTs can document and show quality in their LtCs. The conditions of the daily work of the LtTs limits their possibilities to put their pedagogical ambitions into practice, which may be stressful due to the demands to show and report high quality. Heidi maintains:

It's been more and more [so that] now we're expected to describe and formulate the goals of our work, what we do. Goal descriptions and such work, taking photographs to show on the homepage of the municipality and marketing so much, showing and putting words to what we do.

Heidi says that this development is partly positive because the LtTs have to carefully consider their work and the activities they offer, which is important due to the fact that parents are now free to choose which school they want for their children. Stella confirms that working on carrying out quality reports has helped her colleagues and her to *'formulate goals, describe what we want to accomplish, our prioritized goals...you get better self-esteem'*. The conscious work of achieving increased quality may contribute to the professional self-confidence of the LtTs as well as being a reason for them to reflect upon the activities offered. Anna puts it thus: *This year we have restructured the goals. Previously it has been so easy...we scrawl down something about what we're doing this week, but we haven't given much thought to why we do what we do...* When Anna is asked if she works in a different way due to the quality reports, she says her way of working is still the same, but that she *'thinks differently now...much more about how it should be displayed in the text'*.

Working with quality reports may also be viewed as a kind of submission of evidence of meaningful activities being carried out at the LtC as well as a way of showing the professionalism of the LtT profession. Heidi says: *It's a way of calling attention to our profession so as to avoid people thinking that "in LtCs they don't accomplish anything, the children just hang around till it's time to go home"*.

The LtTs seem to be anxious to show the pedagogical value of children being enrolled in LtCs. Peter emphasizes that *'everyone knows that children learn all day long, but now we aim at putting it down on paper, what the children learn, and giving it to the parents. There should be a pedagogical ambition in all activities, but sometimes there are none, but...it's pure recreation, but you always learn something.'* The quotation is linked to various understandings of the concept leisure that Haglund

(2009) discusses; Peter stresses the leisure-time activities as being both developing and *useful* to the children, but does also open up for a view of leisure as pleasant *activities* that are carried out on the basis of an inner motivation of the individual.

6 Concluding Remarks

The ambiguity of the LtTs revealed when they discussed aspects of voluntariness and governance in LtC activities may be seen as a tendency of friction between the goals of the policy documents and the fact that these goals should be strived for during the children's leisure time. In this way leisure in the context of LtCs can be described as an institutionalized leisure, sometimes governed by the LtTs and sometimes, to varying extents, created by the children themselves. The initiatives and activities of the children are observed and evaluated by the LtTs, and it has been shown that the LtTs sometimes confer with themselves on whether certain activities are suitable for children during the time they spend at the LtC. It would seem as if it may be difficult for the LtTs in the present study to describe how certain activities, such as painting and drawing, complement school activities and contribute to the goal attendance of the children and promote their development in various ways.

To offer children activities planned and organized by LtTs, and the teachers' efforts to make the children willing to join, may be seen as a willingness on the part of the LtTs to contribute to the well-being of the children and to boost their feeling of solidarity, as well as a striving to guide the activities of the children and thereby at least to some extent their learning. But it has also been shown that organized activities governed by the LtTs can be viewed as a strategy for handling large numbers of children in the LtC group, which has been highlighted as a critical aspect to the quality of LtCs (Persson, 2008; Saar, Löfdahl & Hjalmarsson, 2012). Moreover, there appears to be a paradox in that not offering children organized activities may be interpreted as childminding while at the same time the LtTs emphasize the importance of letting the children choose which activities they wish to be involved in. This may be a question of how the LtTs interpret and understand the concept of leisure and its consequences in everyday practice (Haglund, 2009).

In absence of a task to evaluate the learning outcomes of the children at the L+C, the L+Ts need to find other ways to describe and show the high quality of the activities offered. Working with carrying out quality reports may be such a means. A question of importance in this context is which initiatives by the children are encouraged and supported by the LtTs and which activities are questioned or even forbidden. Another issue is which activities are allowed to 'pass by' in the presentation of the LtCs in the quality reports. There may be a gap between the actual activities in the everyday practice of the LtC and the picture that quality reports aim to show. Skolverket (2000) asks 'if LtCs exist' and one could go further and ask '*Which pictures of LtCs are allowed to exist?*' This question is critical, particularly in relation to the fact that the large degree of free play at LtCs has been subjected to strong criticism (Skolinspektionen, 2010) and therefore may run a risk of being toned down in quality reports.

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After-School Centers and Youth Development: Case Studies of Success and Failure.

Barton J. Hirsh, Nancy L. Deutsch, and David L. DuBois. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011

Reviewed by Adam C. Sheppard

After-School Centers and Youth Development tackles the important and challenging task of defining and assessing program quality in organized after-school settings, especially addressing the disparity between program quality across organizations. To focus the discussion, the term *center* is used and refers to organizations that are typically characterized by numerous programs (and subsequent activities) offered to youth (e.g., Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCAs). Further clarifying their point, the authors address *comprehensive after-school centers*, which focus on a broader array of academic and psychosocial outcomes as opposed to centers that focus on more singular outcomes (e.g., drama clubs, sports leagues). While drawing upon rich literature related to after school participation and positive youth development, the authors note a particular lack of previous research linking organizational dynamics associated with program quality and the experiences of program participants. To address this gap, the conceptual framework for the study focuses on three organizational characteristics of centers that are experienced by a young person: (1) programs and activities, (2) youth-staff relationships, and (3) the culture of the center.

Recognizing that all three components are interrelated and interact in several ways to influence youth outcomes, Hirsch et al. use what they call PARC (program, activity, relationship, culture) units within their analysis of the three centers studied – all Boys and Girls Clubs. Combining PARC units (from observations of particular programs/activities/relationships) over the course of a year, a profile is created to depict patterns of consistency and change in youth involvement with the centers. Findings from each of the three studies are presented in a systematic way, which aids in their interpretation. Following an account of the organization of each center (e.g., goals, policies and practices associated with program development and implementation, youth-staff and staff-staff relationships), a detailed account of two separate participants is used to elaborate upon how the organizational dynamics influence youth involvement. Each of the descriptions of the two participants centers around a PARC profile, composed of PARC units assessed at the beginning, middle, and end of the year. Additionally, the authors describe each participant's relationships with other participants and center staff, and particularly highlight youth interaction with the staff member they said they were closest to. Particularly interesting is

the focus on interactions among the different PARCs associated with center involvement, which the authors stress are important when assessing youth development over time.

“Pockets of Excellence”

The first case study, of Midwest Center, describes “pockets of excellence” with some positive findings alongside negative reports as well. A general finding from time spent at this center was the gap between the potential and the reality of PARCs is associated in large part to organizational failures. In one example, the authors describe Bob, the center supervisor, as discouraging new programming, especially for girls. With a “good-old-boys” culture established by the supervisor, another staff member, Manuel, was able to establish a chess club that resonated with youth in the club, but the culture also led to a failure to address concerns by Bill, the male participant featured in the analysis, because the concerns did not fit the manly culture.

From this case, a question is raised as to the importance of hiring staff and defining center culture. Which direction does this relation occur? The authors suggest using practices to hire staff with strong interests and skill to develop programs and activities, to circumvent limitations of existing center culture, but this seems to indicate that staff influence center culture. Alternatively, the examples cited seem to suggest that center culture influences staff practices. The male dominant culture limited the opportunities of female staff to develop programs and activities, even when many of them had the desire and showed initiative to do so. To my knowledge, there has not been a study to assess the relation between staff hiring and center culture development. Do staff get hired and conform to the preexisting culture, as in a Peer Contagion Hypothesis (e.g., Dishion & Dodge, 2005), or can staff hiring practices be used as an intervention to address detriments to center culture?

“A Study of Organizational Dysfunction”

The second case study, of North River Center, describes a dysfunctional center with evidence of feuding amongst the organizational personnel. Through their observations, the authors describe an environment where staff practices were oriented towards controlling youth behavior rather than aligning with the expressed goals of the national organization focused on positive youth development. When describing program and activity development, the authors state, “Appearance is paramount, and Mr. Jones [center director] displays little concern for the process below” (p. 131). A variety of activities are offered to youth, which may provide more youth opportunities to engage in activities that are meaningful to them. However, youth are cycled through on a regular schedule without allowing for student choice, which is a potentially more beneficial experience – when there is a fit between the youth’s needs and the environment provided (e.g., Eccles et al., 1993).

Through the two in-depth studies of individual youth at North River, one of the main findings the authors present is the inability of the center to provide a complete PARC in which either one was truly engaged. With its larger membership, prominent position within the community, and long-time tenure of certain staff members, the center operated on a status quo basis. Perhaps, greater oversight by the national organization, or regional headquarters, would have identified the gap between practices and stated goals. While indicating that center-level autonomy can be positive, allowing individual centers to respond to the needs of the youth in their care, the authors also highlight a potential benefit of a more system-wide lens for analyzing inter-organizational linkages. A system-level analysis of organizational dynamics has received little attention within the organized youth-setting literature, so this book is a useful step in addressing this gap.

“The Jewel in the Crown”

The third case study, of West River Center, highlights the practices of a center touted as “the best Boys & Girls Club in the region.” While staff at all three centers studied indicated they addressed goals related to positive youth development, West River was the only center to have consistently prioritized these goals as reflected in the observations at the site. At the center, senior leadership expressed an ongoing concern as to how well programs and staff were actively engaging youth in personal development. Additionally, the authors use West River as an example of how programs, activities, relationships, and culture can interact to form complete PARC profiles to describe youth experiences in comprehensive after-school centers. For example, Midnight, a young male participant, found the dance program to offer him a meaningful relationship with Victoria, one of the staff members, which also supported his cultural background. The detailed descriptions of involvement within West River’s programs and activities highlights the need to focus on more than just the number of programs and activities youth participate in by analyzing the interactions as important as well.

Through the West River case, the authors are able to synthesize their analysis of the other two centers and pose the following important questions for further work on comprehensive after-school centers:

- To what extent does the center prioritize youth development not only in words, but in actions?
- Do youth attending the center have adequate opportunity to connect to a positive niche within the larger setting?
- To what extent is there likely to be synergy across the different experiences that a youth has within the center, such that the whole is greater than the sum of parts?
- What does the center do to ensure that it is hiring quality staff and providing them with optimal levels of training and supervision?
- What processes are in place within the center for continuous organizational learning and improvement?

Summary

Studying indicators of quality in after-school settings, and the related influences on youth outcomes, is challenging and complicated, but the work by Hirsch et al. provides a useful framework for assessing the differences between centers and associated impacts on individual youth. Through a detailed analysis of the organizational structure and culture of each center, followed by in-depth descriptions of youth involved in the programs and activities, the authors help further the discussion of differentiations between “high-quality” and “low-quality” programs. Beyond the insights the authors provide, there are additional questions that are raised for future study.

A strength of the work by Hirsch and colleagues is the thorough description of organization-level influences to center quality, especially related to culture and staff practices, but there is also the question as to which influences which. Do staff influence organizational culture? Or, does the organizational culture influence staff practices? The authors appear to suggest that organizational culture influences staff practices, referencing examples of administrative-level staff hindering staff initiative in developing new programs and activities for youth, so this suggests an important area for future work. If a “low-quality” adult were to be placed in a “high-quality” center, would their practices improve? Similarly, would a “high-quality” adult flounder in a “low-quality” center? These questions are important to the development of professional development opportunities in after-school settings, but they have still not been addressed within the organized activity literature.

For scholars and practitioners focused on understanding quality in after-school settings, *After-School Centers and Youth Development: Case Studies of Success and Failure* (2011) is an excellent reference to work from. As this work comes from observations of only Boys and Girls Clubs, the extent to which this framework extends to other youth-serving organizations, but the overall framework provides a useful analytical framework. Through their focus on the interactions amongst programs and activities, relationships with staff, and overall center culture, Hirsch et al. outline a systematic approach to observing youth involvement in programs and activities, which will likely be useful for future out-of-school time studies more generally.

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“Schools can ignore what lies beyond their gates, but they cannot escape it!”

Colleen Cummings, Alan Dyson, & Liz Todd: *Beyond the School Gates. Can Full Service and Extended Schools Overcome Disadvantage?* Oxford: Routledge 2011

Reviewed by Stephan Kielblock

In internationally comparative research activities it has been reported that social problems like political distrust, ethnocentrism, xenophobia or social inequality bring a new understanding of schooling to the scene. Schools, or rather entire school systems of different countries have to meet the globalized demands of education in the twenty-first century. Maybe one possible form to establish sustainable schooling can be seen in the so called full service and extended schools – also called ‘extracurricular and out-of-school education’, ‘all-day schools’ or ‘after school programs’ in other contexts. In this context the present book written by Colleen Cummings, Alan Dyson and Liz Todd asks what happens if schools give up their single focus on children as learners and broaden their horizons with a glance ‘beyond the school gates’. Such schools are concerned with the learning of children as well as their personal, social and physical development, and with how they can access the services they need to support that development.

In chapter one Cummings, Dyson and Todd discuss how full service and extended schools have emerged in particular policy contexts. Especially for England they show how ideas about what those schools are and are for have changed over time and how the New Labour education policy formed today’s status quo. Since 1997 New Labour governments set in place a range of structures and processes for bringing services and organizations together within a single strategic framework. Full service and extended schools should no longer be seen as a separate category. All schools ought to be seen as offering access to extended services. Subsequently the second chapter deals with the question what such schools are for and what they might realistically hope to achieve. The authors show that initiatives for transforming the school system often do not explicitly articulate what they intend to achieve. To explore the rationales on which full service and extended school initiatives are based the team of authors suggest making extensive use of theory of change methodology to surface the implicit theories of change. It seems that different initiatives conceptualize the aims and characteristics of full service approaches in different ways, but one dominant rationale can be perceived over and over again: the sense that social disintegration can be repaired by new kinds of service configurations in and around schools.

Whereas in the first two chapters different initiatives were discussed, the following chapters focus on one recent initiative – the ‘Full Service Extended Schools’

(FSES) initiative in England. It is described in chapter three how schools responded to being involved in the FSES initiative and it became clear that their responses were full of both ambiguities and possibilities. To show the wide range of potential outcomes Cummings, Dyson and Todd explore some individual schools in three detailed case studies. As previously mentioned, it became even more clear through the case studies that a dominant rationale has emerged which views schools as a means of supporting children, families and adults in disadvantaged circumstances.

The fourth chapter fleshes out specific challenges and possibilities driven by additional funding. Altogether the FSES initiative encouraged local experimentation rather than implementing a tried and tested model. Taking into account that the extent to which schools are successful depends on the support they receive from national and local policy frameworks, it is utterly problematic how partial and inappropriate mechanisms for holding English schools to account have undermined their development of extended provision.

Cummings, Dyson and Todd were engaged to evaluate how the FSES initiative affects schooling. So in chapter five they explore the challenges they were faced with in conducting this evaluation. In general it is difficult to differentiate which aspect of the school's approach has produced what outcomes. So for the authors it did not seem possible to rely on a simple input-output evaluation design. The response of the authors, therefore, was to opt for a multi-strand, mixed methods design, and to place the theory of change methodology at the core of that design.

Chapter six gives an outline of the evaluation findings. To begin with the authors report evidence from international research projects, that on the one hand it is difficult to find evidence that improvements are so great, so sustained and so generalized that the effects of any social and economic disadvantages experienced by children and families are entirely negated. And on the other hand international evidence suggests that the impacts of full service and extended schools are variable according to different circumstances. From their FSES evaluation Cummings, Dyson and Todd report selected findings. First, that there is no real evidence for impacts on school-level attainment outcomes. Second, that impacts on children, young people and their families were ambiguous – nevertheless it becomes apparent that for example students who might achieve very little tend to do better as a result of the wider services and activities offered by the school. And third, that there is strong evidence for impacts on adults, communities and the school. The authors report some more findings in the book that in detail can be looked up in the final research report of the 'Evaluation of the Full Service Extended Schools Initiative', published in 2007 by Cummings and colleagues.

As a last point chapter seven reconsiders the collected evidence and suggests that schools need to be based on a theory of change that is coherent and explicit. This means there has to be an idea, or at least a debate, about what full service and extended schools are for and how they should work. And one should not indulge in the illusion that this idea or debate does not depend significantly on where the school is located, what the social realities of those locales are, and how other services are configured there. The authors are right if they say that decisions "cannot be made in the light of some decontextualized blueprint" (p. 107). It needs to be clear what the current policy context is, what problems it contains, and what it is that schools might contribute to the solution of those problems to build firm foundations for full service and extended schools. In due consideration of possible ways to think about

these crucial fundamentals one possibility is to see the focus of full service and extended school approaches as to break the link between social background, educational outcomes and chances in life – as already mentioned the authors speak of this as the dominant rationale. Another way of thinking receives far less attention. Full service and extended schools can also be seen to help build a society that is not only economically viable, but is also healthy in terms of its politics and values. In a way schools contribute to building a vibrant, democratic society.

The prevailing assumption that schools should solve a range of social and educational problems brings the term 'disadvantage' into question. As the authors delineate, the complexity of the links between structural inequalities and outcomes for individuals are commonly underestimated as well as the intricacy of multiple factors of disadvantage and their impacts and interactions. A closer look at the relationship between social disadvantage and education reveals that schools can, on the one hand, reduce risks to which individuals are subjected and increase their resilience. But on the other hand the underlying social structures and the inequalities and adversities inherent in those structures continue to generate risks relatively unperturbed by what school does or does not do. This makes sense if one considers that the strongest evidence for the effectiveness of schools is on the individual level whereas sources of risk are tackled in the communities and areas where children live. For this reason Cummings, Dyson and Todd recommend giving up the idea that school is the center of all services and activities and to turn towards aligning the work of the community agencies with that of the school. This should be secured by a shared local strategy. In the words of the authors they suggest "a shift from the *hub* model of full services and extended schools, to a *network* and *nested* model" (p. 120). This means in particular that not only schools embellish their core business with additional activities but, as the authors put it, that system level policy needs its own theory of change where schools are to be seen as part of a network of services operating strategically in pursuit of shared aims.

All in all the book 'beyond the school gates' addresses practitioners and policy makers as well as researchers. The combination of two relatively voluminous but generally intelligible chapters about the historical, political and organizational context in England and the following well-structured chapters about the evaluation of the English initiative to foster full service and extended schools, makes it possible to understand the undertaken research against the backdrop of the particular present situation in England. For internationally oriented research in the field of full service and extended schools this approach is of vital importance. In conventional (shorter) papers the specific context and history of schooling is not uncommonly rather neglected, so the results are interpreted in view of the author's country's standards – in so doing they are not uncommonly misinterpreted. In books like the one by Cummings, Dyson and Todd a deep and holistic understanding of research and the ongoing processes of school development is opened up and hopefully that future researchers follow this example.

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