

# IJREE

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## International Journal for Research on Extended Education

### Special Section

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**Sang Hoon Bae/Fuyuko Kanefuji** • A comparison of the afterschool programs of Korea and Japan: From the institutional and ecological perspectives

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## Editor's Preface

Extended education flourishes in nations across the world. With the worldwide growth of extended education, an increasing number of studies have been conducted in this area. Despite the growing amount of research, many of them have generally focused on the extended education of one particular country. Given this trend, IJREE editors decided to include the *Special Section on Extended Education from an International Comparative Point of View* to which Marianne Schuepbach contributed as a guest editor. Three international comparative studies were included in this section that were developed based on the presentations at the 2017 International Research Network (IRN) Extended Education of the World Education Research Association (WERA) at the University of Bamberg. We hope that from these comparative studies international researchers gain better understanding and some insight on the worldwide culture of extended education.

In the 1/2018 issue, we also have two *General Contributions*. Anna-Lena Ljusberg, employing the ethnographic research method, attempted to describe a boy's ways of positioning himself as 'a boy who does not fight' to 'a boy who fight'. Bearing on the concepts of gender, position, and power, this study showed how a boy became a real boy in Sweden. Sang Hoon Bae, Sue Bin Jeon & Song Ie Han examined the relationship between out-of-class activity participation and perceived change in cognitive and social outcomes of Korean college students. This research is of great value in that it shows the potential of extension of research topics in the area of extended education.

Finally, there are two short reports in the section of *Development in Extended Education*. Marianne Schuepbach presents the report of the 1<sup>st</sup> WERA-IRN Extended Education Conference: Extended education from an international comparative point of view at the University of Bamberg. Mark Bray & Zhang Wei provide information about the recent work of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong on the topic of public-private partnerships in supplementary education that is one of the major parts of extended education.

IJREE thanks all authors for valuable contributions. We are also very grateful to all reviewers for their commitment to the development of extended education research and IJREE.

*Sang Hoon Bae*

# Introduction: Extended Education from an International Comparative Point of View

*Marianne Schuepbach*

Last year, the International Research Network (IRN) EXTENDED EDUCATION of the World Education Research Association (WERA) was established (reported in IJREE 1/2017; see Schüpbach & Stecher, 2017): In April 2017, the Network for Research on Out-of-School Time and Extracurricular Educational Research (NEO-ER) – an international network with a group of international experts launched in 2010 – became the WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION. The organizers of the WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION are Marianne Schuepbach, University of Bamberg, and Ludwig Stecher, University of Gießen. The goal of WERA's networks is to advance education research worldwide on specific scholarly topics. The WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION is a collaborative group of scholars conducting research on extended education, or out-of-school time and extracurricular learning in childhood and in adolescence, which is on the rise in learning societies today. In almost every modern country in Europe, North and South America, Asia, and Australia, there have been numerous efforts in the last 10 to 20 years to expand these institutional education and care opportunities to supplement schooling.

The first WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION Conference, Extended Education from an International Comparative Point of View, took place from November 30 to December 2, 2017 at the University of Bamberg. In this issue's DEVELOPMENTS in the Field of Extended Education, you find a report on the conference. Three enriching and interesting co-keynote speeches at the conference compared the developments in the field of extended education in two countries. These three contributions are published in this issue in a special section.

Educational comparative research in the field of extended education, or out-of-school time and extracurricular education, is in its infancy. Educational comparative research in general has gained in importance over the last decades. According to Watson (1996, p. 387):

Comparative education research has led to a substantial increase in our understanding of, and awareness of, educational systems and processes in different parts of the world; of the infinite variety of aims, purposes, philosophies and structures; and the growing similarities of the issues facing educational policy-makers across the world.

In the new research field of extended education, discussions and developments have taken place mainly in individual countries, in federalist countries, and even in regions. This has affected the research conducted up to now. For research endeavors in this field, the conference contributions published in this issue represent an important start.

In the first contribution, "Comparison of Extended Education and Research in this Field in Taiwan and Switzerland," Marianne Schuepbach and Denise Huang compare a country with an Asian culture and society with a country with a Western culture and society. First, they provide an overview on the situation in Switzerland and describe the traditional school scheduling, the starting position and expectations of extended education, the current structure of the offerings, and an overview of research in the field of extended education. They then present the same overview for the system in Taiwan. The cultural differences in general are then juxtaposed considering the individualist perspective on education in the West and the collectivist perspective on education in the East. Schuepbach and Huang then examine the two countries in view of Hofstede's (2001) five dimensions representing differences between national cultures. They go on to discuss the cultural impact in the field of extended education in these two countries and the existing differences. In the last part of the contribution, Schuepbach and Huang present challenges in comparative research and in possible future research from an international comparative point of view. They note that it is particularly important to conduct international comparative research together with researchers and participating countries with different cultural backgrounds, such as Europe, the United States, and Asia. They conclude: "There is a lot that we can and should learn from each other. But as we are trying to improve student learning with the evidences we gathered in a different country, we should also be aware that in order to make a 'best practice' work, it requires translation to a different culture/value system" (p. 8).

The second contribution, "A Comparison of the Afterschool Programs of Korea and Japan: From the Institutional and Ecological Perspectives," by Sang Hoon Bae and Fujuko Kanefuji, compares the afterschool programs in the two neighboring Asian countries especially from an institutional and an ecological perspective. In contrast to the first contribution, there are no general cultural differences here, as both cultures are shaped by Eastern values and ethics. For each country, Bae and Kanefuji present definitions and features of afterschool programs, the current status, and policy emphasis and issues. They then examine the commonalities and differences. They find that in addition to the similar Eastern values and ethics, there is a long tradition of interaction between the two countries in various fields, which has resulted in the commonalities. These include afterschool programs as a means to combat social problems, the active role of the government in the implementation of afterschool programs, and the strong belief that school buildings are safe places for afterschool programs. The authors find differences in the officially announced goals and the means of promoting cooperation between schools and communities, which they see as coming from different social, cultural, and political backgrounds of Japan and Korea. Bae and Kanefuji attempt to uncover commonalities and differences in the afterschool programs in Japan and Korea with the aid of institutional and ecological perspectives and see this approach as a possible way to examine extended education worldwide, "which is increasingly developing into a global culture of education" (p. 27).

The third contribution, “Swedish School-Age Educare Centres and German All-Day Schools – A Bi-National Comparison of Two Prototypes of Extended Education,” by Anna Klerfeld and Ludwig Stecher, compares two prototypes of extended education found in two European countries with Western values – Sweden and Germany. Klerfeld and Stecher start out by noting that in both countries there is already a long tradition of extended education, and they view the school-age Educare facilities in Sweden and the all-day schools in Germany as prototypes of extended education. They outline the historical development and selected constituting aspects of the programs, such as the aims at the student level, the professionalism of the staff, and the extracurricular activities. They point out that in most cases, the programs in both countries aim at aspects that are not very different. There are some differences regarding society’s expectations, however. The authors then give a short overview of research findings on German all-day schools and Swedish school-age Educare centers. They find that in the past, research studies in the two countries focused on different areas and that in Germany, research is available mainly only since the 2000s. Klerfeld and Stecher report that despite the research available, in both countries there is a lack of empirical data and answers. They view the research field as a multilevel system and call for research on the level of the child, the family level, the school level, and the national/international level. They round off their contribution with conclusions that bring together the most important aspects.

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# Comparison of Extended Education and Research in this Field in Taiwan and in Switzerland

*Marianne Schuepbach & Denise Huang*

**Abstract:** During the past two decades, there is a global growing interest in the field of extended education. Countries in both the East and the West alike have been investing in developing systems to support student learning after the traditional school hours. This paper examines the similarities and differences in this trend of development in Taiwan and Switzerland. Cultural influences, the beliefs and values of these countries, and the importance of contextualization in comparative education are discussed.

**Keywords:** Extended education, afterschool, Switzerland, Taiwan, comparison study

## Introduction

During the past 10 to 20 years, there have been numerous efforts to expand institutional education and using opportunities during the after school hours to supplement school learning in almost every modern country in Europe, North and South America, Asia, and Australia. Out-of-school time and extracurricular learning during childhood and adolescence have been gaining more and more attention. In referring to this period of time for learning after school, various terms have been used. In recent years, the term *extended education* has been used popularly to identify this field of education internationally.

In response to this global interest in extended education, in this contribution the authors compare two cultural systems, Switzerland and Taiwan, on two different continents in their developments in extended education. In comparing extended education in Taiwan and Switzerland, we have to keep in mind the purpose of comparative education. Comparative Education is a discipline in the social sciences that involves the analysis and comparison of educational system. This field is interested in developing meaningful terminology and standards for education worldwide, improving education systems, and creating a framework for assessing the successes of education programs and initiatives (Bray, 1995). This paper intends to employ Taiwan and Switzerland, though hardly symbolic of but sufficient to broadly represent the East and the West cultures, and to demonstrate how different cultural context shapes students' learning and development, and why acknowledgement of certain

strategies of success in student achievement in one cultural context cannot be simply transferred to replicate success in another culture.

Many researchers identify differences between western countries and Asian societies on the dimensions individualism and collectivism (Walker & Dimmock, 2000). Altbach (1997) specifically stated that Confucianism influences Taiwan not only relating to the national development goals and political loyalty but also relating to the culture and education. Using these theoretical assertions as background, this contribution will describe the context of extended education in these two locations, and proceed to expand understanding of the influences of cultures on extended education beyond these generally accepted assumptions.

## Rationale for the Study

As growing number of Asian students enrolled in European and United States Universities while at the same time, more and more European and United States students entered Asian Universities as well; debates on the superiority between Eastern and Western education surfaced and gained attention. However, one cannot compare teaching and learning strategies without understanding the context of the cultural systems, especially when the essence of education is very different in these two cultures. Consequently, these distinct characteristics of cultures become vital in understanding how students learn and interact with each other and how they function in their environment. Using a convenient example of the cultures that the authors have deep understandings (insiders perspective) in, the authors will present these arguments after first introducing the extended education system in the locales that they represent, namely, Switzerland and Taiwan.

First, an overview on the situation in Switzerland will be presented. The traditional school scheduling, the starting position and expectations of extended education, the current structure of the offerings, and an overview of research in the field of extended education will be described. Followed with the same presentation of the system in Taiwan. Then the authors will discuss the cultural impact in the field of extended education in these two locations. Finally, the authors will end with remarks on the challenges for future research and possible research from an international comparative point of view.

## The Situation in Switzerland

### Starting Position and Expectations for Utilizing Extended Education

The impetuses were changes in social and family conditions, and the PISA results, which were lower than had been expected. Societal changes over the last decades have shaped the discourse on the content of education and the importance of the education system in Switzerland (Schuepbach, 2010). Here, extended education is often seen as a possible response to growing challenges and demands, and expectations concerning extended education are manifold: Extended education is a contribution to the sociocultural infrastructure for parents, makes it easier for children to participate in society and education, and is seen as the

answer to the increasing requirements placed on school graduates. Last but not least, extended education is supposed to reduce educational inequalities based on social origins (Schuepbach, 2010).

Another impetus came from elsewhere the PISA results of PISA 2000. The results for Switzerland were lower than had been expected. Thus, there was a need for action and provided evidence-based legitimation for long-needed educational reforms. PISA was used as a window of opportunity to make corrections in the education system and legitimize reform goals (Bieber, 2010). One of the reform goals was the introduction of extended education.

## Structure of the Offerings

In Switzerland, you can find various models of extended education including those that are provided by the schools, or supplementary to that by other institutions. Different terms are used by the canton and the municipality. For example, the term *Tagesstrukturen* (or ‘day structures’ in English) is used. Day structures are defined as extra-family education and care opportunities 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). One form of day structures are all-day schools, and they are defined by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK) as schools with all-day care offerings (including lunch) on several days per week (EDK, 2013). These are extracurricular offerings—that are usually under the care of the school principal and are conducted by a director of extended education. Use of the EDK definition is not obligatory, however, and only a part of the schools that accord with this definition are actually called *all-day schools*. Certain cantons, municipalities, and schools, do not use this term for historical or political reasons. That means, some political parties connect a specific form of schooling with this term and the Ministry of Education of some cantons will not meet this expectation. Where all-day schools or similar offerings are still found mainly at the primary level and not at the secondary level.

In many cantons the (demand-based) introduction and expansion of extended education and the associated financial costs are left largely to the municipalities and the costs are shared between canton, municipality, and parents.

As we found in our recent study free play—and thus free play activities versus guided activities—clearly predominate (Schuepbach, Rohrbach-Nussbaum, & Grütter, 2018). *Free play activities* means that students may choose freely among various activities and may also change their activities. Free and also organized changing between activities are possible. *Guided activities* were defined as activities led by educational staff. These offerings at certain times—with a starting time and end time, conducted regularly—take place in a fixed group; they are voluntary but binding once chosen. Also, the results of this study confirmed that free play is very important in all-day schools in the German-speaking part of Switzerland and that the children have considerable free play opportunities. Here, mainly exercise and sports and handicrafts and art activities are offered in almost all all-day schools’ extended education programs (Schuepbach et al., 2018).

## School Laws and Educational Principles and Goals for Extended Education

In Switzerland, the 26 cantons organize their education structures independently. The political organization of Switzerland is a federal structure: Confederation, cantons, and communes (municipalities) share supervisory responsibility for various parts of the system in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. The cantons have jurisdiction in educational matters. At the same time, however, the cantons are obligated to cooperate with the federal government on educational matters (EDK & SODK, 2008). Thus, there are no national guidelines on the organization of extended education. As a consequence, some cantons have regulated extended education in their cantonal public school laws; in other cantons, this is not yet the case (Schuepbach, 2014).

## Research Overview

We come to a short research overview on the research in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, as the developments in school practice vary across the different language regions of the country. The research on extended education overall is still much in its infancy. Research interest has increased in parallel with the developments outlined above. This means that the implementation in Switzerland was at first not evidence-based on results in the field of extended education. The available studies in the German-speaking part of Switzerland today – and to our knowledge, there are no research studies available on the other language regions – can be divided into five areas: (1) studies on supply and demand, (2) evaluations of all-day schools, (3) a few recent studies on cooperation between different actors in the field, (4) a study on utilization of extended education, and (5) studies on quality and effectiveness. In this contribution we will present results in the areas 4 and 5, because there are the most recent studies.

First we will present results on *utilization of extended education*. In Switzerland there is the expectation that all-day schools can help combat existing educational inequality. As compared to other European countries, there is strong educational inequality in Switzerland. This affects mainly children with a migration background for one part and children with low socioeconomic status for the other part. The expectation is that all-day schools, providing as optimal an environment as possible, will promote these children's development better. The *EduCare-TaSe: All-Day School and School Success?* study, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), was the first study examined questions on utilization of extended education. The main finding is that, children with a migration background are more likely to utilize extended education. Children from families with high socioeconomic status are more likely to utilize extended education, and further, that children from families with medium socioeconomic status have a low probability of utilizing extended education. A possible explanation for this finding is that parents with high socioeconomic status might pursue work more often than other parents, have less time for their children and accordingly show higher odds of utilizing extended education offerings. The income-dependent fee for the offerings charged in Switzerland could be a reason for the quadratic effect of socioeconomic status found in this study. From a financial standpoint, extended education offerings are possibly easier to afford by families with low and high incomes. For families with middle socioeconomic status and thus middle incomes, utilization of extended education offer-

ings possibly does not pay. There are thus no indications that the two (risk) factors migration background and low socioeconomic status mutually influence each other with regard to general utilization of extended education. That means, these children are not especially disadvantaged (Schüpbach, von Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017a).

Now we will present you results on *educational quality and effectiveness* of the same study. In both studies the educational quality was examined using a standardized observation scale, “Hort- und Ganztagsangebote-Skala” (HUGS), which is a German adaptation by Tietze, Roßbach, Stendel, and Wellner (2005) of the standardized instrument School- Age Care Environment Rating Scale (SACERS) (Harms, Jacobs, & White, 1996). The SACERS assumes that education quality is comprised of the three central areas of process, orientation, and structural quality (Tietze et al., 2005, p. 7). The results show, that from the perspective of outside observers the quality of extended education is medium (scores from 3 to 5 on a scale from 1 to 7)<sup>1</sup>, which is a slight improvement over the ratings in the previous SNSF-study, EduCare for school year 2006/07. Still rated the lowest area in quality, even though it is rated much higher than in the previous study, is the quality area *activities*. For this reason, the quality of the area *activities* was also examined and differentiated from another perspective, from the perspective of persons responsible for the offerings (Schüpbach, von Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017b).

What about effects on student’s development? The results of the *EduCare-TaSe: All-Day School and School Success?* study show further that an extended education does not have a general effect on school achievement. But the study revealed that attendance at high-quality offerings has an effect in tendency on student’s achievement development (von Allmen, Schuepbach, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2018). Longer attendance at offerings had no effect on the development of student achievement in mathematics even when the quality of the offerings was high (Schüpbach, Frei, von Allmen, & Nieuwenboom, submitted).

We examined the same questions also especially for children at risk. The results pointed out, that there is also no compensatory effect concerning foreign language or with regard to socioeconomic status in development of achievement in language (Schuepbach, Frei, von Allmen, & Nieuwenboom, 2018). The results in mathematics are more positive: Continuous utilization of all-day school offerings reduced disparities based on socioeconomic status in achievement in mathematics (Schüpbach et al., submitted).

All in all, the findings on educational quality show that quality has improved in recent years in all-day schools in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The findings show further, that quality of the extended education is important for student development but in these days the activities are only medium quality. For the future that means that to achieve the desired educational effects, the quality of extended education must be improved. At this moment there is a lot of room for improvement of the learning setting.

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1 For example, a rating of 3 on the scale indicates *minimum quality*, where basic materials are available to students but the educational support is low and there is hardly any educational use of the materials to be observed. A rating of 5 on the scale indicates *good quality*, where there are appropriate materials in appropriate surroundings, and where students have developmentally appropriate experiences supported by educational staff (Tietze et al., 2005).

## The Situation in Taiwan

### Starting Position and Expectations for Utilizing Extended Education

As with the global trend, dual income families have become a necessity and the norm for most young families in Taiwan. With the large number of women entering work force, the social and family structure changes, and the need of afterschool programs (for uniformity, will be referred to as extended education in this paper from here on) has increased tremendously for school age children in many industrialized countries, including Taiwan, consequently, what kinds of activities these school age children pursue after the school hours has become of interest to many countries.

For example, in an attempt to understand some of the reasons for the higher academic achievement of Chinese and Japanese children in comparison to children in the western culture, such as the United States, Stevenson et al. (1990) examined and found that elementary school students from different cultures allocated their time in different ways. In another review study on how children and adolescents throughout the world spend their time, Larson and Verma (1999) expanded economists' conception of time as a unit of "human capital" and proposed that the youth's time use is a resource that enables them to develop a much wider range of abilities, including skills, knowledge, and experiences.

In applying these concerns to Taiwan, a study was conducted by Chen and Chang (2015) to examine how students spent their after school hours. They collected data on the precise amount of time spent on activities for seven school days and three non-school days with daily activity diaries on 318 5th graders (153 boys and 165 girls) in 11 classes from three elementary schools in Northern Taiwan. These Taiwanese 5th graders reported that, on average, they spent 70 minutes per day on homework and one hour on after-school private programs; 27 minutes on print-based reading and 11 minutes on online reading; and 50 minutes on TV, as well as 30 minutes on online films/games. In comparison to Stevenson et al.'s similar data of Taiwanese students in 1990, the results appear to reflect a change in social structure, in that many busy parents have begun to send their children to private after-school programs, and also a change in media format, in that some print-based reading might be replaced by online reading and some TV watching might be replaced by online films/games. However, how Taiwanese 5th graders are allocating their out-of-school time, has remained somewhat stable along the timeline despite societal changes in some economic and family structures.

Thus basically, afterschool programs/extended education can still be categorized into four types: relative care, non-relative care, self-care, and extended education programs (Hideko & Winsler, 2004). In Taiwan, according to Lee et al., (2002), relative care has been becoming less popular because fewer relatives (especially grandparents) of the children live nearby as Taiwan becomes more globalized. Non-relative care, on the other hand, often-times has the problems of long-term instability and higher chances of unavailability. As for the self-care children, the occupied working parents will always worry about what their children are doing by themselves after school. It is also not uncommon that due to the lack of supervision, self-care children are more likely to pertain to harmful situations and are more likely to obtain disordered behaviors such as addiction to online games, TVs, or even violent conducts (Brandona & Hoffert, 2003). Under these circumstances, programs for ex-

tended education have become more popular. Moreover, literature on extended education programs generally has supported the services of these care (Huang, 2016). Studies generally stated that extended education programs can keep children safe (Huang, Goldschmidt, & La Torres, 2014), inspire them to learn (Huang, 2013; Huang, Leon, & La Torres, 2014), and more importantly, it can help resolve working parents' worries about their children during non-school hours (Huang & Dietel, 2011).

Therefore, in Taiwan, especially with the decline in birth rate (CIA, World Fact book, 2017), parents are expecting more from their children and are very willing to invest on their children's education. More and more parents are sending their school-age children to extended education programs and various educational classes after school, with the expectation that these programs will assist their children in completing their school homework and reviewing academic subjects so that their children's academic performance will be enhanced at school (Hsiao & Kuo, 2013).

Thereby when schools let out, students are sent to extended education programs by choice of parents, these privatized learning centers are called "buxiban" or better known as "cram schools". Activities in these extended education programs consists of mainly drills: memorize, regurgitate, repeat. Teachers and parents believe these practices help students to get ahead in schools where students are tested in almost every subject every day (Jennings, 2015). Many of the students stay in these programs until 8p.m. every day. At preference of parents, and with additional charges, students can elect to enroll in musical lessons, art lessons, or other talent and enrichment curriculum offered by the program. Since most students' time during the weekdays are occupied by school and extended education programs in order to accelerate their academic achievement, many of the parents may also elected to enroll their children in extracurricular enrichment activities such as Science programs, dance classes, drama clubs, etc. during the weekend. Since these enrichment programs only occupied a couple of hours per week, they would not be categorized as extended education programs in this paper.

### School Laws and Educational Principles and Goals for Extended Education

Similar to the global trend that the distribution of wealth in Taiwan is no longer in a normal distribution, but instead, the rich tends to get richer, and the poor gets poorer, with the middle class moves to the polarized ends of the rich and the poor. In Asia, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Japan, this phenomenon is commonly referred to as the appearance of M-shaped society. The concept "M-Shaped society" is coined by Japanese management guru Kenichi Ohmae in his book published in 2006. This concept explains the "one Taiwan, two worlds" phenomenon, and reflects how people struggle to make ends meet, echoing people's fear to be the "new poor" or "working poor" class (Kuang, 2006). However, the struggling situation of the middle class is not a crisis limited to the East Asia, the middle-class people in Europe and the US have these experiences as well. The M-Shaped society phenomenon is tightly linked with the new order of global economy (Carmichael, 2011; Goven, 2012; Luce, 2010; Magaridge, 2011).

Thus, with these economical changes in Taiwan, educational, social, and cultural divides among students who 'have' and 'have not' are expanding rapidly (Cheng, 2004; Cheng and Jacobs, 2008). In response, Taiwan has been adapting educational policies to fo-

cus more on issues regarding disadvantaged students and their schooling. In fact, Taiwan has educational policies for disadvantaged students dated back to 1995.

More specifically, in regards to after school time, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan started to review the issue of remedial teaching and extended education programs for disadvantaged students in 1998. With the majority of the average student population attending private for profit extended education programs or “buxiban” where they get prepared for testing, and have the opportunity to re-learn or learn ahead of the school curriculum, the achievement gap between the average and disadvantaged students get even wider. In 2003, the National Educational Development Committee more concretely strived to improve educational opportunities of minority groups and maximize their social mobility with new policies, plans and regulations. Three years later, in 2006, the government integrated the remedial teaching plans into the Hand in Hand Afterschool Program and encouraged college students and retired teachers to serve as mentors for the program. In the following year, 2007, the ministry invested a total of \$450 million, with 2,303 or 70% of all schools participating and 121,966 students benefiting. The program provides disadvantaged elementary and secondary school students with aggressive study assistance, ensuring social fairness and justice. More comprehensively, this program also included enhanced administrative planning and teacher training on remedial teaching in the hope of remedying the areas in which the students lag behind through small-class, fine-tuned and personalized teaching. According to the regulation, the number of students in each class was limited to 6-10, with each college teacher teaching 3-6 students.

In 2008 and 2010, the MOE continued to establish the Night Angel Enlightening Program.<sup>2</sup> Most recently, in 2013, the government amalgamated all the programs into the Remedial Teaching Program to ensure disadvantaged students would benefit from the same quality of education whether in school, after school, or out of schools (Cheng, 2013).

Meanwhile, along with the government official extended education programs, a group of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and non-profit organizations (NPOs) have also committed themselves to extended education programs and focused on remedial teaching to increase the academic achievement of disadvantaged students since 2005. These organizations aim to focus on remedial teaching for disadvantaged students and give them a positive learning experience with the aim to reduce the learning gap between the “haves” and “have nots” (Cheng & Jacobs, 2016).

In summary, the extended education field in Taiwan is basically offered by these three enterprises, the private for profit organizations, government supported public schools, and non-profit organizations.

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2 Night Angel Program – To enhance educational assistance for underprivileged children, the Ministry of Education began in 2008 to offer free-of-charge after-school guidance for schoolchildren from families unable to provide proper care. Qualified personnel are assigned to help children with their schoolwork in a safe environment, and dinner is provided, which allows parents to concentrate on their work with peace of mind, and a wide range of academic and cultural activities encourage parent and teacher cooperation in after-school care.

## Structure of the Offerings

In response to population demands, Taiwan have provided various services during the after school hours. Based on recent observations (Ho, 2014), an overview of the general structures includes:

- Extended education care centers/programs- their curricular design basically focuses on children's homework assistance and provides repeated practices on schoolwork.
- Talent/enrichment "classes"- lesson oriented classes catering towards specific subjects with the aim to enhance children's talents in music, arts, mathematics, science, etc.
- Cram/tutorial classes<sup>3</sup> focuses on enhancing school performances.
- Generally, these programs are operated by three different organizations as shown in the Table below.

*Table 1. General Description of the Afterschool Services in Taiwan*

	General Public	Elementary Schools	Non-Profit Organizations
	Business licenses	Department of Education permits	Department of Social Work permits
Clientele	General population	Students whom need supervision after school hours	Disadvantaged youths
Services Provided	After school supervision; group activities; homework help; talent classes;	Supervision after school hours; homework help; recreational/group activities	Supervision after school hours; homework help; group activities; family counselling as needed; character development
Types	Extended Education Centers, Cram Schools, Specific arts & sport classes/clubs	Run by school, or collaboration, or hired other organizations to run the program for the school on school site	Non-profit groups; religious entities; community organizations; Programs operated in public sites or churches
Staff /qualification	Early child care licenses; teaching permits, etc.	School teacher, high school graduates with licenses	Missionaries; volunteers; teachers

Typically, remedial teaching in in Taiwan places emphasis on mastering content. Tutors in charge of remedial teaching use the same regular textbooks as the school, and the teaching methods employed would typically be to re-teach content for a second or third time. Furthermore, most of the schools that provide extended education programs select the completion of homework as their major goal, and very few schools and tutors will prepare different kinds of learning materials. Key contents typically center on reading and math (Cheng, 2010).

In short, majority of the extended education programs in Taiwan have goals that are academic achievement oriented, such as: remedial teaching, extension of students' learning time, tests preparation, and enhancement teaching.

3 **Cram classes** or "buxiban" are specialized classes/institutions that train their students to meet particular goals, most commonly to pass the entrance examinations of preferable schools or universities. The English name is derived from the slang term "cramming", meaning to study hard or to study a large amount of material in a short period of time.

## Research Overview

Similar to Switzerland, not much research has been conducted on the extended education programs in Taiwan. Only sporadic studies on these programs were available. It was not until 2003 when more NPO organized extended education program emerged and due to their needs for accountability, related studies on these programs doubled. Up until 2012 there were 319 articles, thesis, and dissertations published. There are about equal numbers of qualitative and quantitative studies. Most (70% overall & 47%NPO) studies are survey based, only a handful (4% overall, 1% NPO) are experimental studies (Ho, 2014). These studies tend to focus on variables regarding to achievement, types of programs offered, qualification of staff, and parent satisfaction. Subjects were mainly students, teachers, and parents. Most of these studies demonstrated effectiveness. There is a noticeable lack of attention in other areas such as program environment, indicators of effectiveness, student engagement, etc., or causal-experimental studies. Additionally, there are very few comparison studies on achievement of behavioral outcomes. One of the major obstacles in conducting research in Taiwan is that there is no central or private database on student attendance, achievement or behavioral records.

## General Findings

According to the website hosted by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan<sup>4</sup> (2018), after receiving remedial teaching after school hours:

- Most students began paying more attention to their studies (the students begin to take their roles as a student in school more seriously).
- They became more diligent in their studies, with progress of varying degrees.
- Most of them made progress in Mandarin and math.
- With the help of the program, over three-fourths of the students changed their attitude for the better, with more than 80% of students able to finish their homework.
- However, they didn't make noticeable progress in English, perhaps due to the fact that it was offered only for one semester

On the other hand, there is a study that claim the time spent on academic-related activities during the after school hours had positive effects on the educational achievement of the children, but spending time in private cram schools had negative effects on their psychological well-being (Chen & Lu, 2009).

## Cultural Differences in General and Similarities and Differences

As mentioned above, in comparing the extended education system in Taiwan and Switzerland, one has to keep in mind the purpose of comparative education. This field is interested in developing meaningful terminology and standards for education worldwide, improving education systems, and creating a framework for assessing the successes of education

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4 <http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=13853&CtNode=11407&mp=1>

programs and initiatives. The purposes of the authors in this contribution are to employ their home countries as examples to illustrate how contextualization of the East and West not only shape how students learn and interact but also hidden is the main purpose/goal of how cultures employ education to develop the characteristics of their desired citizens.

Contextualization

As mentioned in the introduction, in this contribution we compare two locations on two different continents with different cultural backgrounds. Confucianism influences Taiwan not only relating to the national development goals and political loyalty but also on their culture and education (Altbach, 1997). Other researchers identify differences between western countries and Chinese societies on the dimensions individualism and collectivism (Walker & Dimmock, 2000). Broadly speaking, Taiwan has a collective perspective while Switzerland has an individualist perspective on education. These perspectives are summarized in the table below.

Table 2. Individualist versus Collectivist Perspectives on Education

Individualist Perspective	Collectivist Perspective
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Students work independently; helping others may be cheating.</li><li>• Students engage in discussion and argument to learn to think critically.</li><li>• Property belongs to individuals, and others must ask to borrow it.</li><li>• Teacher manages the school environment indirectly and encourages students' self-discipline in learning behaviors and paces.</li><li>• Parents are integral to child's academic progress and participate actively.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Students work with peers and provide assistance when needed.</li><li>• Students are quiet and respectful in class in order to learn more efficiently.</li><li>• Property is communal.</li><li>• Teacher is the primary authority, but peers guide each other's behavior.</li><li>• Parents yield to teacher's expertise to provide academic instruction and guidance.</li></ul>

Source: Adapted from Individualist and Collectivist Perspectives on Education, from the Diversity Kit (2002) Providence, R.I.: The Education Alliance

However, it is too narrow to coin that the only differences between the East and the West is the collective/individualistic perspective. Other than this common notion, Geert Hofstede (2001) further identified five dimensions of national culture that will influence education. He asserted that the how and what of education is very much connected to culture of the country at hand. Cultural values establish different expectations on the roles of the teachers and the students, which in turn influence the experience of learning. His original data were based on an extensive IBM database for which 116,000 questionnaires were used in 72 countries and in 20 languages. The results of his research were validated against about 40 cross-cultural studies from a variety of disciplines. These five dimensions are (Geert Hofstede (2001):

- Power Distance Index (PDI)  
Power distance is the extent to which less powerful members of a society accept that power is distributed unequally. In high power-distance cultures everybody has his/her rightful

place in society. Countries high in PDI, such as Taiwan, Korea, and Japan, old age is respected, and status is important. People in countries like the US, Canada, the UK, Switzerland, all Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands score low on the power-distance index and are more likely to accept ideas like empowerment, matrix management and flat organizations.

- Individualism vs. collectivism (IDV)

In individualistic cultures, as represented by most Western countries, people look after themselves and their immediate family mostly; in collective cultures, as represented by cultures like Asia and Africa, people belong to “in-groups” who look after their members in exchange for loyalty. In individualistic cultures, values are in the person, whereas in collective cultures, identity is based on the social network to which one belongs.

- Masculinity vs. femininity (MAS)

In masculine cultures like USA, UK, Germany, Taiwan, Japan and Italy, the dominant values are achievement and success. The dominant values in feminine cultures are consensus seeking, caring for others and quality of life. In masculine cultures performance, achievement, and status are important. Feminine cultures like the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and the Netherlands are more people orientation and status is not so important.

- Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI -for uncertainty control)

In cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance, people have a strong emotional need for rules and formality to structure life. The way people think and learn is influenced by this value. In High UAI countries like Korea, Taiwan, Germany, Russia, France, Iran and Brazil, the need is to know about what people in the past and present already said about a certain subject. This results in high status for experts, as opposed to weak uncertainty-avoidance cultures, like the UK, the USA, Switzerland, and Denmark in which the views of practitioners are more highly respected.

- Long Term Orientation (LTO)

The Long Term Orientation is the extent to which a society exhibits a future-orientated perspective rather than a near term point of view. Low scoring countries like the USA, Switzerland, and West European countries believe there is an absolute and indivisible truth. In high scoring countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, people believe truth depends on time, context and situation.

## Differences are Apparent in Afterschool Practices Between Taiwan and Switzerland

These dimensions are well reflected by the way extended education programs practices in Taiwan and Switzerland. For example, Switzerland has an educational system that reflects more local control whereas in Taiwan, education is pretty much under central government control. As for extended education programs, in Switzerland there are mostly public offerings. But other than for a small percentage of disadvantaged youths whom participated in government assisted programs, in Taiwan extended education programs are mostly offered by non-public organizations such as foundation and for profit organization as a business enterprise. It should be noted here that although extended education is mostly operated by private for profit entities in Taiwan. The nature of these private or non-profit organization op-

erated extended education programs mainly followed the government directed central curriculum, focusing on practicing, re-teaching, or teaching ahead of the school curriculum, and test preparation for the national junior high and high school examination.

As for teaching, learning, space arrangement and contents, in accordance with the index described above, differences are apparent. In Switzerland programs are less academically oriented, there are a lot of free-play activities, with some guided learning, and students have a lot of autonomy. There are also ample outdoor spaces for students to stretch and exercise. Whereas, in Taiwan most programs are academic oriented. Taiwan employed teacher-centered learning, with heavy tactics on memorization and direct tutoring. It is not uncommon that outdoor spaces are very limited and scarce for extended education programs in Taiwan, and no outdoor play as part of the curricular.

Stecher stated in the Economist report (2014): “Cultural values are deeply rooted and very consistent over time”. The Taiwan culture stresses long-term orientation, represents a masculine society, with emphasis on collectivism, high power distance emphasis, and uncertainty avoidance. These beliefs prompted Taiwan teachers to place a heavy emphasis on rote learning, steeped in discipline and organize highly structured classroom, with very few student autonomy and are obsessive in test preparation. These emphases continue from the school day and flow into the after school hours as well. Simultaneously, Asian students tend to aim at getting better grades, and becoming a “successful” person. They also tend to pay more attention to the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics). These beliefs and practices are probably responsible for the high performance of Taiwanese students in global testing, as reflected by the rankings in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

However, these successes also come with shortcomings. One is the concern that the stress to succeed makes the suicide rates among students very high in countries like South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan (Zeng & Tendre, 1998; World Health Organization, 2012)). Another frequent criticism is that students in these cultures lack autonomy and creativity. It is quoted (Taiwan’s Child Culture, 2013) that: “Chinese schools emphasized testing too much, and produced students who lacked curiosity and the ability to think critically or independently”.

In contrast, western cultures such as Switzerland, focused more on fostering student autonomy, creativity, and curiosity. They focused more on thinking and writing, leading students to solve real world problems and form their own opinions rather than learning by rote. Consequently, many innovations, creative arts, and new research ideas are germinated in the western cultures.

In summary, there are some major differences between these two educational approaches, including overall educational policies and educational systems. All these distinct differences are responsible in shaping student characteristics. How governments set their policies influence population and school size, parents’ and students’ educational orientation, and the community’s attitudes towards education and the importance of examination results. These result in how students see their own role in learning, and their future orientations.

Thus, the most important differences are more than the physical schools, sitting arrangements, or even teaching styles. Under these cultural systems, there is a whole different mindset, expectations, and hopes. Different cultural systems demand different types of citi-

zens, and local educational systems are designed to cultivate citizens that will function well in their society.

As we compare educational system across countries we should also understand that to make a “best practice” work requires translation to a different culture/value system. For instance, in high Power Distance Index PDI countries it should be done top down, committing first the top of the educational field. In low PDI countries with a high score on Uncertainty Avoidance Index UAI it is a must to commit first the recognized experts in the field, while in countries with low PDI and Femininity all stake holders must be involved from scratch (Geert Hofstede, 2001).

In the Economist report (2014) Stecher was quoted: “Schools are both recipients and creators of cultural patterns: over the long term they help to shape norms for the next generation. These cultural values are deeply rooted and are very consistent over time. It is the “collective programming of mind” starts from the moment children are born. Therefore, it is shortsighted to expect countries to be effective in introducing new ideas if these ideas are not likely to fit in the context of their values.”

However, there also appears to be two golden rules that could apply across culture. According to “The Learning Curve”, there are two issues that are globally recognized as the core of understanding educational quality:

- a supportive culture for education and
- the need for a high status of teachers.

Although these two features of education are highly influenced by culture and therefore implemented in different ways in different countries (Economist, 2014). With this in mind, we will turn our attention to future research.

## Future Research from an International Comparative Point of View

In the last part of this contribution we focus on challenges in comparative research and on possible future research from an international comparative point of view.

### Challenges for Future Research

There are some *general problems* in comparative research that we want to just touch upon (Osborne, 2004). One of the most basic theoretical topics is whether the concepts under study have any equivalent meaning in the cultures under study. Concepts can be more or less culturally specific. A further challenge is to develop equivalent indicators for the concepts. Concepts can differ in their salience for the culture as a whole. Or in some countries, teachers or students are possibly unwilling to discuss sensitive topics such as politics, sexual behavior, or income. Another challenge is to obtain linguistic equivalence through translation. Comparability can also be reduced by non-comparable or low-quality sampling frames or by different procedures for the selection of a sample (Osborne, 2004).

There are also specific challenges in the field of extended education for future research for instance *structural challenges*. There is no broad agreement on the expectations, principles and goals, forms, educational quality, and terms at present. There are not in every

country national guidelines, e.g., on the organization and quality of extended education, or the guidelines differ between countries. There are no or no useful reliable education statistics in the field of extended education in every country. Taiwan and Switzerland do not have reliable statistics, for instance.

Based on that, there are some *methodological challenges*. The population proved to be a challenge for our research, as there are no reliable education statistics for the field of extended education. For another, in some countries, e.g., Switzerland, you find different names for the same types of extended education. These are additional difficulties that are not usually encountered in school research. In addition, with an ex post facto design there is always self-selection, in this case with regard to utilization of extended education offerings. Another challenge is to produce the greatest possible comparability between the comparison groups, if you have an experimental and a control group.

### What Should Future Research Studies Focus On, From an International Comparative Point of View?

There are different questions and decisions to make on different dimensions. First, how to define and limit the *research field*. In other words: (a) What is the field of extended education? In this connection, a characterization tool for programs in extended education would be helpful. (b) What exactly should comparative research investigate? The whole variety of offerings versus specific offerings of extended education? Should research be limited to the dimension of public versus private offerings/programs/activities of extended education? If research were limited to only public offerings, certain countries, such as Taiwan, would be excluded. (c) Another decision we have to make is on the level of the study: What level of comparative research do we focus on? Meaning, do we focus on systems, schools/institutions, activities, or on individual learners? Or which of these do we link in a comparative study? And with regard to *content*, we have to decide which (d) perspective to focus on in a study, e.g.

- Structural organization on the system level, on the school/institution level, and/or practices of extended education.
- (In)dependency of school curriculum and curriculum of offerings, and/or collaboration between different actors of different levels.
- “Head of extended education”: leadership and management of the offerings.
- Staff in extended education and staff’s professionalism.
- Students’ activities.
- Students: participation, selection effects, effects on learning, school achievement, social competencies.

In the next step we will focus on *methodological questions/decisions* as the choice of participating countries. Another decision is to make concerning an insider or outsider perspective. “Insider perspective” in this case, in the cross-national collaborative research team, means a researcher from the chosen country.

The population proved to be a challenge for research on extended education. There are decisions to make between qualitative or quantitative methods and between general indica-

tors to measure extended education across countries and specific indicators for some countries or regions.

## Conclusions

From our point of view for conducting international comparative research, a cross-national research team is preferable, since a cross-national team is more likely to be able to take advantage of both insider and outsider perspectives. That allows us to identify ethnocentric assumptions and practices that are rooted in each country's own cultural context (Osborne, 2004). Regarding selection of topics, although there are many interesting concepts and questions to be examined, we suggest to start with one perspective. Because of the specificity of the population and due to the sampling difficulties in the field of extended education mentioned earlier, it would be more efficient to start with a combination of survey and qualitative methods. Osborne (2004, p. 272) says: "The combination of survey and qualitative methods in comparative research is a fruitful one and provides the analyst with additional sources of information for interpreting the findings, as well as immediate evidence on validity of the data." Thus, we can select different cases for a state or for a country to describe in case studies the diverse field in one country and across countries. This can be different cases relating to private or public, type of extended education, and so on. It would be especially interesting to have researchers and participating countries with different cultural backgrounds, for instance from Europe, the United States, and Asia. There is a lot that we can and should learn from each other. But as we are trying to improve student learning with the evidences we gathered in a different country, we should also be aware that in order to make a "best practice" work, it requires translation to a different culture/value system.

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# A Comparison of the Afterschool Programs of Korea and Japan: From the Institutional and Ecological Perspectives

*Sang Hoon Bae & Fuyuko Kanefuji*

**Abstract:** The present study compared Korea and Japan in terms of each country's afterschool program system. First, the historical and social backgrounds that have influenced the development of afterschool programs in the two countries were compared. Second, the current status of afterschool programs was described. Third, comparisons were made based on the kinds of policies that have been developed and implemented to promote the programs. The study also examined problems and issues that the two countries face in this regard. Finally, similarities and differences between the two afterschool program systems were suggested. It has been speculated that the two countries' afterschool systems have become similar due to their geographical proximity and ongoing social and cultural interactions. However, it is argued that differences in the social contexts of the two countries have contributed to the development of distinct characteristics for each of the afterschool programs.

**Keywords:** Afterschool programs, Comparison, Korea and Japan, Institutional theory, Ecological perspective

## Introduction

Afterschool programs are thriving in nations across the world. With the ever-growing and diversified educational needs of children and youth, to which regular classes might not be able to quickly and effectively respond, these student-oriented programs are rapidly gaining popularity. Although such programs have distinct names and conceptions of activities in different nations, such as the all day schools of Germany, the leisure-time activities of Sweden, and out of school time activities of the US, and they are now widely accepted as an increasingly important part of the educational systems in many countries (Ecarius, Klieme, Stecher & Woods 2013). In recent years, from a research perspective, the umbrella term 'extended education' has become more common as it incorporates all of these types of educational arrangements, including the afterschool programs of Korea and Japan (Bae, 2014).

With the worldwide growth and development of extended education, an increasing number of studies have been conducted that investigate this area. Some researchers have examined the effect of participation in extended education on various student outcomes, whereas others have attempted to investigate its institutional features and functions, either

within the education system or in society as a whole. Despite the growing amount of research over the past few decades, the scope of studies has generally tended to be limited to the extended education of one particular country. Unlike other fields of education research, few studies have been conducted that investigate or compare multiple factors and cases from various countries. An exception may be found in the study of private supplementary tutoring, otherwise known as. 'Shadow Education', which is growing increasingly prevalent worldwide and is now considered institutionalized (for more information see Bray, 2013; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Mori & Baker, 2010). Examples include the recent work by Zhang and Yamato (2018) that suggests the evolving aspect of shadow education in East Asian countries and the extraordinary book edited by Bray, Kwo and Jokic (2015), that addresses methodological issues in examining private supplementary tutoring among diverse cultures. Despite such efforts, few international comparative studies have been performed to investigate other areas of extended education such as afterschool programs and related public policies. Given the considerable benefits of comparative studies in the development of theories and practices, the lack of research in the field of extended education is problematic.

In this context, this study compared Korea and Japan in terms of important aspects of their afterschool programs, particularly in reference to government policies and related issues. The two countries are geographically located in East Asia and share a common Eastern culture and values, which may affect the structure and functionality of their education systems. First, the study examined the historical and social backgrounds that have influenced the development of afterschool programs in both countries. Second, the research investigated the current status of afterschool programs, including the number of programs and institutions and the types of programs and governmental supports. Third, given the strong influence of the government and its policies, comparisons were made with regard to the types of policies that have been developed and implemented to promote afterschool programs. The study also examined the problems and issues that emerge during the development and implementation of afterschool programs in each country. In doing so, special attention was paid to similarities and differences in afterschool policies and practices between the two countries. Additionally, factors that have contributed to the emergence of similarities or dissimilarities in the afterschool program systems in the two countries were discussed. Based on the study results, practical and policy implications are suggested.

## Theoretical perspectives

The main purpose of this study is twofold. First, the study aimed to compare Korea and Japan in terms of the important features of their afterschool program systems as educational institutions. Special attention was given to the government policies and related issues. In particular, the study sought to find similarities and differences of the afterschool program systems of the two countries. Based on the study results, the study discussed the causes of similarities or differences between the afterschool systems of the two countries. Second, this study explored whether seemingly prevalent afterschool programs in both countries have become or are expected to become a type of legitimate education institution that is taken for granted by students and their parents. In other words, the study examined the in-

stitutional features of afterschool programs as newly emerging educational arrangements and explored public expectations related to their primary roles, which in turn affect the extent and methods of government support. In doing so, this study employed ecological and institutional theory perspectives as its theoretical background.

From the institutional theory point of view, the study sets out to examine the general perceptions and expectations of the public and the government related to afterschool programs and their institutional roles. By doing so, the study investigated whether afterschool programs in Korea and Japan have gained institutional legitimacy as a type of important educational arrangement leading to the government's support of afterschool programs. Institutions in this study refer to a social order or pattern that has attained a certain status or property. It is widely agreed that institutions are socially constructed, routinely reproduced programs or rule systems. Institutionalization represents the process of attainment of these characteristics. This study assumes that policies and practices related to afterschool programs have been created along with the highly institutionalized contexts that may be shared by Korea and Japan.

From an ecological perspective, which suggests that the education system is closely interrelated with social, political, and economic systems, the study posits that the similarities or differences between the two afterschool systems may be related to the social, cultural, and political contexts of two countries. Special attention was given to the influence of Eastern philosophies, values, and ethics such as Confucianism<sup>1</sup>, along with the geographical proximity and the wide-ranging social and cultural interactions between Korea and Japan. In particular, by employing the concept of 'institutional isomorphism' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), the current study intended to explain why the structure and functionality of the two afterschool systems are becoming more similar. According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), organizations that are surrounded by a common institutional environment resemble each other as they react to the similar regulatory and normative pressures that the environment provides. They argue that institutional environments are characterized by the elaboration of rules and requirements to which individual organizations must conform if they are to receive support and legitimacy. Many scholars maintain that a major component of institutional environments could be 'Culture'. Culture refers to the means by which people select both institutionalized ends and the strategies for their pursuit (Swidler, 1986). One key source of isomorphic change assumed by this study includes a) a common Eastern culture and values that encourage the desire to learn and achieve and b) the general expectation of the public regarding the government's active involvement in their social lives. We believe that cultural frames establish the approved means and define the desired outcomes, leading bureaucrats to seek budgetary growth. Finally, we hope to broaden the horizon of the new institutionalism to the study of extended education. It is believed that the application of institutional isomorphism could provide important implications for the development of theory and social policies in the field of extended education.

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1 Confucianism, originally devised by the Chinese scholar Kung Fu in sixth century BC, is understood as a system of social philosophy and ethics. In most Asian countries, it has influenced and established social values and norms that determine individual behaviours as well as the relationships among people. The salient features in relation to this study include respect for learning, emphasis on education, and support for the role of the government in building an ideal and perfect society.

## Definition and Features of Afterschool Programs

Among researchers, many attempts have been made to create an adequate definition of ‘afterschool programs’ or ‘extended education.’ However, due to the wide range of goals, scopes of content, structures of learning and development, and type of providers, uniformly defining newly emerging educational arrangements and movements (i.e., extended education) is challenging. Besides, no matter what definition is proposed, researchers and practitioners will still have a difficult time coming to an agreement.

Nonetheless, to compare Korea and Japan on aspects and phenomena of afterschool programs, determining the elements to be compared is necessary. Thus, when the current study uses the term ‘afterschool programs,’ it refers to a set of student-centred programs and activities for learning and development that are purposefully structured and implemented based on pedagogical and developmental perspectives. These programs are not part of the regular curriculum and are typically offered after school and at locations outside of the school site. Generally, the goals are to promote the academic, social, emotional, and physical growth of children and youth and to aid in their development. Participants’ ages typically range from six to seventeen and include elementary to high school students. However, there is also an increasing number of child-care programs attended by preschool-aged children. Although these educational arrangements are known by different names across various nations, some common elements include:

- Intentionally organized learning and developmental activities
- Incorporation of teaching and learning and/or developmental processes that typically occur between adult professionals and young participants
- Implementation outside of the allotted school time, including before school, after school, and during summer/winter
- Implementation in the school context (though some programs take place at locations outside of the school site)
- Participation is typically on a voluntary basis

## Comparisons of the Afterschool Program Systems of Korea and Japan

### Historical backgrounds and social contexts

#### Korea

The origin of afterschool programs can be traced back to the well-known government report, the 5.31 Education Reform, which was proposed in 1995 by the Presidential Committee on Education Reform (PCER) (Bae & Jeon, 2013). In the report, education experts and policy makers pointed out that, at the time, the regular curriculum mandated by the national curriculum framework was largely dominated by knowledge-oriented and teacher-driven academic classes (Bae, Oh, Kim, Lee, & Oh, 2010). The regular curriculum was also argued to have provided limited space for diverse enrichment programs and hands-on experi-

ential activities. As a result, the committee agreed that conventional schooling failed to provide a student-oriented, inclusive education and needed to be reformed so it could actively reflect the educational needs and interests of students. As critical views on public schooling continued to rise, afterschool programs were officially proposed as a means of enhancing more holistic education by offering a variety of enrichment programs and cultural activities. In recent years, the afterschool program movement has been further highlighted in conjunction with the introduction of the 'exam-free semester' in middle schools, which attempts to provide more time and opportunities for students to discover their interests and talents and to explore future careers while being free from the heavy burden of school examinations.

From a public policy perspective, another important driving force for the promotion of afterschool programs is prevailing private supplementary tutoring, otherwise known as 'shadow education' (for more information see Bray, 2013), which is intimately associated with the ever-increasing competition for college admission. The nature of private tutoring is such that wealthier students are more likely to benefit from it, as they attend programs that are high-priced and taught by well-trained instructors, which are supposedly effective in helping the students raise their test scores. As a result, the Korean government has made many efforts to develop and implement policy measurements that decrease the reliance on private tutoring (Bae et al., 2010). In line with these efforts, afterschool programs in high schools have been dominated by academic programs designed to help students, particularly those who are low-income and/or low-performing, improve their academic performance and prepare for college entrance examinations. Many previous studies (Bae et al., 2010) have made claims that, albeit unsubstantiated, assert that low cost, high quality afterschool academic programs provided by school teachers could contribute to reducing achievement gaps among students of different socioeconomic statuses (SES) while also decreasing expenses for private tutoring. Meanwhile, public concerns over low birth rates and females' low rates of participation in the labour force have also influenced the growth of childcare programs, both within and outside of schools.

To summarize, afterschool programs in Korea have been developed in order to pursue a wide range of educational goals and social needs. These measures were originally introduced to provide enrichment, cultural programs, and activities for youth. With a growing emphasis on the educational accountability of schools regarding student learning outcomes, the purpose of afterschool programs has expanded to include improving the academic performance of students. From a public policy perspective, more attention has been given to students from low-income and local areas. Afterschool program goals officially suggested by the Ministry of Education (MOE) include: "a) strengthen public schools by providing diverse and creative enrichment programs and academic programs that may not be offered by regular curriculum, b) Reducing private tutoring expenses for parents by implementing high quality child care, enrichment, and academic programs across the day in response to students' interests and needs, c) Supporting education welfare by increasing financial supports for disadvantaged children and youth to participate in afterschool programs, and d) building partnership between schools and local community by implementing programs for local residents and employing local resources for students' learning" (Bae, Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2009, p. 74).

## Japan

The initial afterschool programs for children in Japan were implemented at the end of World War II. The Afterschool Children's Clubs Project (AS Clubs Project), which is designed to provide care for children of working parents, is currently being expanded across the country by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW<sup>2</sup>). The main purpose of the project is to provide safety for children. As the AS Clubs project is under the jurisdiction of MHLW, it is intended to be offered only for elementary students whose parents both work full time. In other words, this project does not cover middle and high school students or students of any age who have only one parent who is working. These restrictions show that many limitations exist that hamper the ability to provide support to children and youth during the hours after school. A new strategy is needed to support children and youth.

During the 1990s in Japan, various social issues related to education became prevalent. This period saw an increase in the number of incidents caused by serious behavioural problems, such as juvenile delinquency (MEXT 1989), and violent offenses, such as robbery, blackmail, abuse of stimulant drugs, and misdemeanours. In fact, the number of cases of violent acts and bullying in schools and the number of students refusing to attend school continue to rise (MEXT 2016a).

On the other hand, the transformation of families and communities and the impact these changes are having on children and youth are considered to be some of the most serious social issues affecting young people today (Cabinet Office 2008). Along with the continued dilution of local residents' commitment to solidarity and the increase in nuclear families, the educational functions of the community and family have also been declining (NIER 2001). Such difficult conditions were explicitly mentioned in reports produced by concerned ministries and the Cabinet Office, which indicate that regional educational capabilities are diminishing due to the weakening of relationships and mutual support within local communities (Cabinet Office 2008; MEXT 2005). Additionally, the reports indicated that home-based education requires improvement (MEXT 2001).

Concurrently, the population of Japan is changing; the average age of the population is rising rapidly, mainly as a result of the country's declining birth rate (Cabinet Office 2015, 2016). Furthermore, a recent survey conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) presented the shocking result that the relative poverty rate of children in Japan now exceeds 15% (UNICEF 2016; MHLW 2015). The Japanese government must address such worrisome trends. However, the issues above are closely intertwined with other social issues that include welfare, disaster prevention, and medical treatment. Therefore, it is not easy to find a simple solution to these complicated social problems. The issues pose an even greater challenge if the application of administrative measures alone is relied upon. Alongside these issues and concerns, a growing need exists for raising happy and strong children within society as a whole. The Afterschool Plans for Children was established in order to respond to this multitude of social goals.

Consequently, an urgent need exists for schools, community residents, and parents or guardians to join forces and for society as a whole to collaborate in order to create a system

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2 In 2001, Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) was merged with the Ministry of Labor and became the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW)

that supports children's learning and growth. In an attempt to begin addressing the serious social issues mentioned above, the Basic Education Law was amended in 2006; further, Article 13 of the new Basic Education Law added the recommendation that 'collaboration and cooperation among school, families, local residents, etc.' should be pursued. Due to this amendment, education in Japan is now expected to involve cooperation between schools and families, and each citizen is given the role and responsibility of ensuring the provision of appropriate education.

## The current status

### Korea

A wide variety of afterschool programs have been offered, primarily within schools, meaning that 'school-based' afterschool programs are flourishing in Korea. However, an increasing number of programs are also provided by many other educational and social institutions such as colleges and universities, arts institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), art professionals, and local municipalities. The goals and types of programs vary by grade and school. Nonetheless, most programs fall into three categories: a) childcare programs, typically for first through third graders in elementary schools; b) enrichment and cultural programs that help students develop interests and talents in the fields of art, music, sports, dance, and science; and c) academic programs for students intended to improve academic performance and prepare them for college entrance examinations.

According to government statistics (MOE, 2016a), as of 2016, afterschool programs were adopted in almost all schools; 99.7% of all schools have implemented at least one afterschool program and 68.7% of all Korean students participate in at least one afterschool program. A total of 156,151 programs are offered either within or outside of schools. In terms of the types of programs, 52.7% are related to academic lessons and tutoring, whereas 47.3% are enrichment and cultural programs. While 73.4% of elementary programs are for students' enrichment activities, 87.1% of high school programs are subject-related academic programs.

The government has played a significant part in developing and maintaining afterschool programs in Korea. In terms of the ecology of afterschool program arrangements, the majority of the programs are supported and supervised by MOE and the Provincial Office of Education (POE). MOE establishes the annual Afterschool Program Guideline and provides the government grants for POE. With the guidelines and grants from MOE, POE directly regulates and offers financial support to the afterschool programs run by local schools. This shows that afterschool programs are generally considered to be legitimate educational arrangements. Thus, public schools will play a key role in ensuring that the programs are provided. Recently, however, the growing number of afterschool programs and activities have been provided and subsidized by other ministerial agencies. For instance, as of 2018, the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MOHW) (2018) runs a total of 4,113 Community Children Centers across the nation, which offer afterschool care services, such as homework supervision and academic tutoring. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) (2018) also supports 264 Local Youth Centers in many areas and implements the

After-Class Academy for Youth program at these centres. Thus, it should be highlighted that, despite the increasing number of afterschool programs offered by private institutions, the majority of programs are supported or directly provided by public institutions, such as public schools, ministries, and governmental agencies. In this sense, the argument could be made that afterschool programs are considered one of the top priorities among public policies in Korea. Additionally, this government-driven movement is generally thought to have contributed to the sustainable development of afterschool programs while also increasing access to the programs. However, the coordination of policies and programs run by different ministries is important, and the problem of ‘resource dilution,’ which is related to persistent departmentalism among ministries, remains unsolved.

The prevalence of private tutoring is another factor that promotes the government’s need to support afterschool programs. Korean parents’ famous ‘education fever’ and the continuing competitiveness to attend prestigious universities have also led to chronic supplementary private tutoring. National statistics (MOE, 2018) show that as of 2017, about 70.5% of Korean students attended private institutions (i.e., cram schools) and spent an average of 6.1 hours per week in private tutoring. Because low-income students cannot afford expensive private tutoring, providing less expensive but high-quality academic programs after school has been an important government agenda item. In this context, it can be argued that the regular curriculum, afterschool programs, and supplementary private tutoring comprise the three main pillars of the Korean education system. Moreover, researchers (Bae & Jeon, 2013) insist that afterschool programs and private tutoring are becoming institutionalized while also competing for students.

## Japan

The General After-School Children Plan is a current national project aimed at providing afterschool programs for children. This project was originally proposed in May 2006 by the Minister of State for Measure for Declining Birthrate set forth by the Cabinet Office. Through the agreement, the After-School Classes for Children Project (AS Classes Project), supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), and the AS Clubs Project, supported by MHLW, were both integrated into the plan. However, substantial collaboration between the MEXT project and the MHLW project, in terms of its contributions to users, has not been sufficiently implemented. AS Clubs primarily aim to provide children with food and safe places where they can stay and play until their parents come to pick them up. It is a program for which parents pay depending on their income level. AS Clubs are run either by full- or part-time staff who generally have some education-related qualifications, such as elementary school and nursery teachers. Conversely, the AS Classes are gratuitous programs. All children and youth can attend the programs regardless of parents’ employment status. The programs provide children with safe and secure places as well as various opportunities for learning, cultural activities, and sports. The programs related to AS Classes are implemented by volunteers, such as college students and local residents, who are given small rewards for their assistance.

The General After-School Children Plan has three aims: a) promotion of the thorough use of school premises; b) integrated implementation of the AS Clubs Project and the AS Classes Project; and c) collaborative implementation of the AS Clubs Project and the AS

Classes Project in facilities other than schools. The government has three specific, relevant goals for the end of the 2019 financial year: a) provision of new spaces for 300,000 children in AS Clubs Project programs; b) integrated or collaborative implementation of the AS Clubs Project and AS Classes Project in all elementary school districts, with a target of achieving integrated delivery in 10,000 districts; and c) implementation of approximately 80% of newly established AS Clubs Project programs on elementary school premises.

At present, the first goal is expected to be accomplished by the 2019 fiscal year. However, it is uncertain when the second and third goals will be achieved. The integrated or collaborative implementation of two projects has currently only taken place in approximately 600 elementary school districts. The implementation rate of AS Clubs in elementary school premises is only 50%.

According to 2017 statistics, the number of programs affiliated with the AS Clubs Project was 23,619, and the number of municipalities implementing this project was 1,586. This means that 91.1% of all municipalities in Japan were implementing the AS Clubs Project. In the 2016 fiscal year, the number of municipalities in the country involved in the AS Classes Project was 1,097, and the number of AS classes was 16,027; this means that the average implementation rate in municipalities nationwide was approximately 63%. Additionally, the level of government subsidy was approximately 6.5 billion yen (approximately USD 72 million). The implementation rate has clearly increased significantly; however, the percentage has not yet risen enough, despite operating for approximately 10 years under the MEXT policy.

When the budget's scale for the two projects is compared with the number of days that they operate, it becomes clear that the budget and implementation level of the AS Classes Project are more limited than those of the AS Clubs Project. In broad terms, the scale of the AS Classes Project budget is approximately one-seventh that of the AS Clubs Project (approximately USD 530 million). In terms of the average number of days of operation per year, the AS Classes Project (111 days on average) operates for fewer than half the number of days the AS Clubs Project is in operation (at least 250 days or more). The government regulation requires that AS Clubs must be implemented for more than 250 days per year. However, AS Classes have no regulations related to the number of days they are provided.

## Policy emphasis and issues

### Korea

#### Redefining values of afterschool programs

Afterschool programs were originally introduced in 1995 as a vehicle for reforming public education and promoting student-centred education (Bae et al., 2010). The emphasis was on students' needs and interests, which had not received due attention under traditional, teacher-driven schooling. Today, afterschool programs are utilized as a means of solving social problems, such as low birth rates and females' low rates of participation in the labour force. Childcare programs are becoming increasingly more and more important for addressing

such problems and have drawn keen interest from policymakers. Additionally, this point of view reflects the idea that the regular school curriculum may not be effective in addressing the rising social issues with timeliness.

Recently, however, educators and researchers have learned that afterschool programs are becoming legitimate educational arrangements and should have their own values. In this context, afterschool programs are becoming widely accepted, not as mere 'extra-curricular activities' but as significant 'co-curricular activities' that have a considerable impact on students' growth and development. Educators have come to believe that, in some respects, carefully designed afterschool programs have competitive advantages over regular, formal schooling. For example, schools have recently been encouraged to offer afterschool programs and activities that promote 'socio-emotional skills' and 'problem-solving skills' for students, which regular, subject-oriented classes are likely to overlook (MOE, 2016b).

The first issue here is determining the best means of empirically measuring the outcomes of afterschool participation. To do so, the development of validated measurements is necessary. Establishing a longitudinal database is recommended to examine the relationships between afterschool participation and a wide range of educational outcomes. The second issue might be related to the role of afterschool programs in relation to the regular curriculum of the school. From an ecological perspective, the two education systems are interdependent within the whole education system. In this context, the two systems should be in a mutually beneficial relationship rather than one that is antagonistic.

### Quality improvement movement

One major characteristic of Korea's afterschool system is its considerable support from the government. A typical way the government has been determining the success of afterschool policies is by assessing quantitative and inputs-related indicators, such as the number of programs, the afterschool budget, and participation rates. However, policy emphasis has gradually changed from growth in quantity to improvement in quality of the programs. For instance, the Plan for Afterschool Development, which was proposed by MOE in 2016, (MOE, 2016b) declared that the key policy agenda in this capacity is providing quality afterschool programs tailored to students' needs. The plan recommends a variety of ways to enhance the quality of afterschool programs. Among the many approaches included are the following: a) an 'education demand survey' needs to be conducted before establishing the yearly afterschool implementation plan for each school; b) the programs should be developed so that they can deal with the emerging needs and interests of students; c) a range of financial support is imperative for helping schools provide 'small-sized' arts programs, to which students may not have sufficient access during regular classes; d) satisfaction of students and parents regarding the quality of the programs should be assessed and made known to the public; e) more opportunities and support for the professional development of lecturers need to be offered, and on line learning courses are recommended; and f) the roles of the School Council<sup>3</sup> should be strengthened by selecting and approving the programs to be implemented in each school (MOE, 2016b).

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3 In Korea, each school has its own School Council, which is constituted by representatives of teachers, parents, and local residents and has the authority to review overall aspects of school management, including

The issue is the extent to which the market-oriented system, which centres on the mechanism of ‘competition and choice,’ is allowed to be included in the field of afterschool programs. Some experts argue that the inclusion of market systems would lead to high quality but low costs in any area, even in public education (Chubb & Moe, 1990). However, as shown in many previous studies, although market-based approaches appear to be effective in holding schools accountable for student outcomes, they have been assessed as inappropriate for fixing fundamental problems of the public education system (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Therefore, future research conducted within the context of Korea’s afterschool programs is necessary to determine contributing factors that enhance the quality of afterschool programs. Finally, a high number of afterschool instructors are not teachers who graduated from a teacher’s college with a teaching license and, as a result, many parents are suspicious of the quality and capacity of afterschool instructors. As in other countries (Schüpbach, 2016), the professionalization of afterschool professionals is becoming more important.

### Cooperation between schools and local communities

A widely held notion exists that schools are specially secured and sacred places for children and education. This traditional belief, albeit unsubstantiated, has kept schools from interacting with institutions and people outside the schools that are considered harmful and dangerous. Regarding the school–community relationship, schools maintain the institutions passively, receiving resources from the local community. In fact, the community school movement took place in the 1950s, which emphasized and promoted public schools’ function of educating local residents, solved community problems, and improved the quality of life in the area. However, this idea, arguably considered the root of the current afterschool movement, waned rapidly before it became fully established.

With increasing governmental support promoting school–community cooperation, a growing number of schools have begun opening their doors to the outside world and now operate education programs with NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), professional groups, and, in many cases, municipalities. One example of this is the village-based/area-based afterschool program, which has recently gained popularity. In this village-based afterschool model, the school’s roles change, actively transforming the areas in which the schools belong. In other words, afterschool programs function as a vehicle not only for bridging the school and the community but also for revitalizing local areas. Schools that actively participate in the community cooperation are, in turn, becoming more open-minded and tend to extend their institutional function to become the educational and social centres of the area. It is believed that these efforts will eventually contribute to rebuilding the trust of the general public in public schools. This trend is summarized below. Afterschool providers include a variety of institutions. The most noticeable organizations are local universities and colleges. Afterschool programs are implemented not only in the schools but also in other contexts. In addition to school teachers, a diverse population of educational professionals have been becoming involved in afterschool programs, including university stu-

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making decisions related to yearly school budgets, establishing rules and regulations, implementing afterschool programs, among other aspects of school administration.

dents, local residents, and arts experts in the community. The issue lies in how to promote and maintain cooperation between two groups of people: school-affiliated staff and community-based education activists and professionals. The first group has had many experiences in a traditional, formal education setting (public school) that has long been established and institutionalized, whereas the second group has largely acted in relatively *laissez-faire* environments where the romantic perspective on education prevails. Considering the contrasting historical and cultural backgrounds of the two groups, significant effort should be made to help these two groups work together. One example of this cooperation is the establishment of the Regional Afterschool Support Center, the function of which is almost identical to that of the Community Cooperation Network for Learning and Education (CCNLE) in Japan, which will be explained in greater detail later.

*Table 1.* Transition of Afterschool Program Systems in Korea

Category	From	To
Provider	Only school	School, universities and colleges, non-profit organizations
Instructor	School teachers	Experts, university students, local residents, instructors
Clients	Students in school	Students of neighbouring schools and local residents
Place	School site	School site, local facilities (gyms, art galleries, museums, etc.)

## Afterschool programs and education welfare

Governmental involvement in afterschool programs has been justified by public perception related to the role of afterschool programs in promoting the equality of education and strengthening education welfare to reduce social and economic inequalities. During the past two decades, afterschool classes in Korea have been identified as a remedy for reducing academic gaps across social classes and regions. More specifically, these programs have been expected to offer a wide range of learning and development opportunities, particularly to students from socio-economically disadvantaged families and/or underdeveloped areas, who otherwise might have limited access to quality education. In recent years, the function of afterschool programs has extended to include helping multicultural students learn the Korean language and become assimilated into Korean culture.

Low-income students are provided with vouchers that are used to attend afterschool programs and buy the associated books and learning materials. Financial assistance is also given to schools in disadvantaged regions, such as agricultural areas and regions where low-income and multicultural students are overrepresented. Additionally, cooperation is encouraged among neighbouring schools, which have limited capabilities to offer a wide range of programs on their own. Finally, Smart afterschool, which uses information and communications technology (ICT), is currently being considered for use in schools in local areas (MOE, 2016b).

The quality of the programs that disadvantaged students may experience is the issue here. Since they are typically low-priced and taught by instructors who do not have legitimate teaching certificates, people tend to doubt the quality of these programs. From a cul-

tural capital theory perspective, experiencing diverse cultural activities is significant in determining many aspects of students' development. To provide cultural programs, however, ample resources, including quality instructors and materials, are required. Local schools and communities consistently face problems when recruiting cultural resources for use by students.

## Japan

### Cooperation between schools, families, and communities

Japan's educational policy on afterschool program systems is advancing, along with educational reforms that involve diverse and comprehensive content. The advancement of education, aided by cooperation between schools, families, and communities, is considered one of the most important matters in current educational reform. Therefore, in the following section, we will focus on relevant policies concerning cooperation and collaboration between schools, families, and communities.

The plan for creating the Next Generation Schools and Communities was designed based on three reports commissioned by the Central Education Council in December of 2015 (The Central Educational Council 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). This is a new plan and is being carried out in parallel with the aforementioned The General After-School Children Plan. The plan aims to promote education by encouraging cooperation between schools, families, and communities, both in regular classes and in extended education. These three reports correspond to the three pillars of the new educational policy. The educational policy based on this plan is set to be implemented over five years, beginning in the 2016 financial year and extending until the 2020 financial year. This policy consists of three pillars: a) reform school organization management; b) improve quality through teacher training, recruitment, and on-the-job-training; and c) promote cooperation and collaboration between schools and communities. This educational reform is greatly expected to have a strong impact on school education in its entirety and will create a major shift in education methods in Japan. As part of the plan, the following projects have already been initiated (MEXT 2016 b).

### Nationwide establishment of community schools

Community schools are schools that have adopted the School Management Council system. Council members are local residents and parents/guardians. Specifically, the duties of the council include: a) approving basic principles of school management; b) giving opinions on school management; c) giving opinions on teacher appointments; and d) promoting collaboration/cooperation between schools and communities.

### Community cooperation network for learning and education (CCNLE) and Securing human resources

A voluntary system exists for building 'flexible networks' that involve community residents, parents, and organizations. The government aims to establish this system in all elementary and junior high school districts. The CCNLE is a renewal mechanism for the

School-Support Regional Headquarters (SSRH) which was introduced in 2007 as one part of the projects comprising the After-School Child Plan. Collaborations and cooperation between schools and communities that have been fostered by the CCNLE are understood to be more interactive than those created through the SSRH.

A community coordinator is a person in charge of liaising for the community. He or she coordinates school support and extracurricular activities, secures volunteers, and is affiliated with the CCNLE. Community liaison school staff members represent a general window into schools. In many cases, the staff members are in charge of certain teachers and perform roles such as allocating teacher duties. The staff assist with coordinating the management and operations activities undertaken by school management councils. They also assist with the planning and coordination of regional collaboration related to school support provided by local residents.

However, problems lie in securing human resources, such as coordinators, staff development programs, and training. Staff members, such as coordinators, are elected from among the local talent. Thus, the sustainability of securing human resources is a major issue. The difficulty of securing personnel, such as coordinators and educational-activity promoters, was the most frequently noted reason (63.3%) raised by municipalities as to why they have chosen not to implement the AS Classes Project (MEXT 2017b).

Looking ahead, in order to improve the quality and volume of afterschool support provided on school premises, excellent personnel must be secured to direct the activities. It goes without saying that all members of the staff should be offered multiple opportunities for training in order to improve their specialist knowledge and skills related to the management of afterschool activities. Further, consideration of the practicalities of collaboration and cooperation between employees, both full- and part-time, and volunteers is also assuredly an important issue when planning the personnel structure of the staff.

## Revisions of laws on education and budget allocation

Legal revisions are being made to the School Education Act, Act on the Organization and Operation of Local Educational Administration, Social Education Act, and Education Personnel Certification Act, among others. All of these legal amendments aim to build a new education system by strengthening the cooperation between schools, families, and communities. It is noteworthy that such efforts are being presented as attempts to revitalize communities themselves, as well as to foster the next generation.

Sufficient funding is another issue that must be resolved. For example, if those functioning afterschool programs are to hire paid staff to conduct activities, and if a variety of high-quality programs that work to challenge the schoolchildren are to be implemented, appropriate funding must be secured. The government or local public authorities must share the cost of implementing these programs. A survey conducted by MEXT in 2007 shows that challenges related to budget are the primary reasons that certain municipalities have not implemented the AS Classes Project and AS Clubs Project.

## Lack of places for afterschool programs

Turning to physical issues, a need exists for facilities that can be used more flexibly than school facilities as well as regulations regarding their use. Currently, some afterschool programs that are conducted on school premises only have access to a limited number of classrooms or to the sports grounds or gymnasium. Furthermore, many programs within the AS Clubs Project conduct their activities in a confined space, some of which take place in schools and some of which do not. Another related issue is that regional disparities exist concerning the implementation rate of the AS Classes Project by prefecture.

## Quality of afterschool programs

A point of importance lies in the fact that the AS Classes Project provides the opportunity to host high-quality experiential activities, learning, and interactions that are meaningful for schoolchildren by a) respecting the wishes of parents and schoolchildren; and b) encouraging participation from the planning stage. The reason is that high-quality afterschool programs are considered to represent an effective strategy for alleviating various disparities between pupils, such as their finances, education, and experience. Offering different learning opportunities to schoolchildren who are unable to enjoy a wide variety of activities after school or during long holidays due to their parents' income transcends the simple function of providing care during afterschool hours. Thus, further progress should be made in creating an environment and establishing systems that will allow all children who are interested to gain learning opportunities that are provided on school premises before and after school and during long holidays.

## Commonalities and Differences

### Commonalities

Considering the geographical adjacency, the wide-ranging influence of Eastern values and ethics in both cultures, and the long tradition of interactions in various sectors between the two countries, the expectation that many similarities and consistencies can be found in the afterschool systems of both countries is reasonable. The many distinguishable commonalities are as follows.

First, in both Korea and Japan, afterschool programs are considered to be an effective means of dealing with social problems that conventional regular classes may not be capable of addressing in a timely manner. Although participation in programs after school is on a voluntary basis and the market-oriented 'competition and choice' rule has been applied to afterschool program systems, such programs are still thought to exist in public policy territory, which justifies government interventions. For instance, declining birth rates, one of the biggest challenges both countries are facing, have contributed to the ongoing expansion of afterschool childcare services. The same holds true for afterschool classes for local residents, which aim to solve problems such as the declining population and weakening relationships within the communities. These classes also attempt to respond to the lifelong learning needs of the Learning Society.

Second, another important similarity is the active involvement of the government in afterschool program implementation. National plans or guidelines for afterschool classes with which schools and related institutions align have been established in the two countries. Budgetary assistance is another preferred means of supporting afterschool programs, particularly for disadvantaged students and regions. Legal basis has been emphasized as a foundation enabling government intervention to promote afterschool programs in both countries.

Third, public schools in Korea and Japan remain the main locations in which afterschool programs are developed and provided. Korean and Japanese parents and students maintain the long-held belief that school buildings and cites are the best and safest places for educational programs and care services. School teachers are collectively expected and encouraged to become involved in afterschool programs. However, too much reliance on schools as places for afterschool programs has also generated problems. Specifically, the burden of schools and teachers continues to be aggravated. Additionally, a lack of space in the schools is becoming a concern for people who want to use school buildings for afterschool programs and care. Meanwhile, the increasing participation of the private sector in this area, not only in Korea but also in Japan, is notable. Namely, the afterschool market is growing. This, in turn, leads to issues related to quality assurance and the professionalization of afterschool professionals. Additionally, cooperation between regular staff, mostly teachers, and afterschool professionals is essential in improving the quality of afterschool programs. Determining the best means of striking a balance between traditional schools and new, increasingly influential afterschool vendors in this field will be an important issue.

Lastly, the most salient feature of the current afterschool systems in both countries may be the cooperative movement between local schools and communities. In both countries, a wide range of support for bridging schools and communities is currently being facilitated by the nations' governments. Examples include the establishment of offices that support cooperation, the appointment of liaison staff members, and the implementation of budget support from municipalities. These policies will continue for the time being.

## Differences

Although Korea and Japan have a great deal in common in terms of afterschool program systems, some differences also exist when it comes to the origins, officially announced goals, and the means of promoting cooperation between schools and communities. From an ecological perspective, these differences are related to the social, cultural, and political backgrounds of the two countries.

In terms of origin, Korea's afterschool system places more emphasis on its role of reforming public schools that are allegedly subject-oriented and less responsive to students' needs. In this sense, the diversity and flexibility of the programs have continually been emphasized in conjunction with the concept of student choice. Accordingly, afterschool programs in Korea are understood as a means of correcting deficiencies in public schooling (Bae et al., 2010). Furthermore, Korean education professionals and policy makers began to emphasize the unique and educational values of afterschool programs as legitimate educational institutions. Compared to the Korean system, Japanese afterschool programs are expected to play a role in solving problems that the Japanese society faces. The programs

were mainly introduced to address problems such as securing the safety of children after school and the prevention of juvenile behaviours in children and youth. Recently, afterschool programs have been employed as a vehicle for promoting cooperation and collaboration among schools, families, and communities, while also solving the problems of local Japanese communities (Kanefuji, 2017).

While offering more educational opportunities to underprivileged students through the implementation of afterschool programs, the Korean government highlights the goal of reducing the achievement gap among different socio-economic groups, thereby enhancing the equality of education. One example of this is the afterschool vouchers that are provided to low-income students who want to attend afterschool programs. In the Japanese afterschool system, however, less attention is given to the role of enhancing educational equality. This difference may be explained by differing social contexts in terms of the degree of social inequality. According to the Gini's indicator, a widely used measure of national income inequality generated by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Income Distribution Database 2017, Japanese society is more equal compared to Korean society. Korean people are also thought to be particularly sensitive to issues of equality, especially with regard to education. Arguably, these distinct social contexts may lead to different emphases on the roles of afterschool systems in the two countries.

Koreans have maintained that prevailing private tutoring is weakening the public education system and will hinder educational equality. This, in turn, led to the government's engagement with afterschool programs at the national level. Among Korean educators and policymakers, the belief is widely held that inexpensive but quality afterschool programs can act as a substitute for expensive private tutoring that only wealthy students can afford (Bae et al., 2010; Bae & Jeon, 2013). With Japanese afterschool programs, however, afterschool communities do not often directly mention the goals of afterschool programs in relation to the reduction of private tutoring. Many explanations for this difference are possible, including the distinct political systems of the two countries. That is, the Japanese parliamentary system, as compared to Korea's presidential system, could be more vulnerable and sensitive to political pressure from interest groups. One cannot deny that for-profit private tutoring institutions and vendors increasingly continue to form strong interest groups and may have some influence on policymakers. In this sense, afterschool programs certainly evolve while interacting with other social systems.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, as social institutions in both countries, afterschool programs play significant roles in promoting the school-community relationship. The approaches employed, however, are somewhat different between the two countries. In the case of Korea, it seems that a decentralized, bottom-up approach is pursued when linking schools to communities, leading to collaborations among local players, including schools, municipalities, local NGOs, and education professionals. In contrast, the Japanese government has made many efforts to establish viable and thoroughly-considered systems at the national level that directly support cooperation and collaboration among schools, families, and communities. Additionally, unlike the Korean government, the Japanese government officially announced 'families' as a partner in building local education communities. One reason is related to the Japanese people's experiences during the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. The experience of the enormous natural disaster demonstrated to the public

that social problems cannot be solved solely through administrative power and may be effectively resolved through consistent cooperation with local communities.

## Discussion

Findings of this comparative study provide important theoretical and practical implications for researchers, policy makers, and practitioners. First, in reviewing what has happened in the area of afterschool programs in both countries over the past few decades, the study found that afterschool programs are becoming an increasingly important component of public education systems. This is evinced by the fact that afterschool programs have grown steadily in terms of programs, participants, lecturers, and providers and have maintained their institutional roles and popularity in both Korea and Japan. Based on the East Asian culture and values that give a special attention and meaning to the actions of the government, the public authority, continued government intervention and support for afterschool programs reveal that the public's focus on these programs has special significance. In addition to legitimacy as an important aspect of the public education systems, the alleged institutional usefulness of afterschool programs in responding to emerging social needs and educational demands has paved the way for 'institutionalization' of these programs in both cultures. Increasing government involvement and ongoing public support for these programs in the two countries implies the phenomenon of 'path dependence,' which in turn demonstrates the institutionalized aspect of afterschool programs. As found in the case of shadow education (Bray, 2009), becoming institutionalized is significant for policy makers and practitioners; as a legitimate education system, afterschool programs will be more likely to succeed in avoiding institutional turbulence and maintain the success and survival of the systems.

Second, this study found that Korea and Japan share considerable similarities in their afterschool programs, as explained earlier. The question remains as to why Korea and Japan have such noticeably similar features. The first possible explanation might be the geographical proximity and the wide range of social and cultural interactions between Korea and Japan which may have paved the way for the two sides to learn education systems and practices from each other. Second, from the institutional theory perspective, this study employs the concept of 'institutional isomorphism' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) to explain the reasons the two afterschool systems are becoming more similar. According to the theory of institutional isomorphism, organizations in the same environment resemble each other when they react to the common regulatory and normative pressures provided by the environment. In other words, institutional environments either implicitly or explicitly provide normative rules and regulations to which each individual organization must conform if they are to obtain support and legitimacy. In this context, one major component of institutional environments that influences afterschool program systems is the culture and its values, for instance, that which is emphasised by Confucianism. As Swidler (1986) explains, culture functions as the means by which people select both institutionalized ends and the strategies for their pursuit. In this study, the Eastern culture and values play a significant role as a common environment which values education, even after school, and considers schools to be im-

portant places for learning and development (For more information, see Shin, 2014). Another institutional environment is the government system that leads to isomorphic change in afterschool policies in the two countries. As is already known, Korea and Japan have developed centralized government systems. Accordingly, people in both countries may have positive expectations about the active role of the government, particularly in the field of education and afterschool programs are situated in this context.

Meanwhile, institutional theorists (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) suggest three distinctive mechanisms which lead to institutional isomorphic change: a) ‘coercive isomorphism,’ which comes from political influence and/or the government mandate, b) ‘mimetic isomorphism,’ which stems from standard responses to uncertainty, and c) ‘normative isomorphism,’ which is usually related to professionalization. In the case of afterschool programs in Korea and Japan, both the concepts of mimetic and normative isomorphism are effective in explaining why the two afterschool systems have become similar. In relation to mimetic isomorphism, it may be argued that Korea and Japan tend to copy forms and structures employed by the other under conditions of uncertainty. In the case of normative isomorphism, the roles of researchers and professional networks who produced theoretical and conceptual base of afterschool programs are of great importance. Considerable similarities may be explained from an ecological perspective. The ecological viewpoint insists that the education system is closely interrelated with social, political, and economic systems. Given the similar social situations and contexts of the two countries, for example, the low birth rate, the increasing rates of nuclear families, the decreasing rates of population in local areas, and diversifying educational needs, it seems natural that the evolutionary trajectories of the two countries’ afterschool programs would have similar characteristics.

Finally, it is important to note that differences are also found between the two systems. This reflects the idea that afterschool systems have become intertwined with their respective social contexts. The findings of this study recommend that comparisons of afterschool programs be extended across regions, for example, by conducting comparisons of afterschool programs between Asian and European countries.

## Conclusion

Both Korea and Japan have achieved considerably high rankings in international comparative academic ability tests such as PISA and TIMSS. The school education in both countries has been quite successful in terms of establishing the academic achievement of students. However, in both countries, the emotional and social development aspects, such as interest, motivation and self-esteem of children and youth are relatively lower than those of western countries. The school-based afterschool programs are considered to be one effective methods of fostering the emotional and social development of students that cannot be achieved by reforming or improving formal education alone.

Comparative studies on school-based afterschool programs and the relevant policies between Korea and Japan have seldom been carried out until now. That is, this research is the first study of its kind. Analysis of the current conditions and issues on afterschool programs between the two countries, and the elucidation of commonalities and differences

themselves would contribute to the addition of new knowledge to the study of extended education.

The origin of science lies in the classification of the patterns of various phenomenon. This research clarifies the commonalities and differences between the two countries. This is a fundamental study that will contribute to establishing a typology of afterschool programs and policies which can also be utilized in multilateral comparisons in the future. This research will serve as a foundation for the further development of future comparative research. Future studies comparing Korea and Japan that are based on this research will contribute to the validation of practices and the resolution of problems.

Finally, this research intended to apply the institutional and ecological perspectives to explain the reasons Korea and Japan share commonalities and differences in their afterschool programs. Future studies may extend this approach to examine extended education worldwide, which is increasingly developing into a global culture of education.

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# Swedish School-age Educare Centres and German All-day Schools – A Bi-national Comparison of Two Prototypes of Extended Education

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**Abstract:** In Sweden and in Germany, an extensive system of extended education programmes and activities has been established within the last decades. Prototypic examples of this development are school-age educare centres in Sweden and all-day schools in Germany. In this article a bi-national comparison, aiming to find some similarities and differences by means of historical background, current questions of student learning, staff professionalism, and research findings, is presented. It can be shown that, though Swedish school-age educare centres and German all-day schools are based on pedagogical roots reaching back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, their historical developments are quite different. Whilst in Sweden the school-age educare idea became entrenched in the society and the collective beliefs about the necessity of learning outside the classroom, in Germany the all-day school model never prevailed. That only changed in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when PISA showed that the German education system was not performing very well. Based on the different developments over time, both models established different features. With regard to student learning, the Swedish model is more oriented towards fostering creativity and imagination, whilst the German model is more oriented towards curricular learning. One difference concerning the students are that in Germany the all-day school embrace both children and youths up to the end of secondary-II level (up to 18/19 years), in Sweden young people older than 13 years old cannot participate in the school-age educare. In Sweden educators working outside of the classroom are academically trained in quite the same way as classroom teachers, whilst in Germany there is no such common regulation. Based on the more curricular learning centred view in Germany, some large scale effectivity studies were conducted within the last decade. Such comprehensive research programs are lacking in Sweden. We will give a short overview of some main research findings and discuss future research topics.

**Keywords:** Extended Education; Bi-national Comparison; Swedish School-Age Educare Centres; German All-day Schools

## Introduction

In this article extended education programmes in Sweden and Germany will be described and analysed. Both are European countries with a long tradition of extended education. By comparing the Swedish and the German models, our article contributes to the mutual understanding of how extended education in different societies is historically entrenched and

what problems have to be solved to make provisions and programmes in this educational field effective. We will see that there are quite different answers to this question. Our purpose is to promote an international discussion about different ways of developing extended education, both as an academic discipline as well as educational practice. In the following we take a closer look at the structure and features in Sweden and Germany with regard to (selected) state-run extended education programmes. This comparison does not deal with the field of extended education in the two countries as a whole. That would not be possible within the restricted frame of a journal article, as the field of extended education is too broad and includes not only state-run programmes and activities but also a wide array of private programmes and provisions. In the following we will focus on Swedish school-age educare centres and German all-day schools. On the one hand, Swedish school-age educare centres and German all-day schools both are widespread in each country and essential parts of the national education system. On the other hand, from our point of view, school-age educare centres and all-day schools can be seen as kind of *prototypes* of extended education. Most of the aspects, research questions and problems extended education is confronted with can be explicated using both examples.

Our article starts with a short history of the development of school-age educare centres in Sweden and all-day schools in Germany and a description of both national models with regard to selected constituting aspects. Due to the little space available, we will focus on three constituting aspects: Firstly, we focus on the question concerning what students should learn in the activities provided in Swedish school-age educare centres and extracurricular activities at German all-day schools. Secondly, we will deal with the question concerning how educators in both models are trained to meet the aims mentioned in the previous section (professionalism of the staff). Thirdly, we will describe the offers and activities provided in both models in addition to regular classroom teaching. At the end of the article, we will sum up the research findings and discuss several aspects of research needed in the future before we conclude with a summarizing reflection of the comparison between the Swedish and the German case.

## History of the development of the extended education sector in Sweden and in Germany

Though school-age educare and all-day schooling have developed over the last decades differently, both models are in some respects based on quite similar historical roots. Let us start with Swedish school-age educare.

### The Swedish school-age educare

Institutional care for children in the early school-years in Sweden have roots reaching back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In so called 'work cottages', poor children were taught different handicrafts and about proper upbringing, and they were given a meal. These institutions were founded in philanthropic ideas that strived for moral improvement and emphasised the value of learning a craft (Rohlin, 2001). As the poverty decreased and the Swedish society

developed, these institutions were questioned and a new concept appeared that indicated that children should not work with different crafts but devote themselves to their studies in school. The 'work cottages' were followed by 'afternoon centres' where children's need for leisure was highlighted. In these centres the children were meant to do homework, play or participate in recreational activities. In the early 1960s the concept of education succeeded the concept of recreation (Rohlin, 2001). In these years the system with a nationwide care in so-called 'leisure-time centres' for children aged seven to twelve grew widely. It was both an educational question and an offer to the children from their perspective, but it was also caused by a need for childcare due to the demand for women in the labour market. In this period an extensive welfare system was constructed in Sweden and the school-age educare centres were, and still are, an important part of this system.

In the early 1970s the school system was criticized for having a strong theoretical bias and a national committee was appointed to elaborate suggestions to remedy this imbalance between theoretical and practical activities during the children's school day. The committee suggested extending the school day and setting up both practical and aesthetical activities in the school for all children, and not only for the children enrolled in the 'leisure-time centres' (SOU 1974: 53). The suggestion was sanctioned and the assignment was given to the leisure-time pedagogues<sup>1</sup>. The expectations were that the way of performing educational activity in 'leisure-time centres' could contribute to resolving the problems in schools. This could be seen as a strong recognition of the activities in the 'leisure-time centre' and a way to use the activity to complement school. An extended school day for *all* children aged seven to nine during 08.00-14.00, five days a week, was born.

School-age educare was organised as a social service until 1996, but since school and 'leisure-time centres' began to cooperate more closely and education became a stronger ground for the programme, the responsibility was moved from the social sector to the educational sector by 1998. School-age educare centres were now also located in the same buildings as schools.

Today Swedish school-age educare centres are well established all over the country and organised as whole-day activities complementing school. The centres are opened from early morning, usually from 06.00, to 18.00 in the evening, and the children are served breakfast, lunch and snacks in cooperation with the school. The activity is regulated by the national curriculum and staffed by university-educated teachers. Attendance of school-age educare centres is voluntary and about 84% of children between six to nine years old are enrolled (The Swedish National Agency for Education, 2018). 21 percent of children aged ten to twelve are also enrolled in school-age educare centres.

The number of children per school-age educare teacher has increased during the last 30 years. At the beginning of the 1980s, the average group consisted of 18 children per two school-age educare teachers. In 2017, an average group of children in school-age educare centre consisted of 39,7 children, while the number of teachers in school-age educare centres has not increased correspondingly (SNAE, 2018). Declining conditions in school-age educare centres are a consequence of a shift in political governance as well as in values.

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1 Leisure-time pedagogue is an outdated term for the staff in leisure-time centres. Also the term for leisure-time centre has shifted over the years and the translations for the centres from Swedish to English is now school-age educare (Klerfelt & Rohlin, 2012; SNAE, 2011, rev. 2018).

Teachers in school-age educare centres face dilemmas related to comprehensive decentralisation, the introduction of new public management systems, reduced resources and closer links between school-age educare centres and schools (Andersson, 2013). This change has not only affected the educational sector in Sweden but also other parts of the Swedish welfare system. As a consequence of these changes, developments in school-age educare centres are carefully monitored by The Swedish School Inspectorate (2018). In their reports they highlight how the quality can increase and how equivalence within and between educare centres can be enhanced. In 2016 the Swedish Government decided to increase financial resources to school-age educare for the years to come.

### The German all-day school

In Germany all-day schooling has a long history as well, reaching back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the ideas of the 'Reformpädagogik' movement [progressive education movement], some reform schools (called 'Tagesheimschulen') were launched in the first two decades of the 20th century - for example the 'Erziehungsschule' launched by Kapf and the 'Wickersdorfer Tagesschule' launched by Wyneken (see Ludwig, 2008). In contrast to the traditional half-day school system, these schools were founded as all-day schools. From a Reformpädagogik point of view, an all-day school is a school where the students live 24 hours a day and 7 days a week (excluding school holidays). This far-reaching definition of what an all-day school never dominates the German education system. This is due not only to the extensive costs a 24/7-school would incur but also because of families' scepticism towards an expanded institutionalized education system (for a detailed description, see Hagemann, 2009, pp. 217ff.). The number of all-day schools was marginal through the 20th century. This holds true for at least the western part of Germany. The development in East-Germany (until reunification of the German Democratic Republic GDR/DDR in 1990) was different. Here a high degree of all-day schools and family supporting public child-care institutions was part of the political interest (see Mattes, 2009).

The situation changed for most (western) federal states in particular in the wake of PISA. The first PISA round in 2000 showed that German 15-year-olds were performing poorly compared to other countries – like Sweden or South Korea – in the fields of literacy, math, and science. The test also showed that academic achievement was more strongly connected with the student's family background, as in almost every other country participating in the PISA testing (Baumert et al., 2001; Tillmann, 2005). After these findings were published – which caused the so called 'PISA shock' in politics and media – the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education (KMK; due to federalism in Germany, each of the 16 federal states is in charge of its own school system) discussed how to react. The expansion of the number of all-day schools was one of the seven reform instruments all ministers agreed upon (Tillmann, 2005, p. 52). From 2003 to 2010 the federal government supported building up new all-day schools and developing existing ones with a sum of four billion Euros (Investment Programme A Future of Education and Care, IZBB; BMBF, 2003). This programme forced the federal states to define what an all-day school should be from their point of view. The KMK agreed on the following minimal standard: An all-day school is a school providing care and education for at least three days a week and seven hours a day, it offers lunch, the extracurricular activities are under the responsibility of the principal and

the extracurricular activities should be connected to classroom teaching in terms of their content (KMK, 2006). All-day schools are implemented at the primary and the secondary level providing offers for children from grade one to ten (in some cases to grade twelve/thirteen).

The federal IZBB-programme and the various parallel initiatives of the 16 federal states caused a rapid rise in the number of all-day schools – from 5.000 in 2002 to more than 18.000 in 2016 (KMK, 2018). Currently two thirds of German schools are organised as an all-day school. Based on these figures, the German school system has changed within the last 15 years from a predominantly half-day school system to a predominantly all-day school system – one of the most extensive changes of the German educational system since the 1950s.

## Selected constituting aspects of the programmes

As we have seen in the previous section, the historical development in Sweden and Germany was quite different, though both systems were rooted in similar concepts at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We will see in the following that these different historical developments have resulted in different current features of both models of extended education. In this section we will describe the features of the Swedish and the German models based on some constituting aspects. This description includes, among other things, the question of what school-age educare and all-day schooling are aiming at with regard to students' learning and development and how in Sweden and in Germany the educators working outside the classroom are educated (question of staff professionalism).

### Aims at the students' level

School-age educare in Sweden is highly regulated in several governing documents. It is implemented in every school in Sweden and all school-age educare centres follow the same regulations. First we have the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The Education Act (2010: 800) stipulates that the activity is based on values which focus on equality, understanding and compassion for others. In the curriculum (The Swedish National Agency for Education [SNAE], 2011, rev. 2018) we can read that the education in school-age educare shall stimulate the pupils' development and learning and afford meaningful leisure. School-age educare is addressed individually in the curriculum, where it specifies its goals and formulates that learning shall be situated, experience-based, group-oriented and based on the pupils' needs, interests and initiatives. The curriculum (SNAE, 2011, rev. 2018) highlights the duty for school-age educare to complement school and support children with regard to their experiences and resources. The school-age educare centre should encourage all children to discover their own uniqueness as individuals and should thereby enable them to participate in society via responsible freedom. Teaching aims at promoting the children's imagination and ability to learn together with others through play, physical activities and art, and includes aesthetic learning processes as well as exploratory and practical learning processes.

In Sweden there are explicitly expressed formulations on what school-age educare shall afford children regarding education, care and meaningful leisure, and these formulations are directed towards all children. However, there are inequalities when it comes to these affordances because the quality between different school-age educare centres differs in the country concerning the number of children in the groups and the quality of education based on staff education. It is true that the school-age educare activity is implemented all over the country and that all children aged six to nine years take part in educare activities during the school-day. But there is also an old formulation in the policy documents stipulating that, in order to take part in early morning and late afternoon activities, parents must work or study. Thus, in order for children to receive service, there should be a need for care. Though most parents in Sweden work, this regulation may exclude some, though not many, children from school-age educare during mornings and late afternoons. Among those excluded might be children living in families with parents on parental leave, unemployed or newly arrived parents. And some of these children might also be in need of the activity in the school-age educare, even though their parents stay at home. This situation is highlighted by teachers and some of these excluded children are now allowed to participate part-time in afternoon activities. This is a contradiction in the Swedish system, which aims at inclusion and integration of all, and thus a change of the regulation is needed.

In our opinion, school-age educare has the capacity to contribute even more to children's learning, joy and well-being, but also to other educational practices like school and preschool, as well as to the educational system and society as a whole. We see the revision of the Swedish curriculum as a step in clarifying this potential of the school-age educare.

Based on the PISA-shock mentioned before, it can be said that one of the major objectives of all-day schooling in Germany aims at improving learning. Most scientists and politicians dealing with all-day schooling are convinced that, to reach this goal, the all-day school should not do the same as traditional schools. All-day schooling is not about prolonging the hours students attend classes; it is about *a new way of making school* and about establishing a new culture of learning. This new culture should provide expanded learning opportunities based on the individual interests of the students and their individual needs, and it should be based on an inclusive learning concept acknowledging the heterogeneity of students (Horstkemper & Tillmann, 2014, pp. 93, 98). This expectation towards all-day schooling is based mainly on the pedagogical potential of the extracurricular activities at all-day schools complementing and supplementing classroom teaching. Extracurricular activities, on the one hand, offer more time for pedagogically effective activities, they offer the potential of using new learning and teaching methods and they enable schools to structure the day in a new way with regard to learning and recreational phases during the day (based on students' needs). On the other hand, the extracurricular activities expand the content the students are dealing with beyond the border of the curriculum. That makes it possible to address the various individual interests of the children better than during regular lessons. Additionally, some activities "...are often organized in mixed-aged groups" (ibid.) that enable new forms of peer learning and social experiences. Furthermore, usually no grades are given by the teachers in extracurricular activities. This enables teachers/instructors to develop a new perspective on their students because they are not forced on assessing student performance or development.

The new learning culture attributed to all-day schools does not aim only at improving academic learning and academic achievement. If we follow the publications of the federal ministry of education and research (BMBF) in the wake of the aforementioned investment programme (IZBB), *social competencies* should be fostered by all-day schooling in addition to curricular ones. Furthermore, cultural learning (including drama and music) and the individual development of effective learning strategies (for example self-directed learning) should be systematically supported by the activities offered by all-day schools (BMBF, 2009). If we dig deeper into the public and scientific debate about the potential advantages of all-day schooling, more aims appear. For example, one advantage is that all-day schools can foster physical health and health consciousness through expanded opportunities for sports or movement games in extracurricular activities (Hildebrandt-Stramann & Laging, 2013).

### Professionalism of the staff

In Sweden most of the staff members have (or should have) a teaching degree similar to the degree of their colleagues working in school. The training to become a “Teacher towards work in school-age educare centres” is a three-year university-based teacher education. In 2017 39% of the staff had a pedagogical university-based education (SNAE, 2018). Others may have a different educational background, while some staff are without teacher education. There are large differences between centres in different parts of Sweden in terms of the level of education. In one year, 2016, there was a decrease in education by five percent. Employment is regulated and most teachers work full-time – that is 40 hours a week with five weeks paid holiday. There are no volunteers in school-age educare centres in Sweden.

In a study, Klerfelt (2017) investigates whether there is a shared general discourse in the educational traditions that provide the basis for a commonly shared professional identity. The results from the study indicate that there is an inner core within the profession of school-age educare teachers. The teachers, although exposed to stated and unstated demands, lack of vision and unclear claims, and although subjected to a decrease in resources, still speak with a common voice, indicating that they still maintain a unified professional identity. This identity can be considered a collective identity, and factors contributing to these identity processes are grounded in the fact that the professional role is handed down in practical work, that the policy documents are a regulating component, that research contributes to new knowledge and that teacher education acts as an organiser of common dialogues.

But a changing practice is challenging the core of the profession. Now, newly graduated teachers also get a qualification to teach pupils in grade 1-3 and grade 4-6 in practical/aesthetic subjects. This implies that the same person now has a threefold task: firstly, to carry on the educational tradition originated in the school-age educare centre, secondly, to take a starting point in the children’s perspectives and in a practice where the children are perceived as actors with their own intentions and, thirdly, to create meaning in their lives from their own experiences and interests. However, the same person shall also act as a teacher within the school culture in the compulsory school, should follow curricula for different school subjects and is responsible for assessment and grading. This means that the teachers in school-age educare centres actually have to master three positions: the first as a

teacher in the school-age educare centre with the assignment of creating a practice for children's meaningful leisure, care, learning and meaning making, the second as a teacher with the assignment to complement and cooperate with the teaching in the school, and the third with the mission of being a teacher in one of the practical/aesthetic subjects governed by the regulations and traditions in the compulsory school. And here is where we have an important discussion. Is it possible for the same person to shift between these different educational attitudes during the same day, together with the same children? In Sweden these questions are discussed under the label "schoolification". These newly graduated teachers with this complex competence will probably renew the work teams in schools and bring in new constructions of the profession (Klerfelt & Andersson, 2017).

In Germany the situation is more heterogeneous. The extracurricular activities are provided partly by teachers (with a teacher degree), partly by other professionals (like social pedagogues), semi-professionals (like sports coaches), and laymen. There are nearly no common regulations with regard to the qualification of additional staff in Germany. Figures from 2009 show that 39% of additional staff members do not have a pedagogical degree (Coelen & Rother, 2014, p. 133). Not only is the educational background of the additional staff working at German all-day schools very heterogeneous, but so are the weekly working hours of staff members at school and their employment contracts. Some instructors are employed only for a few hours a week, some 40 hours a week (for example, at the secondary school level only 11% of the additional staff members work 40 hours a week at their school; *ibid.*, p. 116), some are employed based on short term employment contracts only and some have a permanent position. The high level of part-time staff and of short term employment contracts, in addition to the heterogeneous educational background, can lead to serious problems regarding the cooperation between teachers and the additional staff and regarding the continuity of pedagogical work (*ibid.*, pp. 120ff.).

Additionally, there is no common 'mission' for teachers working in extracurricular activities at all-day schools in terms of their pedagogical work, like mentioned earlier in the Swedish case. This is due to many factors. In Germany the federal states are in charge of their own schooling system, making it difficult to formulate common missions on a federal level that all 16 federal states agree on. Some of the federal states have set quality guidelines for all-day schools. For example, in the federal state of Hesse, these guidelines determine that every all-day school has to have a pedagogical concept that encompasses all extracurricular activities. Though some of these guidelines explicitly govern pedagogical aspects such a concept has to address (Serviceagentur Hessen, 2018), the method for putting them into practice depends mostly on the conceptual work of each individual school.

## Extracurricular Activities

In both countries there are different discourses due to the relation to the existing school culture and the basic starting points of considering children's perspective and shielding their rights.

The Swedish school-age educare centre is a linguistic practice as well as an aesthetic practice, a democratic practice and a practice for play. The activity is characterised by communication and dialogue. There is a focus here on verbal communication between chil-

dren and teachers, specifically on talking, discussing, joking and negotiating. This interaction is often placed in different linguistic, aesthetic expressions. Children focus on drawing, singing, playing and dancing together with each other in the same room. Swedish school-age educare teachers are also obligated to be conscious about children's participation, their right to make decisions concerning their own daily lives, as well as their need to learn to understand and feel compassion for each other. According to the Education Act (2010: 800), this approach fosters democratic thinking. Teachers often talk about the importance of democratic values and possibilities of perceiving oneself as a world citizen (Klerfelt, 2017). Play, games, outdoor activities, humour and happiness are all guarded in school-age educare.

In Germany there is a wide range of activities forming the extracurricular part of schooling in all-day schools. Some of them are structured very similar to classroom lessons (with regard to didactics, methods and curricular oriented content), while others are structured explicitly in contrast to classroom lessons (like leisure time activities; see Hopf & Stecher, 2014). The standard programme of extracurricular activities at German all-day schools encompasses support with homework, curriculum-oriented fostering activities concerning specific subjects (mostly focused on low performing students), sports, musical and leisure-time activities (*ibid.*, p. 71). From the students' point of view, leisure-time activities are most popular (*ibid.*, p. 73f.).

To conclude this section, we would like to point out some important differences between school-age educare centres in Sweden and all-day schools in Germany along the three constituting aspects we used in this section. One of the differences concerns the aims of both models on the students' level. As we have seen, there is a curricular regulation in Sweden focusing on the question of what students should learn in school-age educare. In Germany there are some programmatic papers about the pedagogical aims of all-day schooling but no obligatory regulations exist. With regard to learning, school-age educare and all-day schooling are focused on a wide array of learning goals, but for the German case we find an approach focused more on academic and social learning. It is surprising that although explicitly formulated goals, youths are not included in the school-age educare in Sweden, as they are in Germany. When it comes to questions of staff professionalism, the differences are considerable. In Sweden there is a special university-based education for becoming a "teacher towards work in school-age educare centres" and the staff mostly work full-time, whilst the working conditions in Germany differs. In Germany there is no special teacher-education for working in extracurricular activities in all-day schools and the professionals have different training. There are also volunteers involved in this activity. In both countries a wide array of activities outside the classroom is provided, encompassing leisure time activities and – at least in the German case – academic fostering services. Regarding these three constituting aspects of comparison, we can conclude that both systems, though similar at first sight, exhibit significant differences of respective aspects upon closer inspection.

## Research findings and perspectives

In Sweden there are statistics for almost every sector of society, and the educational sector is monitored carefully using quantitative data. It is known, for instance, how many children are enrolled in school-age educare in every part of the country, year by year, and record is kept on the level of teacher education in every community. Parents' views are revealed by questionnaires every other year, and the same process is undertaken with principals. This is a great service for researchers. Much data is openly published online, as access to this data is seen as a public right. School-age educare centres are also critically monitored by the Swedish Schools Inspectorate. This is necessary since there has been a severe cut in the resources devoted for school-age educare, resulting in larger group-size and less educated staff. There is a strong need to track the consequences of this worsening situation.

In Sweden, school-age educare is already implemented. It is highly recognised but also taken for granted, no evidence of effectiveness is needed for implementing this kind of activities. School-age educare is based on values which are not questioned. While there is no well-funded research programme, research does exist. This research is often financed by the state through the universities or different municipalities, meaning that it is mostly performed by doctoral students. While these studies are interesting, cover a wide range of important questions, are well carried-out and contribute with important information, they are not initiated by the Swedish Government and are not systematic. One reason for this unsystematic research might be that the societal expectations surrounding the contribution of the school-age educare to integration and education are unclear. Clear political expectations and well-planned, systematic funding are necessary, as this is a research field still under construction (Klerfelt & Pálsdóttir, 2014). Here the consequence of absent societal expectations can be seen.

Though comprehensive research programmes are lacking, a number of small studies do exist. Examples of researched areas are socialization, professional identity, inclusion, didactics, friendship, interaction, children as citizens, play, newly arrived children, and also studies linked to systematic quality development and differences reproduced by school-age educare – to name only a few. The findings from different studies are directed at different areas: at the children and the teachers participating in the school-age educare centres, parents, policy makers and science. Researchers use different theoretical starting points, depending on their different purposes and different academic traditions. All studies are much needed and contribute to establishing school-age educare as a scientific field of research and field of knowledge.

All in all, there was little research on the effectiveness or the pedagogical potential of extracurricular activities at all-day schools in Germany before 2000. That changed with the aforementioned funding programme of the German Government that was launched in 2003 (IZBB; Holtappels et al., 2007; Fischer et al., 2011; Prüß, Kortas, & Schöpa, 2009; Stecher et al., 2009; Stecher, Krüger, & Rauschenbach, 2011). The money was not only used to support schools but also to launch a massive evaluation project – the Study on the Development of All-day Schools. In the wake of this study, a national network for research on all-day schooling, extracurricular activities and (all-day) school development was launched, bringing together more than 100 scientists and practitioners on a regular basis to discuss

new developments in the field. The research performed within this network has led to a huge body of research and differentiated findings which cannot be summarized here in whole. The following will focus on the most important one, the StEG-Study. This study has been carried out since 2005 and is divided into three phases. The focus of the first phase (2005 to 2010) was on representative data answering research questions concerning the first stage of the nationwide development of all-day schooling. The second phase (2011 to 2015) was focused on the students and how their learning is fostered effectively by participating in extracurricular activities. The third – and current – phase (2016 to 2020) focuses on the question of how the practices of all-day schooling can be improved on a content-specific level. For example, one question the StEG is currently dealing with focuses on how cooperation and collaboration between the teachers and the additional staff members can be improved to interlock curriculum-based classroom teaching and extracurricular activities effectively (Fischer et al. 2011; Holtappels et al., 2007).

Additionally, the principals of all-day schools have responded every two years since 2013 to standardized questionnaires to core aspects of all-day schooling, like opening hours, participation rates and staff composition. Based on this nationwide representative data monitoring, information on development in Germany is available.

The findings of the StEG-study show (only selected findings can be mentioned here; (for more see Fischer et al. 2011; Holtappels et al., 2007; StEG-Konsortium, 2016):

Participating in extracurricular activities

- fosters social competencies of students (Fischer, Kuhn, & Züchner, 2011)
- improves – to a small extent – the grade average of students (if they are participating on a regular basis and in activities with a high educational quality; Kuhn & Fischer, 2011)
- reduces the risk of not being transferred to the next class (Steiner, 2011)
- does not affect students' competencies (based on standardized test scores) in reading and science (StEG-Konsortium, 2016)

To sum up we can state that participating in extracurricular activities at all-day schools fosters the social development of students. That holds true only if the pedagogical quality of the activities is high and if the students participate in these activities on a regular and long term basis. There are some hints that participating in extracurricular activities fosters academic achievement, but the effects are usually low in size. With regard to standardized tested competencies, there are no such effects.

## Future Research Perspectives

We have pointed out that there is research on all-day schools in Germany and school-age educare centres in Sweden. But, at the same time, we can see that some questions about both extended education programmes still lack empirical answers.

Research needed in both countries can be divided into four levels: the child's level, the family level, the school level, and the national/international level.

## Research needed on the child's level

Though in most research projects dealing with learning outside regular lessons the perspective of the learner/the children is taken into account, some questions regarding the effects on the child's level are still open. For example, *negative effects* of attending extended education provisions have not been properly addressed. At least for the German case, we can say that research on all-day schooling has a very biased view towards the desired – and therefore positive – outcomes. An explicit view towards negative experiences, which can have a considerable influence on learning, is in general rather rare. But internationally scattered findings show that, in some cases, participating in extracurricular activities can also affect the participants in an undesirable way. Larson, Hansen, and Moneta (2006) show that the stress level in the inclusion in organized activities of sports is significantly higher than the average stress level in other organized activities, and experiences of social exclusion are also more frequent there than normally reported by young people, to name only one finding. The advantage of Larson's study is that he and his colleagues explicitly asked the adolescents about negative experiences. In qualitative research we can easier disclose such experiences – if we do not close our eyes to them.

In Sweden, research on the child's level is needed, not to legalise the activity (as is often the case in Germany), but rather to investigate in what way school-age educare contributes to children's wellbeing and making of meaning. Also, a critical review of the core of the educational attitude in extended education is needed. Societal expectations of the potential of the school-age educare centres' contribution to integration and "Bildung" is unclear. We need information due to children's changing conditions to understand and elaborate the possibilities of the contributions from extended education to compensate children and complete their education in elementary school.

## Research needed on the family level

All-day schooling in Germany, among other things, is focused on fostering students who are academically in need of support and on reducing the achievement gap between children from different family backgrounds. This aim of reducing social inequality can only be met if all students from all families participate at the same rate in the extracurricular activities. The StEG-study shows that, at least with regard to the primary level, families with a high educational background are more willing to send their children to the extracurricular activities. This finding shifts the research perspective from the question of how to effectively design extracurricular activities to the question of how families from different social backgrounds 'use' extracurricular provisions as part of their social reproduction strategies. This research perspective should also encompass other fostering activities outside the regular classroom and outside the school – that means it should encompass the broad area of extended education as a whole and how families use the provisions within this area to foster their children.

In Sweden, research on the family level is needed to understand how the different practices the children participate in are related to each other with regard to specific outcomes. Under which circumstances is it beneficial for the children to participate in the school-age educare centre, the elementary school and different leisure activities outside school and ed-

ucare centres? Just as in Germany, there is a need to construct knowledge about how school-age educare can contribute to equal education.

### Research needed on the staff/school level

With regard to the staff working at all-day schools in Germany, more research is needed on the question of how to train teachers to work effectively at an all-day school (for example regarding cooperation with additional staff members) and how to train additional staff to offer activities with high pedagogical quality (a question focused in particular on the non-pedagogically trained staff members). Which norms and values do teachers and additional staff members have towards all-day schooling? Do all of them wholeheartedly support the idea of all-day schooling?

In Sweden, some of the recent research has been focusing on professionalism, conditions and quality, and, as already mentioned, this is much needed. Questions on how the complex, threefold mission of the school-age educare teachers challenges the inner core of the profession and directs the development of the professionalism needs to be followed. Little focus has been put on the need to develop the activities in the school-age educare centres in line with changes in contemporary childhood, and research is now needed to construct knowledge concerning children's play, language expressed in different modes, competence to build new cultures together with newly arrived children, and how to continue developing democratic competences. The fact that Sweden does have precise formulations in the newly revised curriculum of 2018 actually also raises the need for research to study how the legislation documents are interpreted and how the resources are distributed and utilized. It is important to construct knowledge about how the activities in the centres are put into practice.

### Research needed on the national level

On a national level more research on representative participating rates with regard to the socioeconomic background of the participants (monitoring studies) is needed – that implies (on a nationwide level) research on the question whether participating in extended education provisions reduces or widens the social gap. This need holds true for Sweden as well as for Germany. Furthermore, more international comparative research is needed for countries to learn from each other. Until now there is no research in this direction. For example, there is a heated debate about social inequality and the so-called shadow education in Asia, for which parents pay a lot of money (Bray, 2007), and there is debate whether it could be replaced by a new way of learning culture carried out by extended education activities similar to the activities in Sweden and Germany.

### New Methods in Research on Extended Education

Since extended education in Sweden and Germany is a specific practice with a specific pedagogy, new methods to understand this practice are also needed, and special attention must be directed towards children. If children's perspectives are respected, then children should also be involved in the research. Then questions about taking others' perspective, intersubjectivity and interculturality can come into focus. This demands research methods using participating methods.

## Conclusion

As we have seen with regard to the historical background, there is a long tradition of ideas to supplement the traditional way of schooling in Sweden as well as in Germany. In both countries these traditions are based in pedagogical (reform) concepts and ideas that put the child's perspective in the centre of learning activities. Whilst in Sweden, based on these concepts, the *educare* concept has been entrenched in the school system – and the society as a whole –, all-day schools in Germany did not play an important role in the educational system until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This relatively recent change in Germany was not due to reflecting back on the pedagogical core concepts available and the child's perspective, but rather to the lack of competitiveness that the German educational system suffered from internationally. If the development in Sweden can be described as a kind of a bottom-up development, then the rise of the all-day school in Germany could be described as top-down.

Because of this top-down strategy that is based on the notion that all-day schools are a kind of an educational remedy, it is comprehensible that, in German all-day school research, quantitative, effectiveness-oriented studies dominate. This question makes it necessary to fund large effectiveness studies like the aforementioned StEG-study. On the contrary, in Sweden there is a lack of funding and, as a consequence, a lack of systematic, planned long-term research projects initiated by the Government, though there are plenty of individually initiated studies.

It is astonishing that in Germany, implementing all-day schools as an educational remedy and focusing research on the effectiveness of this remedy has not led to elaborated rules concerning the professional training standards of staff members working in the extracurricular activities at all-day schools. That holds true on the nationwide level as well as on the level of most federal states. In most cases it is up to the individual school to decide if someone is well-trained to work with children in extracurricular hours. Laymen and volunteers can be employed at all-day schools in the extracurricular sector. In Sweden the situation is all in all different. Usually no laymen and volunteers are allowed to work with children. Teachers working in *educare* centres are academically trained like their counterparts working in the classroom (but due to shortage of educated teachers nowadays uneducated staff are also employed to some extent).

In Sweden the same policy documents for every school-age *educare* centre in every municipality unify the pedagogy of the whole country and contribute to equal education. Though there are documents dealing with the pedagogical quality of all-day schools on the level of the 16 federal states, there is no common standardizing document in Germany. These documents usually are very abstract so every single school (the principal) must decide what pedagogical quality is and how it can be ensured. To ensure uniform standards, a system of nationwide advanced training would be necessary. The bi-national comparison between Sweden and Germany this article deals with makes these conclusions visible and contributes to establish extended education as a scientific field of research and a field of knowledge.

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# Doing Masculinity in School-age Child-care: An Ethnographic Study

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**Abstract:** This article is based on data from a two-year ethnographic study on children in school-age child-care in Sweden. It describes a boy's way from positioning himself as a "boy who does not fight" to a "boy who fights". In Sweden, independence is viewed as paramount. Fostering children to independence can be seen from different perspectives, and the teachers in this particular setting hand over the power to the children. The social climate in the setting was quite tough, and the children – especially the boys – formed a social hierarchy by using their fists. The material was studied with help from analytical tools dealing with gender, position and power.

**Keywords:** independence, gender, masculinity, position, power, school-age, child-care

## Introduction

Over a period of two years, I followed a group of children in two different school-age child-care settings. Being independent was something that both children and teachers sat high on the agenda. The competent child was seen as the norm (Andersson & Källström Carter, 2014; Börjesson & Skoglund, 2014; Kampman, 2004; Sjöberg, 2011; Sjöberg, 2014). The educators charged the act of independence with positive meaning, as reflected in quotes like "children are better than staff at solving conflicts", by telling children who called for help to solve their problem themselves. In addition to the teachers pulling back, they also positioned girls and boys differently. For example, they stayed more often near the girls, giving the boys more space.

When both children and teachers share the view of independence as good and important, it can result in unwanted consequences. It may be important to add that the researcher of this article sees raising children to independence positively. However, the issues that occupied me during the three semesters I spent taking part in these children's lives has a bearing on gender, position and power, which I want to focus on in this article.

## Research question

What unwanted consequences can be identified as a result of the teachers in school-age child-care pulling back from power and not offering any gender positions apart from traditional ones?

## Review of the literature

### Independence

Research has identified the strong role of independence (Tulviste, Mizera, de Geer & Tryggvason, 2007) in Swedish school-age child-care expressed through cherishing “free play” where the children themselves decide what to do and with whom (Andishmand, 2017; Elvstrand & Närvänen, 2016; Haglund, 2015; Haglund, 2016; Hansen Orwehag & Mårdsjö Olsson, 2011; Hjalmarsson, 2013; Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014; Lager, 2015; Saar, Löfdahl & Hjalmarsson, 2012). According to Simoncini, Cartmel & Young (2015) and Pálsdóttir (2010, 2013), school-age child-care in Australia and Iceland also provide an arena where children can take their own initiatives and develop activities together with other children.

### Power distribution

Regarding the substance of everyday life and learning in school-age child-care, studies show that it largely concerns the social content of relationships and friendships (Dahl, 2011; Dahl, 2014; Evaldsson, 1993; Ihrskog, 2006; Pálsdóttir, 2010; Øksnes, 2008). Both Evaldsson (1993) and Johansson & Ljusberg (2004) claim that interaction patterns differ between both children and teachers and separated the children’s group interaction from the teachers.

In a research summary of 0-18 year-old girls and boys in different educational settings, Paechter (2007) claims that the study of children’s communities of practice should be linked to the analysis of power and individuals’ different opportunities for agency. This is partly because power is rarely equally distributed among individuals, partly because there are spatial manifestations of gender norms that create diverse offerings for children (Paechter, 2007). Thorne (1993) points to the importance of children’s friendships as a key to understanding how gender is constructed and how the boundaries between gender categories are established. This relationship, she says, applies to the construction of gender according to age. She shows how children establish and negotiate the dichotomies between the sexes in different practices. She argues that the way the normalizing gaze is manifested in the room plays a significant role in children’s ability to negotiate masculinities and femininities without risking marginalization (Thorne, 1993).

### The traditional masculine position

When boys are described in research, it is essentially “typical / problematic / protesting” boys who are described (Eidevald, 2009; Hellman, 2010; Jonsson, 2014; Nordberg, Saar & Hellman, 2010; Thorne, 1993). I have not found any studies of school-age child-care and

gender, but several studies of pre-school boys show that teachers do not expect the boys to regulate themselves in any significant way (Eidevald, 2009; Hellman, 2010; Månsson, 2000). According to Hellman (2010), who studied pre-school children, a calm position is noticeable by its absence in previous research on boys and learning environment, which, according to her, is an indication that the boys are invisible even in research. She asserts that it is difficult to find research where boys do not have conflicts with other children, play with toys that are coded as “girlie” or play with both boys and girls (Hellman, 2010). Hellman (2010) states that this may lead to research contributing to the definition of the “real” boy being a “problematic” boy. She claims research causes traits such as lack of self-control, aggression and dominance to become normalized for boys as a group, while the other daily traits of boys, such as kindness or tenderness, might go unrecognized as “real” boy traits. Although Hellman (2010) shows in her thesis that most boys – despite this – regulate themselves, it may mean that they will not be understood as boys. To summarize, this would mean that to be understood as a boy, boys should play with boys and position themselves as such by playing traditional boyish games and practice independence in terms of “typical / problematic / protesting”.

## Doing gender

My theoretical point of departure combines a Butlerian perspective on identity and gender with a Foucauldian perspective on subject positions and power. More specifically, I use tools such as gender, positions and power to describe how a boy in social interaction with individuals in school-age child-care changes position.

Discourse is used to describe a certain way of speaking, understand the world and determine how some knowledge is considered “true” (Foucault, 1980). Since language is action, different ways to use language construct the world differently (Bakhtin, 1981; Mehan, 1993; Wertsch, 1991). Children are formed by and form themselves in interaction with their context depending on the various discourses they encounter. I use Davies and Harrés’ (1990) definition of position:

With positioning, the focus is on the way in which the discursive practices constitute the speakers and hearers in certain ways and yet at the same time is a resource through which speakers and hearers can negotiate new positions. A Subject position is a possibility in known forms of talk; position is what is created in and through talk as the speakers and hearers take themselves up as persons (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 62).

When a child positions him/herself it is in relation to the recipient, which means that the presentation concerns both. Discourses provide ways of understanding the world that exclude alternative ways. Language and power (Foucault, 1980) are linked to the concept of performativity surrounding standards of social and discursive practices (Butler, 1990). Performativity is that words do that words are; action, language and expressions of all kinds create the social world. So, for example, masculinity can be created performatively by people repeating the words, acts, and practices, in a historical and social context, that are specifically coded masculine. *There is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results* (Butler, 1990, s. 25). Butler (1990) claims that not being perceived as “either or” in these contexts makes it more difficult to be a subject. *It thus becomes difficult to be placed*

*if you are not gendered* (Hellman, 2010, p. 45, my translation). In the article I use two different positions: a traditional masculine position (one of the gang) and a position as a boy who does not fight. With Hellman (2010), these can be called a “visible” (a traditional masculine position) and an “invisible position” (a boy who does not fight).

## Method, settings, ethics and quality

This is an ethnographical study spanning three semesters. Ethnography is about studying everyday life, trying to understand how people give meaning to and organize their lives (Aubrey, David, Godfrey & Thompson, 2002; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; O'Reilly, 2012; Zaharlick & Green, 1991). In line with Zaharlick & Green (1991:207), the ethnographic focus centers on how participants engage in *constructing the roles and relationships that exist within the group and explore how particular cultural practices function within the social group* (which in this study concerns ways of doing masculinity). This include among others participant observations and active dialogue together with individuals and the contexts in which they interact. The research in this way becomes a shared commitment. This is reflected in this study through the child's active participation in interviews and in spontaneous stories and conversations of everyday life in school-age child-care. It is my understanding of my observations of the children and their everyday life that creates the material. The focus is on the interaction between different elements of behaviour: socially, culturally and linguistically. For other ethnographic work on peer groups in school settings see, for instance, Danby & Barker (1998) and Evaldsson (2004).

Data collection occurred over three semesters: spring 2001, autumn 2001 and autumn 2002. During the spring of 2001, the children studied attended one school-age child-care setting (Neptune), but in the autumn of 2001 changed to another setting (Jupiter) where they remained for the duration of the study. The settings studied were located within the same school in an area with a lower socio-economic profile in a well-established suburb south of Stockholm. The study was conducted on a group of 24 children attending school-age child-care. The children were six to seven years old when the project started and seven to eight years old when it ceased. Six focus children, three boys and three girls, were selected to represent the social variation in the group. One of these boys was Klas. He was selected because he differed in part from the other boys by position as calm, funny, nice, verbal, and not involved in the brawling. He was playing with both girls and boys. In this article, material is used from participant observations and from my first and last interviews, from late spring 2001 and late autumn 2002. Ethnographic fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011) were continuously taken with the purpose of studying the children's sentence construction and social context.

Research involving children raises ethical issues, since the children are in a dependent relationship (Eide & Winger, 2005; Ljusberg, 2011; Ljusberg, Brodin & Lindstrand, 2007; Mayall, 2002). Teachers, parents and children were asked for permission to take part in the study and all gave their consent. An interview is always a co-creation, and the results depend on the pupils' willingness to share their thoughts (Kolrud, 1999). The Swedish Research Council's ethical principles (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011) were all taken into considera-

tion: the requirement of information, the requirement of consent, the requirement of confidentiality and the requirement of restricted use of research material. All names have been anonymized (including the names of the two settings). A further discussion, see Johansson & Ljusberg, (2004) and Ljusberg *et al.* (2007). The strength and quality of the material is that I participated in the life of the children for a long time. This has enabled the study of both the view of independence and gender as changes over time, with respect to Klas's change of position. Another strength in the material is that I used not only participatory observations and conversations in daily life but also conducted four semi-structured interviews with the focus children over time, a total of 24 interviews.

## The settings

At Neptune, in spring 2001, there were 24 children in the group and five staff, including a full-time pre-school teacher, a full-time school-age child-care teacher, two pre-school teachers who shared a full-time position and a full-time "support" for one of the children.

In the fall of 2001 the children started first grade in the school-age child-care setting of Jupiter. That meant a change of premises and staff. The new premises were bigger, and the number of children was almost twice as many, while the number of staff member decreased from one for every six children to one for as many as sixteen children.

During the last year of the study, in the fall of 2002, the children in the study were the eldest at Jupiter. At this point the group included 17 children from first grade in addition to the original group of 24 children from second grade. What was new was that after snack time, the pre-school class (20 children) joined together with their 2-3 pre-school teachers.

## Results

The results are presented under four headings.

### Children gain independence – Neptune spring 2001

Initially, the social environment at Neptune will be described, a discourse where the teachers do not reveal a strategy to break the gender-stereotyped choices by, for example, offering different positions. In fact, they acted in a way that strengthened the traditional gender positions. The observations show that the teachers would be around the girls and that the boys recurrently were left by themselves.

One can say the children were trained in independence, given that the most common activity in the afternoon was "free play". During "free play" the teachers decide the location: outdoors or indoors. Apart from that, the children are left to decide what to do – where to be and whom to play with. When the children themselves chose whom to play with, most of them chose to play along gender lines.

The discourse is usually very noisy and rough, with many conflicts. Even misunderstandings and small incidents can lead the children to use physical force. The teachers' position is that the children fend for themselves and through that develop the independence and power to clear up their problems and conflicts themselves. The teachers prefer to be in

the background and rarely intervene unless the children themselves request them to, which does not happen very often. Even when they are asked to help, the teachers often tell the children that they can handle the problem themselves. Independence is hence valued by both boys and girls, who would rather do without the teachers and resolve their conflicts themselves.

When the power was handed over to the children, it was not equally distributed. Amongst the boys, status was built by being skilled at playing and physically strong. It was about being proficient at ball games, standing up for oneself, not showing weakness and being able to defend oneself, especially physically. In practice this meant that among boys it was the boy who hit the hardest who had the power.

The schoolyard is divided into different areas with multiple activity options, which the children took advantage of. When outdoors, there is always at least one teacher present. Every now and then the teacher walks around the schoolyard. In the following fieldnotes, one can see how the teachers leave the boys alone: the power is distributed based on age and how the boys show independence and take care of themselves.

Everyone is out in the schoolyard. The teacher are talking to each other facing the girls who are playing with some sort of spinning swing. The boys are playing hockey. The six-year-olds from Jupiter are playing with the first graders who are older and who interpret the rules.

The teacher does not interfere with how the children position themselves in terms of power, which in practice means that the older kids are holding power.

The older ones score all the time and adapt the rules to their own advantage.

One way the teacher and children position the boys is to tell them that they should be able to withstand physical pain:

The asphalt has not been swept after the winter and is covered in small gravel. Several boys fall into the gravel, some cry but usually they just get up and continue. At some occasions, a boy cries loudly and a teacher member comes over.

The teacher encourages the boys to be strong and show no signs of sympathy such as kneeling or looking into the eyes:

and helps them to their feet, brushes them and declares to the rest of the group some sort of rule and leaves.  
Field Notes Neptune, 2001-02-20

As summarized: The teachers were seen handing over the power to the children, for example when the children asked for help, the teachers told them that they could handle the problem themselves. The power given by the teachers is not equally distributed amongst the children but is taken by the children who are able to hold the power through physical strength and proficiency in play. One common way to hold power is to fight, especially among the boys. When the children get the power to decide what to do, i.e. "free play", they most often play stereotypical games with children of the same gender. The teachers did not show a strategy to break the gender-stereotyped choices; on the contrary, they acted in a way that strengthened the traditional gender positions, for example, through positioning the boys like they should be able to withstand physical pain.

## During the first semester Klas positioned himself as a boy who does not fight and plays with girls – Neptune autumn 2001

One of the focus children, Klas, was different from other boys in the study because he often played with girls and did not fight. Those were some of the things I wanted to discuss with him during our first interview. Below is a transcript of this opportunity. We are sitting in one of the playrooms at the school. We have talked to each other for a while when I ask:

1. A-L: What is it like when it is best (at school, my note.)?
2. Klas: When it's best, yeah, what was the question? ... I think all games
3. are good except fighting. Playing families, bleah.
4. A-L: But I hear that you are playing a lot with both boys and girls. ...
5. some kids are playing with both girls and boys.
6. Klas: Yeah, I'm one of those who play with all their friends.
7. A-L: Do you think there is a difference between playing with the boys and
8. girls you know?
9. Klas: Noo.
10. A-L: You do not play different games, some with the boys and some with
11. girls?
12. Klas: That's a bad question, it doesn't matter, Noo.

Later in the same interview

13. A-L: Sometimes it's such a big fight that you need help from a grown
14. up?
15. Klas: Yeah
16. A-L: *What do you do?* Do you fetch a grown-up?
17. Klas: Yeah the best thing is to fetch a teacher. *The worst is to start*
18. *fighting. If you want to be friends again.*
19. A-L: *Do you think the children are good at this?*
20. Klas: No, especially not Stig and Hedi. *They fight a lot.*
21. A-L: *I had actually meant to ask you if you are afraid of anyone or*
22. *anything.*
23. Klas: *I'm not afraid of anything.*
24. A-L: *No, I just thought that you said that the two are fighting, you are not*
25. *afraid of it?*
26. Klas: NO!
27. A-L: *They prefer to fight than settle conflicts*
28. Klas: *Anyway, I thought you meant felt afraid of animals. I'm not, I'm not*
29. *afraid of anything, I'm not even afraid of falling off my bike ... ..*
30. *If you fall, you fall*

Klas relates to and negotiates with two possible positions: the traditional masculine one and the position as a boy who does not fight. When I asked him (line 1) when it is best at school-age child-care, he answers (lines 2-3) *all games are good except fighting*. This implies that he is positioning himself as a boy who does not fight, where to hold his own by fighting is not seen as a way forward. He also positions himself in a more traditional masculine position with the statement (line 3) *playing families, bleah*, distancing himself from marked gender-coded games.

I (line 4) addressed the issue that Klas plays with girls as well as boys. I start with *I hear*, but then add (line 5) *some*. This way of asking the question can be seen as a means of reinforcing an existing discourse about boys and girls having different positions and per-

haps also that girls have a subordinate position. The response (line 6) is *Yes, I am one of those who play with all their friends*. Klas positions me as someone who does not understand him, and as belonging to a discourse that does not gender differentiate in the same way. He also uses the word “friends” instead of a gender-positioned name. Klas speaks of play and peers in a way to tone “her” down. When I (line 7-8) then further emphasize the traditional way by asking if he did not think there is a difference between playing with boys or girls Klas, responds (line 9) *noo* and (line 12) that it is *a bad question* when I (line 10-11) ask if he plays different games with boys and girls.

When I (lines 13-14) ask *sometimes it's such a big fight that you need help from a grown-up?* Klas positions himself again as a boy who does not fight and (17-18) stresses that fighting is bad; yes, *The best thing is to fetch a teacher. The worst is to start fighting*. Klas positions two boys as those who do fight (line 20). When I position him as a boy who does not fight (lines 21-22) by asking whether he is afraid, Klas positions himself (23) as a traditional masculine boy and says that he is not afraid of anything. I continue with the same line of questioning (lines 24-25) and Klas responds with a powerful (26) *No*. When (line 27) I try to save Klas' position he helps with the repair process by responding (28) that he thought I *meant afraid of animals* and positions himself as a traditional masculine boy when he enhances that he is *not afraid of anything*, and by giving explicit and concrete evidence by saying (line 29) that he is *not even afraid to fall off his bike*, he continues (line 30) with *If you fall, you fall*.

As summarized: Klas relates to and negotiates with two possible positions: the traditional masculine and the position as a boy who does not fight. In the transcript Klas takes distance from the fighting and says that he prefers to resolve conflicts in other ways, such as fetching a teacher. Klas also says that he plays with all his friends, which includes girls. Klas does, however, also take a traditional masculine position during the interview, claiming, for example, that he is fearless and that traditional feminine games are boring.

### During the second semester Klas positioned himself as a traditional masculine boy – Jupiter autumn 2001

In the autumn, the second semester of following the children, they start first grade and change school-age child-care to Jupiter. Klas continues to play with girls but he plays more with boys than before. What is new is that Klas has begun to fight and through that positions himself as a traditional masculine boy. At Jupiter, teasing is common, and one day Klas does something I had not seen him do during the spring. When some of the girls tease him, he throws a stone.

Fanny is suddenly crying. She and Jo have teased Klas and he has thrown a stone at them. Mia (teacher) sits down and talks to Klas. Fanny stands on her own, crying. Field Notes Jupiter, 2001-09-12

Later that day, out in the schoolyard, I see Klas at the soccer field, he seems angry, then he takes a bat and hits a boy, Olle, on the leg. At the same time, I see his father approaching who neither says nor does anything. However, one teacher intervenes.

Suddenly, I see how Klas hits Olle on the legs with a bat! Klas' dad is stunned. Field Notes, Jupiter, 2001-09-12

As summarized: In the autumn, the second semester following the children, they start first grade and change school-age child-care to Jupiter. Klas plays more with boys than before, but also continues to play with girls. What is new is that Klas has begun to fight, positioning himself as a traditional masculine boy.

### During the third semester Klas positioned himself as a boy who fights – Jupiter autumn 2002

I continue my research the following autumn, when I conduct the last interview with Klas. This is the transcript where we discuss his starting to fight and why he does so.

1. A-L: Can you get peace from the staff at school-age child-care?
2. Klas: Yes, when we are outside but there is a monitor then of course in
3. case you fall.
4. A-L: Are they around and watching?
5. Klas: Yeah,
6. A-L: Is that good or bad?
7. Klas: Good in a way, in case you fall and break your leg.
8. A-L: When you fight, is it good to have staff around then?
9. Klas: The teachers think so anyway.
10. A-L: You don't think so, do you?
11. Klas: No because if someone has beaten me then there's an important
12. thing that I must do. I have to get my own back. My dad has said that I
13. may. So I can say stupid things to the teachers if they say that if you fight
14. I will call to your father and say that you are retaliating. I can tell them to
15. do it because he will say that I have to get my own back because he has
16. said so to me and he makes the rules for me and not the teachers.
17. A-L: What do you think of this getting your own back?
18. Klas: It's not fun but you have to.
19. A-L: Why?
20. Klas: [Opens his arms and shakes his head]
21. A-L: People have different ideas about this so it is interesting to hear why
22. you think you have to get your own back.
23. Klas: It's difficult.
24. A-L: What happens if you do not get your own back?
25. Klas: Oh, oh, oh! Then I can get bullied all the time. So if they hit me and
26. I tell the teacher all the time then they will say that I am a geek so it is
27. better to get your own back. Then they won't go for me again because
28. then they know that I hit them, you know.
29. A-L: I know.

I am interested in Klas' thoughts on the desire for the children to fend for themselves, both from the teachers and children. I therefore ask (line 1) if they are left in peace at school-age child-care. Klas nods (lines 2-3), and, by saying that there are monitors in case they fall, positions himself as a boy who has confidence in the teachers and their role as professionals. Later I ask (line 8) if it is good to have teachers around when they (the children) become adversaries. In his response, Klas positions himself in a new way compared to our first interview, in a traditional masculine way, by answering (line 9) *[T]he teachers think so anyway*. I answer (line 10) *(Y)ou don't think so, do you?* There are several interesting elements to Klas' response. First (Lines 11-12) he starts by telling me that there is something important he needs to do if someone has hit him. Here he is positioning himself as a person

who does not start a fight but who reacts to a fight. This reaction is to get his own back. Then (lines 12-13) he is positioning himself as a boy listening to his father. In the next sentence (lines 13-16) Klas is positioning himself as a boy who knows what to say to the teachers, but in some cases says things other than what is right [*S*]o *I can say stupid things to the teachers if they say that if you fight. I will call to your father and say that you are retaliating. I can tell them to do it because he will say that I must get my own back because he has said so to me.* This is because it (line 16) is his father who is responsible for his welfare and he makes the rules for me and not the teachers. Then I ask him (line 17) what he thinks about getting his own back. He positions himself as a boy who does not fight and says that (line 18) it is not fun and then, in the same sentence he positions himself in a masculine position and says that you must. I (line 24) ask what happens *if you do not get your own back.* In reply Klas (line 25) says that he can be bullied and points out the important rule within the group to be independent by saying that (line 26) anyone accepting help from the teachers are geeks. Then, Klas points out what happens when power is confirmed by means of physical force (line 27-28) *Then they won't go for me again, because then they know that I hit them, you know.*

*As summarized:* Klas describes how his father has told him to fight back, to not be considered a geek and to prevent the children hitting him again. Through this, Klas is more clearly positioning himself in a traditional masculine way.

## Discussion

The article highlights a boy's efforts to change position (Davies & Harré, 1990) from what Hellman (2010) describes as an invisible position – a boy who does not fight – to a visible one – a traditional masculine position of becoming a part of the boy community (Butler, 1990).

### Shares discourse independence

In Sweden, independence is viewed as paramount, as is visible in Swedish child-rearing (Tulviste, et al. 2007). This study, like other research on school-age child-care, shows a discourse (Foucault; 1980) where the teachers see “free play” as something important for allowing children to choose for themselves how, what and with whom to play, the “free play” is thus a valued element of the school-age child-care (Andishmand, 2017; Haglund, 2015; Haglund, 2016; Hansen Orwehag & Mårdsjö Olsson, 2011; Holmlund, 2018; Johansson & Ljusberg, 2004; Lager, 2015; Saar, Löfdahl & Hjalmarsson, 2012). The competent child is the norm (Andersson & Källström Carter, 2014; Börjesson & Skoglund, 2014; Kampman, 2004; Sjöberg, 2011; Sjöberg, 2014). In the datamaterial, the teachers and the children share a discourse where independence is seen as good and important. Another dominating discourse is maintaining traditional gender roles, as shown earlier by several studies of pre-school boys (Eidevald, 2009; Hellman, 2010; Månsson, 2000).

In a way, the findings in this article show that the children and teachers live in social spheres, which, in many respects, are different and distinct, as Evaldsson (1993) has earlier described. However, here the results are interpreted in another way with the teachers and

the children sharing the social sphere, sharing a normalizing gaze when it comes to independence and gender roles. Either the teachers stay in the background, which helps the children repeat the traditional gender role patterns, e.g. play gender stereotypical games, or they support this activity directly.

### Power distribution amongst the children

Regarding the content of everyday life and learning at school-age child-care, this study, like earlier research, shows that it is largely characterized by relationships and friendships (Dahl, 2011; Dahl, 2014; Evaldsson, 1993; Ihrskog, 2006; Pálsdóttir, 2010; Øksnes, 2008).

Due to the large amount of independence given by the teachers, the power distribution amongst the children is an important aspect to analyse, according to Paechter (2007). In the child group at the studied school-age child-care location, the power is not equally distributed but depends on different opportunities for agency. The children, most often the boys, gain power through fighting, which results in the strongest child getting the highest status. This strengthens the stereotypical gender positions.

### The position as a boy who does not fight

This study is the first on school-age child-care that discusses gender and describes an “invisible boy” (Hellman, 2010) who does not fight and who plays with girls. The boy, Klas, was initially selected for the study since he differed in part from the other boys in the school-age child-care. During the first semester of the study, the boy was never seen fighting and often played with the girls. He is also aware of the different positions, relating to and negotiating with them during the interviews.

### The transition changing position

The boy, who is in focus in this article, attends a school-age child-care where the children, and the boys in particular, solve conflicts and attain power through fighting. The dominating discourse, where the children are positioned and position themselves, (Bakhtin, 1981; Mehan, 1993; Wertsch, 1991) is one where traditional gender roles and independence are highly valued. The teacher’s interpretation of independence is that the children should manage by themselves, and therefore the teachers can be seen to retreat from power.

Being a part of this context, the boy, Klas, supported by his father, changes to a traditional masculine position. This is shown by his starting to play with the other boys to a greater extent, his entering the boys’ community, and his starting to fist fight. One can say that the boy studied avoids marginalization by – with help from his father – learning to fight and to be a boy among boys (Butler, 1990; Hellman, 2010; Thorne, 1993). The material shows how a boy repositions into a “real” boy (Butler, 1990; Hellman, 2010).

## Conclusion

Regarding the content of everyday life and learning at school-age child-care, this study – as other studies (Dahl, 2011; Dahl, 2014; Evaldsson, 1993; Ihrskog, 2006; Pálsdóttir, 2010; Øksnes, 2008) – shows that school-age child-care is largely characterized by relationships and friendships, and that the teachers see “free play” as important (Andishmand, 2017; Haglund, 2015; Haglund, 2016; Hansen Orwehag & Mårdsjö Olsson, 2011; Holmlund, 2018; Johansson & Ljusberg, 2004; Lager, 2015; Saar, Löfdahl & Hjalmarsson, 2012). In Sweden, independence is highly valued (Tulviste, et al. 2007). The teachers and children in the article share a discourse where independence and maintaining traditional gender roles is dominant, the competent child is the norm Andersson & Källström Carter, 2014; Börjesson & Skoglund, 2014; Kampman, 2004; Sjöberg, 2011; Sjöberg, 2014) and teachers retreat from power. In the child group, power depends on different opportunities for agency. The boys gain power through fighting. The boy Klas, described in the article, differed in part from the other boys. During the first semester of the study, he was never seen fighting and often played with the girls. As a part of this context, Klas, supported by his father, changes to a traditional masculine position. He starts to play with the other boys to a greater extent, entering the boys’ community, and starts to fist fight. One can say that the boy studied avoids marginalization by – with help from his father – learning to fight and to be a boy among boys (Butler, 1990; Danby & Baker, 1998; Hellman, 2010; Thorne, 1993). The material shows how a boy repositions into a “real” boy (Butler, 1990; Hellman, 2010).

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# The Relationship Between Participation in Out-of-Class Activities and Cognitive and Social Outcomes of Korean College Students

*Sang Hoon Bae, Sue Bin Jeon & Song le Han*

**Abstract:** In the era of the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution, higher education institutions should change practices of educational programs and services, which are mainly based on traditional classroom-based instructions, to allow students to have more diverse experiences. Since college students spend relatively more time engaged in out-of-class activities than attending regular courses, it is necessary to examine how participating in out-of-class programs is related to cultivation of the competencies that the future demands. This study explores the relationship between out-of-class activity participation and perceived change in cognitive and social outcomes of Korean college students. Five out-of-class activities were examined: learning community, undergraduate research, service learning, internship, and residential college programs. K-NSSE (Korea-National Survey of Student Engagement) data were analyzed using hierarchical linear model analysis. The study findings are consistent with the results of previous research that demonstrated a positive association between participating in out-of-class activities and students' cognitive and social outcomes.

**Keywords:** out-of-class activities, cognitive outcomes, social outcomes, K-NSSE, college effect

## Introduction

The massification of higher education is now widespread across many countries, as reflected in the OECD's annual report on education issues (OECD, 2016). The average first-time tertiary entry rates in OECD member countries lies at 59%, meaning that more than half of high school graduates proceed to higher education institutions. In some member countries like Korea, more than 70% of high school graduates pursue at least bachelor's or equivalent degrees. According to Shin and Teichler (2014), these countries have entered the post-massification of higher education, which is characterized by the influx of and thereby fierce competition among higher education institutions. The increase in demand for higher education has now led to the mushrooming of various types of higher education institutions, i.e., colleges and universities. With the tertiary education market now saturated, higher education institutions must strive to meet student needs to prevent dropouts. Therefore, they should shift the focus of their organizational operations from the university organization itself to the educational needs of their customers – namely, the students.

In general, a high school student's daily school life can be divided into regular curricular and after-school activities, with relatively more time being spent on the former than the latter. In contrast, a college student's campus life includes regular courses and out-of-class activities, with relatively more time spent on the latter. Thus, depending on the content and extent of their out-of-class activity participation, a student's college experience and thus their outcomes can vary widely. Therefore, colleges and universities can create and offer intentionally-designed out-of-class activities to enact certain outcomes, such as higher retention rates, student engagement, and job-readiness. Thus, in the post-massification era of higher education, colleges and universities need to more elaborately and purposefully design out-of-class activities in addition to regular courses in order to survive amidst the competition.

Previous studies (Astin, 1984; Brint & Cantwell, 2010; Everson & Millsap, 2005; Ishler & Upcraft, 2005; Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Tinto, 1993; Wilson et al., 2014; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014) have demonstrated that college students' participation in different out-of-class activities is related to their cognitive and social development, persistence, student involvement and engagement, career decisions, and satisfaction with college. However, these studies have focused on the influence of specific out-of-class activities on certain outcomes. For example, participating in a study abroad program has been shown to be associated with students' social development and career decisions (Finley & McNair, 2013; Knouse, Tanner, & Harris, 1999). In other studies, researchers investigated if participation in any dormitory-based program is related to student engagement (Kuh et al., 2006) or persistence (Astin, 1984), both studies (Astin, 1984; Kuh et al., 2006) concluded that participation in residential college programs are positively associated with both student outcomes, i.e., student engagement and persistence.

Definitions of out-of-class activities for college students vary. Some researchers define them as extracurricular activities such as music, art, and volunteering, while others define them as co-curricular activities linked to students' learning. In this study, with reference to the definition of Bartkus, Nemelka, Nemelka, and Gardner (2012), we demarcate out-of-class activities as those that do not comprise regular courses, but are possibly related to or part of such courses, that occur outside of the classroom, and that are conducted under the auspices of the institution. They can be either academic or non-academic.

Bearing this definition in mind, this study focuses on the relationship between out-of-class activity participation and the cognitive and social outcomes of college students in Korea. The three research questions are as follows:

1. What kinds of out-of-class activities do Korean college students commonly engage in?
2. Is there any association between participating in these activities and perceived change in cognitive outcomes?
3. Is there any association between participating in these activities and perceived change in social outcomes?

## Literature Review

### Out-of-Class Activities and College Effects

According to Pascarella and Terenzini (2005), what undergraduate students experience either on or off campus during their college years is related to college outcomes such as grade-point average (GPA), procuring a job (Smart, 1986), and persistence. In his model of *Input-Environment-Outcomes*, Astin (1991) argued that students' individual backgrounds, such as socio-economic status (SES), pre-college experiences, and demographic characteristics, are associated with student outcomes by providing environments in which colleges and universities can actively intervene. College environments include the people within the institutions, regular courses and extra-curricular programs, policies, the climate or culture of the institution, and other experiences that students encounter during their college years. Furthermore, Tinto (1993) argued that students enter an institution with pre-entry experiences and individual characteristics that may influence their goals and institutional commitment. Based on their goals and the extent of their institutional commitment, each student experiences both academic and extra-curricular activities differently. During those activities, they experience various interactions with the faculty and peers, both of which are associated with academic and social integration. Tinto claims that these integrations may ultimately affect students' decisions to leave or remain in their institutions. Although the fundamental concept of college effects is similar to those of previous researchers, Weidman (1989) examined college students' socialization process. Upon entering higher education institutions with pre-college experiences and individual characteristics, students have different campus experiences that could be either academic or social. Importantly, their experiences can be influenced by their interactions with their parents as well as non-college reference groups. According to Weidman, through these interactions, students can be inspired, select their careers, come to prefer certain lifestyles, and establish their value systems.

Terenzini and Reason's (2005) *Comprehensive Model of Influences on Student Learning and Persistence* may most closely indicate the relationship between college effects and participation in out-of-class activities. According to them, high school graduates enter college with different individual characteristics and pre-college experiences. However, it is also true that what students experience on campus is influenced by both the institutional context and peer environments. The institutional context includes a) the internal structures, policies, and practices of the institution, b) academic and co-curricular programs, and c) faculty culture. These factors interplay with one another and are then associated with students' peer environment, which includes a) classroom experiences, b) curricular experiences, and c) out-of-class experiences. These peer factors also interact with one another and are related to student outcomes, e.g., cognitive and socio-emotional development, changes in attitudes and values, and the decision to leave or remain in their institutions. Terenzini and Reason's research interests largely lie in students' peer environment, which can be influenced by institutional context. Students' college experiences with their peers both within and outside of the classroom can be shaped by the program, policies, and practices of the institution, and the attitudes and commitment of the faculty. Given that out-of-class activities form a major part of the college experience, the study attempted to uncover what kinds

of out-of-class activities are associated with students' cognitive and social outcomes and in what ways.

### Out-of-Class Activities and Student Outcomes

Many studies (Everson & Millsap, 2005; Kim, Shin, Seo, & Hwang, 2001; Kuh et al., 2006; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Wilson et al., 2014; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014) have demonstrated that participating in out-of-class activities is associated with students' overall college experiences. According to these studies, as students participate in more activities, the quality and scope of their college outcomes can be improved (see Astin, 1984; Brint & Cantwell, 2010; Everson & Millsap, 2005; Ishler & Upcraft, 2005; Kuh et al., 2006; Wilson et al., 2014; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014)

Scholars who consider academic outcomes to be one of the college effects argue that participation in out-of-class activities directly or indirectly influences academic achievement (Brint & Cantwell, 2010; Zacherman & Foubert, 2014). Another group of scholars (Huang & Chang, 2004; Hurtado, 2003; Mauk, 2006) suggest that out-of-class activity participation is positively related to the development of cognitive abilities such as writing and thinking. Other researchers (Weidman, 1989; Mauk, 2006) have indicated that out-of-class programs may facilitate interactions with faculty and/or peers on and off campus and thus promote social development. Participation in various activities outside of regular classes is also regarded as an important determinant of student involvement, leading to students' decisions to persist or depart (Ishler & Upcraft, 2005; Kuh et al., 2006; Tinto, 1993).

### Out-of-Class Activities as High Impact Practices (HIPs)

Since college students spend most of their time between and after regular classes, and out-of-class activities vary in kind, both the types of activities in which students engage and the extent to which they participate are linked to student outcomes. In fact, many scholars have studied the influence of participating in specific out-of-class activities on varied student outcomes such as academic achievement, cognitive and social development, persistence, and career preparedness. In this context, researchers call these influential out-of-class activities or programs *high-impact practices (HIPs)*. HIPs comprise educational programs offered by the institution, which are highly associated with students' engagement, persistence, and learning and career outcomes (Brownell & Swaner, 2010; Kinzie, 2011; Kuh, 2008; National Survey of Student Engagement [NSSE], 2013; Pascarella, Seifert, & Blaich, 2010). Although scholars have suggested a variety of HIPs, those commonly cited include learning community, undergraduate research, service learning or community-based learning, internship, co-op, field experiences, residential college programs, etc. Table 1 suggests types of out-of-class activities as HIPs and related literature.

Table 1: Types of Out-of-Class Activities

Out of class activities (HIP)	Results (positively related to...)
Learning Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Refers to a group of people who share common attitudes and goals toward the collective knowledge and skills and their activities to achieve the goals and values (Bielaczyc &amp; Collins, 1999)</li> <li>- Positively related to student engagement and students' self-reported academic and social development (Zhao &amp; Kuh, 2004)</li> <li>- Positively associated with better academic achievement as well as student involvement (Andrade, 2007)</li> <li>- Highly related to first-year students' retention as well as academic and social development (Gordon, Young, &amp; Kallianov, 2001; Hoffman et al, 2002; Johnson, 2000)</li> </ul>
Undergraduate research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collaborative research activities between college students and their faculty mentor (Halstead, 1997)</li> <li>- Possibly immersed into intense inquiry or investigations (Halstead, 1997)</li> <li>- Highly related to students' persistence (Astin, 1984)</li> <li>- Positively related to encouraging students to pursue advanced degrees and careers within the related field of study (Hunter et al., 2007; Russell et al., 2007)</li> </ul>
Service learning/community-based learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Service activities can be 'reciprocal learning'</li> <li>- Those programs that must have some academic context and be designed in such a way that ensures that both the service enhances the learning and the learning enhances the service (Furco, 1997, p.5)</li> <li>- Students can reflect on their life, acquire the new ways of thinking on traditional values, and develop future plans and social skills (Batchelder &amp; Root, 1994; Lim, Seo, &amp; Kwon, 2008)</li> <li>- Positively related to developing self-awareness as well as abilities for transition to job market (Artale, 2001; Hurd, 2006)</li> </ul>
Internship/co-op/field experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Typically experiential learning opportunities that lead to reflection, on-site supervision and mentoring, and the chances for students to be exposed to the careers in a real context (O'Neil, 2010)</li> <li>- Positively lined to higher learning outcomes and earlier career decision (Finley &amp; McNair, 2013; Knouse et al., 1999)</li> <li>- Highly related to improvement of students' interpersonal skills (Fernald &amp; Goldstein, 2013; Jones, 2002; Miller, Rycek, &amp; Fritson, 2011) and cognitive development such as critical thinking skills (Jones, 2002)</li> </ul>
Residential college program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Those programs are residential housing programs that incorporate academically-based themes and build community through common learning (Brower &amp; Inkelas, 2010)</li> <li>- Positively associated with persistence (Astin, 1984)</li> <li>- Positively related to first-year students' daily behaviors directly and the integration of information and student learning indirectly (Pike, 1997)</li> <li>- Highly associated with increase in cognitive skills (Walker, 2003) as well as persistence and academic attainment (Hotchkiss, Moore, &amp; Pitts, 2006)</li> </ul>

## Methodology

### Data and Sample

This study involved secondary data analysis with data obtained from the database of the Korean-National Survey of Student Engagement (K-NSSE), which is the Korean validated

version of NSSE in the US. The NSSE has been widely employed to measure student engagement in US higher education institutions. K-NSSE includes questions that investigate students' experiences from both in and out-of-class activities and educational outcomes of Korean four-year college students (see Bae, Kang, & Hong, 2015a). This cross-sectional study employed the data from the 2015 K-NSSE. A sample of 42,228 students from 99 universities was analyzed.

## Variables and Measurement

*Dependent variables.* To examine the relationships between participation in out-of-class activities and student outcomes, two dependent variables were analyzed:

- a) Cognitive outcomes: How much has your experience at this institution contributed to changes in your knowledge, skills, and personal behaviors in the following areas? 1) thinking critically and analytically, 2) analyzing numerical and statistical information, and 3) solving complex real-world problems.
- b) Social outcomes: How much has your experience at this institution contributed to changes in your knowledge, skills, and personal behaviors in the following areas? 1) working effectively with others, 2) understanding people of other backgrounds (economic, political, etc.), and 3) being an informed and active citizen.

Each item was measured on a 4-point Likert scale, coded from 1 to 4 (very little=0, some=20, quite a bit=40, very much=60). The cognitive outcomes and social outcomes variables were created by averaging the scores of the three questions in each category. The reliability of both variables is significantly high – Cronbach's alpha = .816 for Cognitive outcomes and .809 for social outcomes.

*Independent variables.* The independent variables comprise participation in out-of-class activities and include questions regarding the extent to which students had participated in the following activities: 1) participating in a learning community, 2) working with faculty on undergraduate research, 3) conducting service learning, 4) participating in an internship, co-op, field experiences, etc., 5) participating in residential college programs. All variables were measured on a 4-point Likert scale (very little=0, some=20, quite a bit=40, very much=60).

Other independent variables included 1) gender (female=0, male=1), 2) academic grade (freshman=1, sophomore=2, junior=3, senior=4), 3) major (six dummy variables with Humanities as the reference group), 4) high school performance (comprehensive performance grade in high school with nine ranks from the bottom ~4%=1, to the top ~4%=9), 5) household income (from less than 1 million Korean won=1, to more than 7 million Korean won=8 per month).

Table 2: Lists of Variables Used and Analyzed.

Variables	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Dependent variables		
	How much has your experience at this institution contributed to your knowledge, skills, and personal development in the following areas? (very little=0, some=20, quite a bit=40, very much=60)	
Cognitive outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• thinking critically and analytically</li> <li>• analyzing numerical and statistical information</li> <li>• solving complex real-world problems</li> </ul>	.816
Social outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• working effectively with others</li> <li>• understanding people of other backgrounds (economic, political, etc.)</li> <li>• being an informed and active citizen</li> </ul>	.809
Independent variables		
Out-of-class activities	What extent have you participated in the following areas? (never=0, sometimes=20, often=40, very often=60)	
Learning community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• participating in a learning community</li> </ul>	-
Undergraduate research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• working with a faculty for undergraduate research</li> </ul>	-
Service learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• conducting service learning</li> </ul>	-
Internship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• participating in an internship, co-op, field experiences, and so on</li> </ul>	-
Residential college programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• participating in residential college programs</li> </ul>	-
Control variables		
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• female=0, male=1</li> </ul>	-
Academic grade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• freshman=1, sophomore=2, junior=3, senior=4</li> </ul>	-
Major	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• six dummy variables (reference group : Humanities)</li> </ul>	-
High school performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• from the bottom ~4% (=1) to the top~4% (=9) (comprehensive performance grade in high schools with nine ranks)</li> </ul>	-
Household income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• from less than 1 million won (=1) to more than 7 million won (=8) (Measured by Korean Won per month; 1 USD=1,113.50 KRW)</li> </ul>	-

## Data Analysis

To examine the relationships between college students' out-of-class program participation and cognitive and social outcomes, this study conducted both descriptive and inferential statistical analyses. To investigate the general characteristics of the sample, the means and standard deviations of all control, independent, and dependent variables were calculated and correlation coefficients among the variables were calculated and suggested.

Second, to estimate the influence of participation in five types of out-of-class activities on cognitive and social outcomes, this study employed Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) analysis. Namely, the hierarchically nested data structure of this study was taken into account – i.e., students as the unit of analysis are nested within the universities.

Statistical assumptions were tested to conduct inferential statistics. SPSS 18.0 and HLM 7 were used for the analyses.

## Statistical Models: Hierarchical Regression Equations

The equation of HLM analysis is as follows. This regression equation involves the direct effects of the independent variables on the outcome variables both at the student and university levels.

*Null model.* The null model, with no predictor variables, was used to investigate the extent to which the predictive ability of the conditional model was improved by including the student- and university-level independent variables. The student- and university-level residual variances,  $\sigma_r^2$  and  $\sigma_{u0}^2$  of the null model, were compared to those of the fitted conditional model. These residual student effects are assumed to be normally distributed, with a mean of 0 and a variance  $\sigma^2$ ;

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + r_{ij}$$

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j}$$

Where

$Y_{ij}$  = outcomes for student  $i$  within university  $j$ ,  
 $\beta_{0j}$  = the intercept (student-level),  
 $r_{ij}$  = the residual error term indicating a unique effect associated with student  $ij$ ,  
 $\gamma_{00}$  = the intercept (university-level)  
 $u_{0j}$  = the residual error terms indicating a unique effect associated with university  $j$ .

All variations among the universities are captured by these residual error terms.

*Conditional model.* To explain the relationship between independent variables and outcome variables, the conditional model was created, with students as the units of analysis. The outcome variable,  $Y_{ij}$ , is predicted by 15 student-level independent variables as below. The intercept ( $\beta_{0j}$ ) and slope coefficients ( $\beta_{1j}$  to  $\beta_{15j}$ ) in this regression equation are assumed to vary randomly across the universities. The variation of the regression coefficients that indicate the effects of the 15 predictor variables on the outcome variables differ across the universities.

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{gender}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{grade}) + \beta_{3j}(\text{social science}) + \beta_{4j}(\text{education}) + \beta_{5j}(\text{engineering}) + \beta_{6j}(\text{natural science}) + \beta_{7j}(\text{medical}) + \beta_{8j}(\text{art \& music}) + \beta_{9j}(\text{high school performance}) + \beta_{10j}(\text{household income}) + \beta_{11j}(\text{learning community}) + \beta_{12j}(\text{undergraduate research}) + \beta_{13j}(\text{service learning}) + \beta_{14j}(\text{internship}) + \beta_{15j}(\text{residential college program}) + r_{ij}$$

Where:

$\beta_{1j} \dots \beta_{15j}$  = regression coefficients of the student-level equation

The university-level model was created to explain the variation in the student-level regression coefficients as follows. Given the purpose of the study to examine the impact of the five out-of-class activities on outcome variables at the student level, the conditional model included no predictor variable at the university level model. In other words, a random intercept model was employed in which intercepts are assumed to vary across universities while slopes are the same across universities.

$$\beta_{0i} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0i}$$

$$\beta_{ij} = \gamma_{i0} \quad (i=1 \dots 15)$$

Finally, the mixed model is as below:

$$Y_{ij} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10}(\text{gender}) + \gamma_{20}(\text{grade}) + \gamma_{30}(\text{social science}) + \gamma_{40}(\text{education}) + \gamma_{50}(\text{engineering}) + \gamma_{60}(\text{natural science}) + \gamma_{70}(\text{medical}) + \gamma_{80}(\text{art \& music}) + \gamma_{90}(\text{high school performance}) + \gamma_{100}(\text{household income}) + \gamma_{110}(\text{learning community}) + \gamma_{120}(\text{undergraduate research}) + \gamma_{130}(\text{service learning}) + \gamma_{140}(\text{internship}) + \gamma_{150}(\text{residential college program}) + r_{ij} + u_{0j}$$

To make the value of the intercept meaningful and interpretable, the independent variables are all grand mean centered, with the exception of two dummy variables – gender and major. In the HLM analysis, centering means “the process of linear transforming a variable X by subtracting a meaningful constant, often some type of mean X” (Luke, 2004, p. 48). Accordingly, the intercept in this study comprises the expected outcome for student *i* within university *j* whose values on independent variables are equal to the grand mean.

The HLM analysis offers statistical parameters, including: a) the fixed effects regression parameters (the gammas), which suggest information about the direction and strength of the relationship between independent and dependent variables and b) the random effects variance components, which present the residual variance at the student- and university-levels. Random effects variance components were analyzed to examine the predictive ability of the conditional model. This can also be understood as effect size in multilevel modeling. To estimate the effect size, the proportional reduction of the prediction error (PRE) (Luke, 2004) was calculated by comparing the residual variances between the conditional and null models.

## Findings

### Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Analysis

Table 3 presents the results of the descriptive statistics. In total, 44% of students were male students. There is a large distribution of students majoring in social sciences. High school performance grade is on average three to four among nine ranks – the academic evaluation system based on students’ relative standing among all others. The average monthly household income is 3–4 million Korean won.

Regarding participation in out-of-class activities, students were found to be most active in learning community (M=27.92), followed by internships (M=23.04), residential college programs (M=21.86), service learning (M=20.86), and undergraduate research (M=18.98). Regarding the dependent variables, the students had a high level of cognitive and social outcomes (M=30.66 for cognitive outcomes and 32.77 for social outcomes).

Table 3: Result of Descriptive Statistics

	<i>n</i>	%		
Independent variables				
Gender				
Male	18,569	44.0%		
Female	23,659	56.0%		
Grade				
Freshman	18,734	44.4%		
Sophomore	8,642	20.5%		
Junior	8,230	19.5%		
Senior	6,622	15.7%		
Major				
Humanities	3,700	8.8%		
Social sciences	12,370	29.3%		
Education	2,729	6.5%		
Engineering	9,491	22.5%		
Natural sciences	9,321	22.1%		
Medical	450	1.1%		
Art & Music	4,167	9.9%		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>max</i>
Independent variables				
High school performance	6.24	1.42	1	9
Household income	4.27	1.95	1	8
Out-of-class activities				
Learning community	27.92	19.44	0	60
Undergraduate research	18.98	19.50	0	60
Service learning	20.86	19.64	0	60
Internship	23.04	20.45	0	60
Residential college programs	21.86	21.21	0	60
Dependent variables				
Cognitive outcomes	30.66	14.84	0	60
Social outcomes	32.77	14.83	0	60

Table 4 shows the results of the correlation analysis. Most variables were identified as being statistically correlated. Since some of the correlation coefficients exceeded .50 and, particularly, the coefficient between cognitive and social outcomes was .780, multicollinearity was assessed for all variables. All variance inflation factors (VIFs) were smaller than 10 with a tolerance of more than .1. Therefore, no multicollinearity existed in this analysis.

Table 4: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients Among the Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Grade	-	.083***	-.002	.020***	.045***	.024***	.140***	-.057***	.042***	.025***
2. High school performance		-	.058***	.052***	-.036***	-.025***	-.021***	-.002	.099***	.093***
3. Household income			-	.033***	.019***	.022***	.018***	.010*	.048***	.047***
4. Learning community				-	.478***	.520***	.456***	.405***	.460***	.450***
5. Undergraduate research					-	.657***	.582***	.456***	.387***	.329***
6. Service learning						-	.622***	.450***	.415***	.385***
7. Internship							-	.408***	.367***	.339***
8. Residential college programs								-	.338***	.325***
9. Cognitive outcomes									-	.780***
10. Social outcomes										-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ 

## Results of HLM Analyses

Table 5 presents the results of the HLM analyses. It demonstrates the relationship between participation in each out-of-class activity and perceived changes in the cognitive and social outcomes of Korean college students.

### *The relationship between participation in out-of-class activities and cognitive outcomes.*

This research employed the HLM statistical technique with the assumption that hierarchically structured data would violate the independence assumption of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. Thus, to examine what proportion of variance in dependent variables is explained by the university level variables, we calculated the *intraclass correlation coefficient* ( $ICC = \sigma_{u0}^2 / (\sigma_{u0}^2 + \sigma_r^2)$ ). The result demonstrates that approximately 4% of the total variation in students' cognitive outcomes may be determined by their experiences associated with the different environments of the universities they attend ( $ICC = 0.04 = 8.81 / (8.81 + 213.81)$ ).

The fixed effects of independent variables on dependent variables are shown in Table 5. The fixed effects regression parameter (the gammas) in the upper panels demonstrates that male students had greater cognitive outcomes than female students ( $\gamma_{10} = 2.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Students' grades are not statistically related to changes in the cognitive outcomes perceived by college students. Social science and education majors have higher levels of cognitive outcomes than humanities majors ( $\gamma_{30} = 0.88$ ,  $p < .01$  for social sciences;  $\gamma_{40} = 2.16$ ,  $p < .001$  for education). Medical science majors demonstrate lower levels of cognitive outcome than humanities majors ( $\gamma_{70} = -2.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, in terms of cognitive outcomes, engineering and natural sciences majors were not found to have differences compared with humanities majors at a significant level of 0.05. Students who performed better in high school were found to have a higher level of cognitive outcome ( $\gamma_{90} = 0.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Students' socio-economic status (SES), as measured by monthly household income, is statistically and positively associated with cognitive outcomes ( $\gamma_{100} = 0.16$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Table 5: The HLM Analysis Results for Out-of-Class Activities on Dependent Variables.

	Cognitive outcomes ( <i>n</i> =42,228)		Social outcomes ( <i>n</i> =42,228)	
	null	conditional	null	conditional
Fixed effect				
Intercept( $\gamma_{00}$ )	31.07***	29.90***	33.14***	34.25***
Gender( $\gamma_{10}$ )		2.35***		0.89***
Grade( $\gamma_{20}$ )		-0.15		-0.30***
Major (reference: humanities)				
Social sciences( $\gamma_{30}$ )		0.88**		-0.77*
Education( $\gamma_{40}$ )		2.16***		0.93*
Engineering( $\gamma_{50}$ )		0.56		-2.19***
Natural sciences( $\gamma_{60}$ )		0.05		-1.82***
Medical( $\gamma_{70}$ )		-2.08***		-4.60***
Art & Music( $\gamma_{80}$ )		-0.56		-1.59***
High school performance( $\gamma_{90}$ )		0.48***		0.46***
Household income( $\gamma_{100}$ )		0.16***		0.13***
Out-of-class activities				
Learning community( $\gamma_{110}$ )		0.20***		0.22***
Undergraduate research( $\gamma_{120}$ )		0.07***		0.02**
Service learning( $\gamma_{130}$ )		0.10***		0.10***
Internship( $\gamma_{140}$ )		0.07***		0.07***
Residential program( $\gamma_{150}$ )		0.07***		0.08***
Random effect				
Student level ( $\gamma_{ij}$ )	213.81	146.77	212.94	154.85
University level ( $u_{0j}$ )	8.81***	6.40***	8.86***	6.33***
Cohen's $f^2$		0.69		0.73

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ 

Regarding participation in out-of-class activities, all predictor variables were found to positively influence students' perceived cognitive outcomes ( $p < .001$ ). In other words, students who participate in each out-of-class activity are more likely to have higher cognitive abilities or competences – i.e., thinking critically and analytically, analyzing numerical and statistical information, and solving complex real-world problems. In particular, the effects of participation in the learning community were found to be greatest on students' cognitive outcomes ( $\gamma_{110} = 0.20$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Meanwhile, participation in undergraduate research, internships, and residential college programs were found to be less effective in promoting students' cognitive outcomes ( $\gamma_{120} = 0.07$ ,  $\gamma_{140} = 0.07$ ,  $\gamma_{150} = 0.07$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

For random effects analysis to calculate an effect size – i.e., the predictive ability of the fitted conditional model, the proportional reduction of prediction error was estimated by comparing the residual variances,  $\sigma_r^2$  and  $\sigma_{u0}^2$ , between the null and conditional models. Since this study employed the intercept model of HLM analysis, meaning there are no predictor variables at the university level, the effect size was estimated only at the student level. The result demonstrates that 31% of the variance in cognitive outcomes was additionally explained by student level predictors ( $0.314 = 213.81 - 146.77 / 213.81$ ). In addition, to find the

effect size of the model, Cohen's  $f^2$  was calculated (Cohen's  $f^2 = .69$ ). According to Cohen's guideline (1988), the model has a large effect size.

*The relationship between participation in out-of-class activities and social outcomes.*

ICC was first calculated to ascertain what proportion of variance in social outcomes is determined by university level variables. Approximately 4% of total variation in students' social outcomes is explained by their experiences related to the different environments of the university they attend ( $0.040 = 8.86 / 8.86 + 212.94$ ).

The fixed effects of predictor variables on social outcomes are shown in Table 5. The fixed effects regression parameter demonstrates that male students have greater social outcomes than female students ( $\gamma_{10} = 0.89, p < .001$ ). Interestingly, however, when controlling for other variables, students' grade has a negative relationship with social outcomes ( $\gamma_{20} = -0.30, p < .001$ ). The results suggest that social sciences, engineering, natural sciences, medical science, and art & music majors demonstrate a lower level of social outcome than humanities majors. Of note, education majors had a higher level of social achievement than humanities majors. Students who performed better in high school have a higher level of social outcome ( $\gamma_{90} = 0.46, p < .001$ ). Students' SES has a positive impact on social outcomes ( $\gamma_{100} = 0.13, p < .001$ ).

Participation in all types of out-of-class activity has positive effects on students' social outcomes. As shown in the estimation of the effects on cognitive outcomes, participation in a learning community has the greatest impact on students' social outcomes ( $\gamma_{110} = 0.22, p < .001$ ). The effects of participation in undergraduate research on social outcomes was minimal ( $\gamma_{120} = 0.02, p < .001$ ). The relationship between participation in residential programs and social outcomes was positive but not large ( $\gamma_{150} = 0.08, p < .001$ ).

For random effects analysis to find an effect size, the proportional reduction of prediction error was calculated by comparing the residual variances,  $\sigma_r^2$  and  $\sigma_{u0}^2$ , between the null and conditional models. The result demonstrates that 27% of student level variance in the dependent variable, social outcomes of students, was additionally explained by student level predictors ( $0.273 = 212.94 - 154.85 / 212.94$ ). To find the effect size of the model, Cohen's  $f^2$  was calculated (Cohen's  $f^2 = .73$ ). According to Cohen's guideline (1988), the model has a large effect size.

## Discussion and Conclusion

College students spend a considerable amount of time participating in out-of-class activities either on or off campus. Although college experiences may be associated with regular classes to some extent, it can be speculated that participation in out-of-class activities may have equivalently significant or more relation to their overall college experiences and, consequently, their college outcomes. This study began with this assumption and examined whether participation in certain out-of-class programs is related to different college outcomes and, if so, to what extent. To explore these research questions, we analyzed the K-NSSE data with hierarchical linear model analysis. In order to estimate the relationships between participating in different out-of-class activities and changes in cognitive and social

outcomes, included were various individual background variables such as gender, major, school year, high school academic performance, family SES as control variables.

The results can be summarized as follows. Male students tend to report more improvement in both cognitive and social outcomes. As college students advance through school, they are likely to do better in terms of cognitive outcomes, while no relationship was found between grade and social outcomes. Additionally, high school performance was positively associated with both cognitive and social outcomes. Student SES, measured by family monthly household income, has a positive association with both cognitive and social outcomes. This suggests that with little burden of livelihood, students from high SES families may have more opportunities to participate in out-of-class programs and may therefore have greater improvement in cognitive and social outcomes. No consistent patterns were found in the relation of participation in out-of-class activities to dependent variables, except for education and medical science majors. Compared with humanities majors, education majors reported more changes in social/cognitive outcomes. Medical science majors showed fewer changes in social/cognitive outcomes than the reference group.

These findings are consistent with previous research, indicating that participating in various out-of-class programs is influential on student outcomes such as social and cognitive behaviors. For instance, previous studies commonly reported positive influences of participating in learning communities on student engagement, involvement, retention, academic performance, and social development (Gordon, Young, & Kalkanov, 2001; Hoffman, Richmond, Morrow, & Salomone, 2002; Johnson, 2000; Zhao & Kuh, 2004). Likewise, in this study, joining a learning community showed the most positive influence on both cognitive and social outcomes. Given the nature of the learning community where students may have diverse peer interactions, it seems natural that students who are involved in learning communities have a higher level of change in social behaviors, i.e., working effectively with others, understanding people from other backgrounds, and being active citizens. Similarly, participating in residential college programs also demonstrates a positive relation with students' cognitive and social outcomes. Considering that one major goal of residential college programs is to promote students' social interactions, it is interesting that the study found a comparatively lower association of residential college program participation with changes in students' social behaviors. Besides learning community and residential college programs, many researchers examined the association between participating in each activity and changes in cognitive outcomes (Batchelder & Root, 1994; Jones, 2002; Lim, Seo, & Kwon, 2008), job-readiness (Finley & McNair, 2013; Knouse et al., 1999), and interpersonal skills (Fernald & Goldstein, 2013; Jones, 2002; Miller, Rycek, & Fritson, 2011). These results coincide with the findings of previous studies, suggesting that participating in service learning or internship is also positively related with both cognitive and social outcomes. However, undergraduate research shows relatively less positive association with social outcomes while presenting similarly positive connection with cognitive outcomes as for other out-of-class activities. Most previous studies on undergraduate research examined its impact on persistence, development of research and laboratory skills, pursuit of higher degrees in the same field and interpersonal relationships with faculty mentors. Because the survey items of social outcomes in this study were not targeted to measure those outcomes, the results are not comparable. Of note, however, this study found that conducting under-

graduate research is positively associated with perceived changes in cognitive outcomes that may be helpful to the pursuit of higher degrees. However, it may be that within Confucian culture, Korean college students undergo hierarchical laboratory culture where faculty mentors are difficult to access and thus the survey participants might perceive their social experiences or competences to have barely improved compared to cognitive outcomes.

Differently from secondary school students, college students have relatively plentiful time and can thus engage in various out-of-class activities. Accordingly, the kinds of out-of-class activities in which they participate and the extent to which they participate can affect the outcomes of their college experiences (Bae, Jeon, & Han, 2015b). In this study, we aimed to investigate the connection between participation in diverse out-of-class activities including learning communities, undergraduate research, service learning, internship, and residential college programs and perceived changes in their cognitive and social outcomes. Previous studies (Brownell & Swaner, 2010; Kuh & Schneider, 2008; Laird, BrckaLorenz, Zilvinskis, & Lambert, 2014; O'Neill, 2010) have demonstrated the significant and positive relation between participating in out-of-class programs and a variety of student outcomes. The results indicated that participation in all five activities was associated with both cognitive and social outcomes, with learning community the most influential on both. This suggests that students participating in learning communities have more opportunities not only to acquire knowledge and skills but also to discuss their knowledge with peers, to think critically and synthetically, and to apply knowledge to real-world problems. This may also contribute to promoting skills of working effectively with others and understanding people from different backgrounds. Conversely, conducting undergraduate research has the least association with both cognitive and social outcomes among the five activities, although the coefficient is statistically significant. This may be because undergraduate research is less popular and developed in Korea's universities and in many cases, is conducted personally not team-based.

In the 4th industrial revolution, which requires critical and creative thinking and socio-emotional skills, higher education institutions should provide students with the competencies to meet the demands of the times. While these competencies can be learned in regular courses, they can also be cultivated by highly influential out-of-class programs. In this sense, it is worthwhile that the study found a positive relationship between participation in five out-of-class activities and perceived changes in both cognitive and social outcomes. Furthermore, the effect size was identical across the activities and outcomes, implying that at the individual level, the out-of-class activities above can be improved by higher education institutions to fit students' needs. Each institution must design and develop similar out-of-class activities while considering the situation of each institution and students' diverse needs.

Finally, it is important to understand the limitations of the current study. First, considering the large sample size, the results should be interpreted with caution. Since the K-NSSE data consist of quite a large sample of 42,228 students, the statistical significance may have been affected. Second, the K-NSSE data are based on students' self-reported or perceived outcomes of their college experiences. As found in many higher education studies that have generally using self-reported data for analysis (see Herzog & Bowman, 2011), the results may have validity-related issues. In future studies, a research design is recom-

mended that employs strict psychological or educational measurements, allowing examination of the more de facto relationship between participation in out-of-class activities and college students' cognitive and social outcomes.

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# Public-Private Partnerships in Supplementary Education: Sharing Experiences in East Asian Contexts

Mark Bray & Wei Zhang

The Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong has a global reputation for work on supplementary education. A particular focus is on academic forms of private tutoring delivered outside school hours to children and youths in primary and secondary schooling (see e.g. Bray & Lykins, 2012; Bray et al., 2015; Kobakhidze, 2018; Zhang, 2014; Zhang & Yamato, 2018). Among the latest CERC ventures is recognition that private enterprises sometimes operate in conjunction with public bodies. In December 2017, CERC in conjunction with UNESCO hosted a Policy Forum focusing on public-private partnerships (PPPs). This article reports on the nature of the event and on its significance in the wider field of extended education.



## Participants

The Policy Forum brought together a unique group of participants from Hong Kong, Mainland China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. These societies share some commonalities in culture and educational provision, but also have significant differences. The Republic of Korea, for example, has a long history of private supplementary tutoring especially through institutions called *hagwons*. The government has tended to frown on these institutions because it has been concerned about marketization of education, social inequalities, and the study burden on students (Choi & Cho, 2016). At the same time, the Korean authorities have provided alternative channels through publicly-funded after-school programmes available to students in all income groups (Bae & Jeon, 2013; Ha & Park, 2017; Gim 2017). Japan also has a long history of private supplementary education, particularly through institutions called *juku*, though government policies have been more relaxed (Entrich, 2018; Sato, 2012). In Hong Kong private tutoring emerged in a significant way during the 1990s, and in the contemporary period is characterised in the commercial sector by multiple small enterprises and a few large companies made highly visible through brash advertising and mostly treated by the government in a *laissez-faire* way (Yung & Bray, 2017). Mainland China, by contrast, has witnessed rapid expansion of the phenomenon during the present century, ini-

tially treated by the government in a *laissez faire* way but more recently with directive and regulatory policies (Zhang & Bray, 2016; China, 2018). These contextual commonalities and differences provided a very instructive arena for comparison.

The invitations to participants were carefully managed to secure a balance and diversity of voices. Government and private-sector personnel commonly live in their own worlds with little direct communication about each other's aspirations, challenges and strategies. With that in mind, a major goal for the Policy Forum was to facilitate exchanges within as well as across the four jurisdictions. The original intent was to restrict the size to 25 participants in order to achieve deep conversations among a limited number of actors, but because of demand – and also supply in the form of additional funding from partners – the event ultimately expanded to 53 participants in the following categories:



- legislatures and other policy-making bodies,
- Ministries of Education,
- companies and non-governmental organisations that deliver private supplementary tutoring,
- national associations of bodies that provide private supplementary tutoring,
- public schools, and
- researchers.

The main language of the event was English, but to facilitate communications arrangements were made for simultaneous translation to Chinese, Japanese and Korean.

## Contexts and Framework

Elaborating on the contexts, it is useful to commence with the global picture. As noted elsewhere in this journal and associated events, private supplementary tutoring in academic subjects, which is a subset of extended education, has greatly expanded throughout the world (Bae & Hong, 2016; Klieme, 2017; Vest et al., 2013). The phenomenon is particularly evident in East Asia, including the four jurisdictions addressed during the Policy Forum,

but is now evident in many other settings, both high-income and low-income. It is driven by a mix of factors including social competition in an era of globalisation and expanded schooling and tertiary education (Bray, 2017). Governments have been reluctant to get involved in the sector, viewing their main responsibilities as provision of public education and perhaps also in regulatory frameworks for private institutions that operate as alternatives to public ones. Indeed Ministries of Education commonly see themselves *de facto* mainly as Ministries of Schooling, and pay little attention even to adult education and many other forms of extended education. A rationale for this approach is that governments already have enough to do with their focus on schooling and perhaps also higher education. Further while education is widely seen as a public good (see e.g. Chattopadhyay, 2012), this is usually interpreted to mean schooling especially at the compulsory level.

Nevertheless, whether the authorities like it or not the scale of private supplementary tutoring, commonly called shadow education because of the way that much content mimics that in public schooling, is expanding globally. Viewed positively, some tutoring enhances learning and human capital, and it also provides employment for tutors. More problematic may be the impact on social inequalities because low-income families cannot afford either the types or the quantities of tutoring that can be afforded by higher-income families. Further, shadow education may have a backwash on the school sector by widening diversity within classrooms and shaping the behaviour of regular teachers. Some teachers assume that students can and will access private supplementary services if in need, and then themselves devote less effort to their classroom duties than otherwise they would have done. Additional factors concern the facilities, curricula, contractual arrangements and other dimensions which cause governments to consider regulations for the sector (Bray & Kwo, 2014).

Turning specifically to the four jurisdictions represented in the Policy Forum, Table 1 presents snapshots on the scale of tutoring. In each setting the phenomenon had greatly expanded in recent times, and particularly in the largest jurisdiction, Mainland China, it was set for much further expansion. In all settings some tutoring was provided by university students and similar actors on an informal basis. In some other parts of the world, regular teachers supplemented their incomes by providing private tutoring (see e.g. Bray et al., 2016), but this was not a major phenomenon in Hong Kong, Japan and the Republic of Korea, and was actively discouraged by the authorities in Mainland China (see e.g. Zhang, 2014). Thus the main focus of the Policy Forum was on institutional forms of private tutoring operated by companies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and on their relationships with public schools.

**Table 1:** The Scale of Private Supplementary Tutoring

<b>Jurisdiction</b>	<b>Patterns</b>
Hong Kong	A 2011/12 survey of 1,646 students in 16 schools found that 53.8% of Grade 9 students and 71.8% of Grade 12 students were receiving tutoring (Bray 2013, p.21).
Japan	A 2015 national survey found that 47.7% of Grade 6 and 60.8% of Grade 9 students received tutoring in Gakushū juku (tutoring enterprises) or with private tutors in Japanese, Mathematics and Science (calculated from data in Japan, 2015, p.66).
Korea, Republic of	In 2017, 82.3% of elementary school pupils were estimated to be receiving private tutoring. In middle school the proportion was 66.4%; and in general high school it was 50.4% (KOSIS, 2018).
Mainland China	A 2010 nationwide representative sample of students in Grades 1 to 12 found that 46.4% of urban students and 16.6% of rural ones had received private tutoring during the previous year (Liu & Bray 2017, p.212).

The opening session for the Policy Forum noted not only the above dimensions of context but also some undercurrents. Vocabulary about public-private partnerships may be deceptively positive and gloss over complexities in definitions, competencies and power relations (see e.g. Patrinos et al., 2009; Wang, 2000). First, concepts of public and of private may not be clear-cut, e.g. because governments provide public subsidies to private schools or because private actors may operate either for profit or not for profit and may contribute to public institutions. Further, partnerships do not necessarily lead to better outcomes. Schools, governments and tutoring providers can collaborate in ways that undermine education goals and corrupt the system (Zhang & Bray, 2017). In addition, partnerships may be:

- *passive*, in which public schooling and private supplements complement each other but are not coordinated;
- *moderate*, e.g. when public teachers recommend tutors to students and their families, and perhaps even monitor the activities of the tutors and liaise with the families; and/or
- *active*, in which public schools and private supplementary education providers collaborate in specific programmes.

The participants gave examples from each category, but this report focuses only on the third.

## Some Examples

The representative from Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) commenced his presentation by indicating that his Ministry had once considered that *juku* attendance as a form of overheating that should be reduced by improving public education and adjusting the entrance examination system. More recently, he indicated, the Ministry had considered "that *juku* play a definite role as one of the study environments outside of school", and aimed to promote cooperation between schools and the supplementary institutions (Isashiki, 2017, p.14). As one component, MEXT had established "a community-based tutoring program for the future", called *chiiki mirai juku*, for secondary students facing financial and/or learning difficulties (Niitsu, 2016). It also supported after-

school and Saturday study support programmes in which social resources including *juku* were mobilised to provide services. In addition, various local municipalities independently subsidised classes provided by partnerships between *juku* and schools, making these classes either free of charge or with low fees. The Ministry's principal goal was to access the expertise of the private sector while reducing social inequalities and revitalising communities.

From the side of the private sector, several related remarks were made by the President of the Japan Juku Association (JJA). He noted a shift from the situation in 1987, when the Administrative Vice-Minister of Education had argued that *juku* brought harmful influences to the education sector, to the situation in 1999 when MEXT's Lifelong Learning Council had reported that "the support of *juku* cannot be underestimated when considering a myriad of children's learning activities in the context of distinctive regional educational environment" (Ando, 2017, p.6). The JJA President then highlighted specific projects, commencing with a 2004 initiative through which the JJA introduced mathematics tutors to a Tokyo school which then signed contracts with these tutors for support services. The second initiative, in Osaka, was stronger cooperation through which in 2010 the JJA acted as intermediary for *juku* to supply tutors to public schools for an Academic Performance Improvement Project; and the third was a scheme in which the government provided vouchers of up to ¥7,000 (US\$63) per month to support children of low-income families desiring extra-curricular support.

Parallel patterns were noted in the Republic of Korea. During the Policy Forum one of the Governors of Education recalled that in the 1980s the military government of the time had prohibited *hagwons* but was challenged in the courts and told in 2000 that such prohibition was unconstitutional (Lee, 2017, p.10). Following this ruling, the number of *hagwons* grew rapidly, and the authorities tried an alternative tack of setting maximum prices, restricting hours of operation, and prohibiting teachers and university professors from engaging in out-of-school tutoring. However, the Governor recognised, "all these policies had failed". Parents could see the value of out-of-school tutoring for social mobility, and "schools and shadow education had no choice but to adjust to parents' demand". The government was mindful of the need to strengthen public education so that families would not feel that private supplements were essential, and the Governor also mentioned (p.13) that his office was "subsidising workshops for *hagwon* operators to strengthen their capacity".

On the private sector side, perspectives from the President of the National Hagwon Association noted the history of government antagonism to the tutoring institutions. He suggested that *hagwons* "are no longer subordinates to schools" and that "public and private education sectors are in a complementary relationship like the two wheels in a wagon" (Cho, 2017, p.30). The partnerships that he highlighted included offer of vouchers for tutoring to children from less privileged socio-economic backgrounds in partnership with provincial governments and the Korean Community Chest. The President desired partnership with the Ministry of Education at the national level, but indicated that to date the political atmosphere had not been conducive.

Developments in Mainland China were perhaps the most dynamic among the four jurisdictions, with the national government moving towards regulation of tutorial enterprises (China, 2018). At the same time, individual institutions found their own modes of partnership. The principal of one high school during the Policy Forum noted on the one hand the

demand for supplementary education and on the other hand the prohibition of teachers from mainstream schools offering supplementary tutoring outside standard schooling (Wang, 2017, p.83). Part of the solution, he suggested, was to collaborate with tutoring institutions, e.g. in the teaching of English by native speakers and in sports. The principal indicated that when students wished to receive private supplementary tutoring during school hours, they were permitted to do so as long as they submitted to the school the applications signed by both parents and the head teachers. The principal was proud to name two students who had gained admission to the prestigious Tsinghua University with support from private tutoring in arts and physical education.

Follow-up discussion led to a consensus that tutoring in academic subjects should be distinguished from tutoring in arts and sports. Partnerships in academic subjects need to be established and operated with careful planning, monitoring and evaluation since they bring corruption risks and potential backwash on schooling. By contrast, tutoring in non-academic subjects are less likely to clash with school offerings and can be utilised more fully.

The Policy Forum also heard about two initiatives in Hong Kong. One was from the co-founder of a large company who highlighted instances in which schools sought to employ tutors from the company using financial allocations granted by the government (Eng, 2017). The schools particularly valued tips on ways to prepare for the public examinations. The company accepted remuneration in some cases and offered free-of-charge services in other cases. The second initiative was presented by a not-for-profit tutoring enterprise that had built relationships with schools with some programmes charging fees and others being free of charge (Tse, 2017).

## Lessons and Further Steps

Reviewing the field in 2016, Bae and Hong (p.134) observed that:

Research in extended education is still in progress. There exist many issues that have received little attention among researchers. There are also many fields in extended education that have been less investigated.

Private supplementary tutoring is clearly a sub-field within the broader domain of extended education that needs more attention across and within individual countries; and within this sub-field, the concepts and practices of public-private partnerships also deserve further exploration. The Policy Forum hosted by the University of Hong Kong was a major step in this direction, and has been followed up by discussions among and beyond the groups that participated. Concepts from the event have taken forward in a range of ways in all the jurisdictions (see e.g. China, 2018; Ip, 2017; Japan Juku Association, 2018; Kim, 2017).

At the same time, much further analysis is needed. The President of the Korea's National Hagwon Association had a positive metaphor when describing the public and private education sectors as being "in a complementary relationship like the two wheels in a wagon"; but the wheels are of very different sizes and do not always move smoothly and in harmony. As noted above, some relationships are passive with public schooling and private supplements complementing each other but with little or no coordination. Other relation-

ships are more active but informal and driven by individual teachers and families rather than institutions; and institutional arrangements are not always smooth and sustained. These dimensions are being explored further by the authors of this article, who will welcome interactions and collaborations with readers.

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**Conference report of the 1<sup>st</sup> WERA-IRN  
EDUCATION Conference:  
*Extended Education from an International Comparative  
Point of View* at the University of Bamberg**

*Marianne Schuepbach & Ludwig Stecher*

From November 30 to December 2, 2017 the first WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION Conference, *Extended Education from an International Comparative Point of View*, took place at the University of Bamberg. WERA is short for *World Education Research Association*, and it is an organization of major national, regional, and international education research associations, among others dedicated to developing networks. The purpose of *International Research Networks* (IRNs) is to advance education research worldwide on specific scholarly topics. The WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION is a collaborative group of scholars working on this research topic. Its aim is to bring together different research perspectives from all over the world to learn from each other and to initiate international comparative research in this emerging field of educational research.

### **More than 100 participants from 16 countries**

To our great pleasure, more than 100 delegates from 16 countries took part in the conference: From Europe we had guests from Germany, Switzerland, Serbia, Russia, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, and Finland. There were participants from the United States and from Australia. We also welcomed guests from Asia: from Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Hong Kong in China. In all these continents and countries, there is an emerging field of activities and programs out of regular school hours focusing on the social, emotional, and academic development of children and adolescents. These programs are educationally structured to make it easier for the participants to learn specific contents. In recent years, the term EXTENDED EDUCATION has been established internationally for this field of education to an increasing degree.

### **Enriching and interesting keynote speeches**

During the conference, we heard enriching and interesting keynote speeches. Three co-keynote speeches took up an international comparative perspective.

Prof. Dr. Ludwig Stecher, University of Giessen, Germany, and Prof. Dr. Anna Klerfelt, Jönköping University, Sweden, held a co-keynote speech comparing the developments of extended education and research in this field between Germany and Sweden. In Sweden as well as in Germany, an extensive system of state run programs for extended education is established. Although the goals and organization of the programs slightly vary, there are common institutional features. Several education-related problems are also similar and occur during extracurricular activities at German all-day schools as well as during goal-oriented educare in Swedish school-age educare centers. The presentation began with a short history of the development of the (state run) extended education sector in Sweden and in Germany. It showed that all-day schools and educare centers both have a long history reaching back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, Klerfelt and Stecher pointed out that the various aspects the respective programs are aiming at are in most cases not very different in both countries. Aside from these similarities, there are as well some main differences with regard to the societal expectations. In the second section of the presentation, Klerfelt and Stecher focused on some of these differences in detail. They showed that in Germany (modern) all-day schools are seen as an educational remedy to support students academically (the recent rise of the German all-day school is mainly based on the bad performing of German students in the first PISA-round 2001). In Sweden, school-age educare is implemented in every school and is less focused on academic achievement. It is part of the whole cultural system and its curriculum is based on the societal values such as equality and understanding and compassion for others. In the following, Klerfelt and Stecher gave a short overview of research projects and findings on German all-day schools and Swedish school-age educare centers. They showed that there is a large amount of research literature on these provisions but also many open questions that research has to deal with in the nearer future. This holds, as Klerfelt and Stecher pointed out, in particular with regard to research on extended education on an international comparative level.

The second co-speech was held by Dr. Denise Huang, CEO of The National HLH Foundation Taiwan and Prof. Dr. Marianne Schüpbach, University of Bamberg, Germany. In this contribution, Taiwan and Switzerland on two different continents with different cultural backgrounds were compared regarding the developments in extended education. Confucianism influences Taiwan not only relating to the national development goals and political loyalty but also regarding culture and education. Other researchers identify differences between western countries and Chinese societies in the dimensions individualism and collectivism. Considering these aspects, the speakers presented the development of extended education in a western country, Switzerland, and in Taiwan, a country shaped by Chinese societies. The co-speech started with a description of the current situation of extended education in Switzerland and Taiwan. Furthermore, the traditional school scheduling, the starting positions and expectations of extended education, as well as the current structure of the offerings in this field were described and an overview of research in the field of extended education in both countries was given. Afterwards, the speakers focused on the cultural differences in general and similarities and differences in the field of extended education. They ended with remarks on the challenges for future research particularly from an international comparative point of view.

The third co-speech entitled *Comparison of extended education and research in this field in South Korea and Japan* was held by Prof. Dr. Sang Hoon Bae, Sungkyunkwan University, South Korea, and Prof. Dr. Fuyuko Kanefuji, Bunkyo University, Japan. In this case, the developments of extended education in two Asian countries were compared to each other. South Korea and Japan are both countries where extended education programs and offerings are greatly flourishing nationwide. Unlike most countries in Europe and North America, the governments of these two countries have traditionally shown a strong intervention to and support of extended education. It is also obvious that collaboration between public schools and the local community are recently emphasized and supported by both the government and the public. Despite such similarities, many aspects of policies and practices in extended education also differ between the two countries. These experiences may be considered for future development of extended education. For a better understanding of extended education systems and practices of South Korea and Japan, the two speakers presented information and data about a) the historical development and societal backgrounds of extended education, b) the goals of extended education and the relationship with regular curricular activities – e.g. with for-profit private tutoring in the education market, c) the current situations in relation to participation rates, types of popular programs offered, major providers, related supporting systems and regulations, etc. as well as policy environments, d) research findings in the area of extended education, e) current issues and future directions for the development of extended education in both countries. Finally, the speakers drew conclusions for the development of policies and practices from the cases of the respective partner country. Suggestions for future research were also presented.

Prof. Dr. Deborah Vandell, University of California, Irvine, USA, held a keynote speech about the future of extended education from an international comparative point of view. Over the last 20 years, there has been a growing international awareness of the importance of out-of-school time in the lives of children and adolescents. In her presentation, Vandell proposed a conceptual three-level framework that may be useful in generating discussion, formulating research questions, and encouraging international collaborations with the ultimate goal of advancing research and practice in extended education. Similarities and differences between U.S. perspectives and studies of extended education in Europe and Asia were explored. In the last section of her speech Vandell proposed some next steps for research and practice.

The last keynote speech held by Prof. Dr. Eckhard Klieme, German Institute for International Educational Research (DIPF), Frankfurt, Germany, was entitled *Adolescents' extra-curricular activities, well-being and educational outcomes: comparative findings from PISA 2015*. The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) is widely known for its assessment of student competences, providing country rankings in student achievement as well as comparative indicators for equity in education. Recent waves of PISA additionally attempted at assessing the contexts of learning and have increased steadily in both number and depth of facets covered. The most recent wave, PISA 2015, allows for studying a broad spectrum of individual, school-related, family-related and social factors through questionnaires administered to students and school principals (Kuger, Klieme, Jude, & Kaplan, 2016). Klieme was being in charge of the development of frameworks and questionnaires in PISA 2015. He provided an overview of instruments and findings related to

extended education, such as the average amount of non-mandatory (extra-curricular) learning per week varying from 2 to 10 hours per country, with European students investing considerably less time than students from other continents. Whether students do work for pay before or after school is a very strong indicator of their socio-economic background, which explains many disparities between and within countries. Thus, extending the perspective of comparative educational research beyond regular, mandatory classroom activities helps to understand cultural contexts and equity issues in education.

Besides the keynote speeches, several symposia, presentations of papers, posters, and a concluding panel discussion took place during the conference. We hope that this conference will be the starting point for future international comparative research in the field of extended education. We are especially grateful for the support of our partners at the Mercator Foundation and the German Research Foundation. Without them, it would not have been possible to hold the conference in this form.

## First business meeting WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION

During the Bamberg conference, the first business meeting of the WERA-IRN Extended Education took place. The network reaches back to 2010 when a group of international experts launched the *Network for Research on Out-of-School Time and Extracurricular Educational Research* (NEO-ER). Since 2010, this group has organized four international conferences (two in Giessen, Germany, and two in Seoul, South Korea), and published an international volume on research on extended education (Ecarius et al., 2013). In 2013, the members of this network launched the *International Journal for Research on Extended Education* (funded by the German Research Council) and in 2016, they organized an international workshop for postgraduate researchers in this field at the University of Marburg, Germany, in cooperation with the University of Giessen, Germany. The workshop was held by Prof. Dr. Ludwig Stecher, Prof. Dr. Sabine Maschke and Prof. Dr. Ivo Züchner. In order to enhance and to broaden international collaboration in this research field as well as to synthesize the current state of research worldwide, the group successfully applied for becoming an IRN within the WERA under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Marianne Schüpbach and Prof. Dr. Ludwig Stecher in 2017. Currently, the network consists of 68 members.

## Second conference at Stockholm University, Sweden

The second WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION conference entitled *Extended Education – Practice, Theories and Activities* will take place at the Department of Child and Youth Studies at Stockholm University, Sweden, on September 26 – September 28, 2019. The organizers are Prof. Dr. Rickard Jonsson, Professor in Child and Youth Studies at Stockholm University, Prof. Dr. Anna Klerfelt, Associate Professor in Education with specialization in School-age Educare/Extended Education at Jönköping University and Dr. Anna-Lena Ljusberg, Assistant Professor in Child and Youth Studies at Stockholm University.

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