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Special Section

Sang Hoon Bae, Ludwig Stecher • Extended Education and Social Inequality: An Introduction

Sergey Kosaretsky, Ivan Ivanov • Inequality in Extracurricular Education in Russia

Steve R. Entrich, Wolfgang Lauterbach • Shadow Education in Germany: Compensatory or Status Attainment Strategy? Findings from the German Life Study

Sang Hoon Bae, Eunwon Cho, Bo-Kyung Byun • Stratification in Extended Education Participation and its Implications for Education Inequality

General Contributions

Linnéa Holmberg • Bursting with Activities: Impression Management as Edu-Business in School-Age Educare

Liza Haglund • The Need for Care: A Study of Teachers' Conceptions of Care and Pupils' Needs in a Swedish School-Age Educare Setting

Developments in the Field of Extended Education

Sabine Maschke, Verena Wellnitz • The Method of the Socio-Spatial Map for the Reconstruction of Transformative Educational Processes in Educational Contexts

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Editor's Preface

Greetings! The 2nd WERA-IRN EXTENDED EDUCATION Conference was held at Stockholm University in September 2019. A total of 136 researchers, practitioners, and students from 17 countries participated in the conference. In addition to four keynote speeches, five symposia were organized with 20 contributions and 68 papers were presented. A highlight was panel discussion with the themes of complementation and compensation in Extended Education. From the Stockholm conference, we found an ever-growing extended education research community. The 3rd conference will take place in Reykjavik, Iceland in September 2020.

In 2/2019 issue, we have two *General Contributions*. The first article examined the business aspect of Swedish school-age educare centers. Employing a qualitative method, *Linnéa Holmberg* explored how these centers are engaged in edu-business while promoting themselves through self-presentations on their websites. The second article written by *Liza Haglund* investigated the conception of school age educare teachers about care and care practices in Sweden. This research also presents findings about how these conceptions of care and actual practices relate to pupils' needs.

The current issue includes one report in the section of *Development in Extended Education*. In their report, *Sabine Maschke and Verena Wellnitz* provide an information about the socio-spatial map method. According to authors, this method is particularly useful in analyzing educational contexts, processes, and strategies which are too complex to be examined by one particular research method.

Finally, this issue includes a special section with the topic of Extended Education and Social Inequality. In this section three papers are presented about the cases of Germany, South Korea, and Russia.

We appreciate all authors for submitting their great works. Our thanks also go to reviewers for their valuable comments.

Sang Hoon Bae

Extended Education and Social Inequality: An Introduction

In the last ten years or so, a lot of studies and papers dealing with questions of extended education have been published, a lot of them in the *International Journal for Research on Extended Education*. These publications mostly focus on: questions of the effectiveness of learning opportunities outside regular classes (outcome perspective); questions regarding who are using these opportunities (participating perspective); or who is working in the field of extended education and what training they've had (professionalism perspective). Furthermore, most of these papers focus on the individual's perspective – the perspective of the participants – or an institutional perspective, where emphasis is on the question of how to design these kind of activities and programmes effectively.

However, for a full understanding of the meaning of the whole field of extended education in modern societies, we have to dig deeper and change the point of view to the *social or societal function* of extended education (Stecher, Maschke, & Preis, 2018). Among other things (i.e. questions of extended education as part of the labour market) this means to examine which role extended education plays with regard to the social stratification of a society, or to put it in a more specific way, how extended education and social inequality are linked with each other.

On the one hand, as Stecher, Maschke, and Preis (2018) pointed out, from a community and school based point of view, the additional offers in the field of extended education can be seen as comprehensive efforts to expand and develop the institutional learning and care opportunities to supplement (traditional) schooling. Seen from this point of view, extended education provisions and programmes are focused on fostering improvement in low performing students and students with a low socioeconomic and/or a low educational family background. In this sense, extended education provisions are part of the fight against social and educational inequality. This holds true at least for state run programmes.

On the other hand, we can look at the field of extended education from the students' and their families' point of view, respectively. From this perspective, extended education offers can be seen as part of the families' socioeconomic reproduction strategies. Extended education provisions are used by the families as an additional way of supporting their children in accruing cultural capital. With the increase in importance of education and further training for modern societies and thus as part of social (re)production conditions in general, parental reproduction strategies are facing adjustment pressures in particular with a view to

the accumulation of cultural capital in order to (continue to) secure successful status advantages for the children. As a result, according to Zinnecker (1994, p. 88, own translation), “more and more social groupings [...] are attempting to realise the societal transmission of social positions by having their children complete programmes to acquire cultural and educational resources in competition with other children and young people”. From this point of view, participating in extended education activities will widen the social gap. This holds in particular for private offers and activities. In some countries, this point of view is linked to the term ‘shadow education’ (Bray, 2007) and the discussion about the need of regulating this private market of supplementary education (Bray & Kwo, 2014).

Taking into account both perspectives it is still open to debate if extended education programmes and activities narrow or widen the social gap between social groups. This special issue of the IJREE will try to give an answer to this question based on three international examples.

Entrich and Lauterbach show that there is an increasing market in Germany with regard to private tutoring within the last about ten to twenty years. Focusing on private tutoring (‘Nachhilfe’) they try to give an answer on two general questions, both of them closely related to the topic of social inequality. Firstly, they try to give an answer to the question as to why the demand for shadow education in Germany has increased as much as it has, and, secondly, what the implications of the increased investments in shadow education on social inequality are. Based on a German longitudinal study (Life-study 1979-2012) they try to give empirical answers to a number of hypothesis derived from these two general questions. Among other things, the findings show that the motives for using private tutoring differ between Germany and, for example, Asian countries. That gives rise to the assumption that the structure and the function of ‘shadow education’ is different in different countries.

Bae, Eunwon, and Byun investigate in their article the ways in which student patterns of extended education participation are affected by the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the families. Based on a huge representative data set they identified five different types of participating in after school programmes, where all of them are inter-linked with social characteristics of the students. Their analysis shows that students with highly educated parents (and a high socioeconomic status) in particular use activities and programmes offered by private institutions outside school – that means that these students in particular use shadow education offers. The authors interpret this finding as a hint that (at least some areas of) extended education fosters social stratification.

The third article comes from Russia. Whilst the aforementioned articles are based on specific data sets, *Kosaretzky and Ivanov* try to give an overview of studies conducted in Russia within the last about twenty years about the question of which students – based on different socioeconomic aspects – have access to extra-curricular activities. Aside from the fact that this article is probably the first comprehensive overview of the field of extended education and the question of social inequality in Russia, the findings indicate that, apart from socioeconomic aspects, with regard to access to extended education programs and activities regional aspects have to be taken into account. A finding that Bae et al. also put emphasis on.

Even if some research questions about extended education and its link to social stratification and social inequality still seem to be open, the three contributions collected in this

special issue bring the research in this area an important step forward. We will continue publishing on this topic in forthcoming issues of the IJREE.

Sang Hoon Bae and Ludwig Stecher

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Inequality in Extracurricular Education in Russia

Sergey Kosaretsky, Ivan Ivanov

Abstract: The article considers the structure of the inequality of access to extra-curricular education in Russia and factors influencing it. Among the main barriers are the territorial context, urban and rural education, the families' socioeconomic status and cultural capital. It is also showed that the factors of the inequality are also produced with strong spatial (interregional, inter-municipal) differentiation; the sector's peculiarities of regulation and policy. Despite active measures of the state policy in increasing participation coverage of in extracurricular education and activities, the questions of social differentiation's risks remain not solved. Tools for identifying risk categories have not been developed.

Keywords: extracurricular education in Russia, extracurricular activities, inequality in extracurricular education

Introduction

In Russia, in recent years, the growing inequality of educational opportunities is increasingly felt. This problem is not only a question of morality and justice, but also largely a question of the country's economic well-being. Ensuring equal access to education for all children, regardless of the social, economic and cultural level of their families, is one of the key challenges of modern education.

Since the second half of the 20th century, researchers have focused on the causes of significant achievement gaps between different groups of students within the same school, which are due to differences in the social background of students (Coleman et al., 1966).

Extracurricular activities (ECA) for children is usually considered in the context of inequality. Children for low-income families are more likely participate in school-based extracurricular activities. Their peers from middle-income families are more involved in the system outside of school, their choice is not due to a territorial factor (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012). Along with the family's financial situation and the community's social context, there is another focus on the parents' level of education (Ashbourne & Andres, 2015). The higher it is, the child involvement is higher (while the level of education of the mother is more significant from the point of view of child development) (Bartko & Eccles,

2003; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Randall & Bohnert, 2009). The ECA potential in overcoming social inequality is considered in the context of its effects on academic performance, school involvement, and school dropout (Eccles, Templeton, 2002), schoolchildren socialization (Eccles & Roeser, 2011), development of social skills (Larson, Hansen, & Walker, 2005; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Bohnert, Fredricks, & Randall, 2010; Gilman, Meyers, & Perez, 2004; Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003).

The transformation of the sector of extracurricular education (ECE), its relation to socio-economic characteristics of inequality are poorly studied and understood. Meanwhile, these studies have a bilateral value and importance because they allow us to see the important part of inequality and through this focus to better understand the transition processes in post-Soviet countries in the context of children's education and development (Chank-seliani, 2017).

In this article, for the first time, we aim to give a comprehensive picture of Russian studies of inequality in the extracurricular education sector, covering the entire structure of providers and directions. We also attempt to systematize data at the national level in order to present the current state of inequality and to generalize conclusions and hypotheses about the conditions and factors of inequality in the extracurricular education sector.

We should mention that "extracurricular" means the topics that are out of school curricular and are not obligatory according to the state educational standards. So extracurricular activities include different content that cannot be taught during the school hours. When we speak about inequality, we mean the inequality of access to services and the coverage (type of the activities: school based and out-of-school; content of the activities and programs: sports, arts, music and etc.) the target groups' involvement. In this article, we will look at the features of inequality at the inter-regional level, within regions depending on the settlement's type, between groups of children depending on the family background - level of education, income, cultural capital.

The article's topic is rather new for Soviet and post-Soviet research agenda. Russian studies of differences in ECE involvement and mechanisms of inequality reproduction are quite new and not numerous areas. The main corpus of Soviet and post-Soviet studies covers the extracurricular education potential for development and socialization, the organization of some ECE forms and methods using pedagogical research methods (Golovanov, 2001; Rozhkov, 2007). Focus to the problem of differences in access arises only in the second decade of the 21st century, it is also conditioned with the use of sociological research methods.

The very appearance of publications testifies to the actualization of the problem both in scientific and practical terms. It is important to mention the growth of research interest confirmed by the body of researches and publications analyzed in this article.

ECA in Russia: Snapshot

One hundred years ago, the formation of extracurricular education for children (out-of-school education) as part of the state education system in the Soviet Union can be considered as one of the most interesting and (fortunately) successful social experiments of the

Soviet government (Kupriyanov, 2016). After a period of crisis in the 90s, in the Russian state educational policy, the development of extracurricular education has again become a zone of special attention and large-scale experiments.

Russian legislation does not guarantee free extracurricular education.

Children can participate in different types of activities. The total number of children aged 5 to 18 years decreased until 2012, and then began to grow (Federal statistical observation – FSO)¹. It is 77.7% as of 2018 (FSO).

There are free of charge and payment activities provided both by public and private organizations. According to the data of the Federal statistical observation, 17.5% of ECA services provided to Russian citizens in 2017 are paid. Independent monitoring of All-Russian People Front shows that only 43% of children participate in ECA programs completely free of charge, 28% of children are involved in fully paid ECA programs (Kosaretsky et al., 2019).

There are two major segments in the ECA system: school-based and extracurricular organizations. Even though today ECA programs can be implemented by all types of educational organizations (public and private) that have received licenses The modern system of the ECA organizations is the successor of the system of out-of-school education existing in the USSR.

According to official statistics, in 2018 there were 12,841 out-of-school organizations for extracurricular education of children in Russia. Most of the organizations (more than 80%) are in municipal ownership (the founders are local governments), smaller, but more prosperous in terms of infrastructure and funding-managed from the regional level. Organizations belong to the departments of education (centers of children extracurricular education, development of creativity of children and youth, stations of young technicians, clubs, etc.), culture and sports (art schools, children's sports schools). Along with state organizations, there are also private ones. In schools, the ECA staff includes mostly school teachers; special ECA organizations it's the specialist and tutors of ECA programs (in Russian tradition – ECA teachers). According to official statistics, their share is small, and coverage is insignificant (FSO). However, according to the Higher School of Economics Monitoring of education, coverage is 13% on average and 17 in major cities (Kosaretsky et al., 2019).

Increasing the coverage of children between the ages of 5 and 18 in further education programmes is an important public policy objective. The main challenge for the implementation of the state strategy is not only to create opportunities for children, but also for them and their families to start using these opportunities. The paradox is that there are no state guarantees of free ECA participation, but there is a strategic goal of increasing ECA accessibility.

Methodology

To study the inequality, we mainly use a framework based on the concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Its uneven distribution leads to social and educational inequality of those

1 The data of the Federal statistical observation is available on the website: <https://www.gks.ru/>.

who have “capital” of different levels. In this analysis, we also tend to rely on the mainstream methodology of studying differentiation and inequality in the extracurricular activities sector (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Furstenberg, 1999; Lareau & Weininger, 2003, 2008; Lareau, Weininger, & Conley, 2015), the important focus is considering the Russian case in the international context.

The topic of inequality becomes relevant in the context of post-Soviet transit, which exacerbated the problem of social stratification in a period of institutional turbulence (Gordon, Juceviciene, & Kodelja, 2004; Silova, 2010) and other studies of the ECA post-Soviet system (Bjornavold, 2000; Povolyaeva, Popova, & Dubovik, 2015; Kosaretsky, Grunicheva, & Goshin, 2016).

In the Russian tradition, the statement is used that all children had the opportunity to participate in ECA. Meanwhile, it cannot be verified, because there is no reliable statistics that only include data for the entire USSR situation, where it is impossible to allocate data for Soviet Russia (RSFSR). It is important to note that no such research has been conducted ever. Analogies can be found in studies of school education.

Our analysis is based on a significant corpus of data (federal statistics on extracurricular education organizations and children participating in extracurricular activities), original data from the Higher School of Economics Monitoring of education markets and organizations (2013-2017). There is also data provided by Levada Center with a representative region sample including surveys of parents, teachers, heads of organizations. It's important to mention that empirical data according to the federal statistics include the information from the organizations providing ECA programs (number of participants, their age, territorial diversification, teachers and content). For data analysis methods of descriptive statistics and classical methods of comparison of averages are used.

The findings are also based on the studies of specialized segments of extracurricular education (e.g. technological education) that have been produced by Institute of Education (Higher School of Economics).

The selected articles and publications have been included in this review and analysis due to the high level and uniqueness of the empirical base of research at the regional and national level, the use of a wide sample of participants, as well as the possibility of using statistics methods of comparison using the data on the families' socio-economic status.

Some studies discuss differences in the duration of participation in programs (Sobkin & Kalashnikova, 2013) and their content (directions) (Roshchina, 2012, 2015). Differences in the coverage of children with ECA programs depending on the families' educational status (Sobkin & Kalashnikova, 2013), restrictions on access to ECE in rural areas (Ivanyushina & Alexandrov, 2014), transport barriers and security barriers (Vakhstein & Stepantsov, 2012) are revealed. Inequality in access to ECA services in schools with different status (elite and ordinary, etc.) was also studied (Roshchina, 2012, 2015), as well as differentiation of opportunities for the use of supplementary training in school subjects (Prakhov, 2014; Burdiak, 2015).

However, there is an understanding of the limitations of data and research on all aspects. In this regard, the article is an attempt to outline significant perspectives of attention from the point of view of inequality both in terms of manifestations and factors.

Findings

Territorial Context: Interregional and Intra-Regional Inequality

The ECA coverage rates vary significantly between the regions of the Russian Federation. The gap between the first and the last ten regions is increased to three-time. This reflects the basic high level of interregional differentiation in the main economic indicators (World Bank, 2018). There are noticeable differences in the financing of general education, the size of schools, the proportion of students in the second shift, etc. in Russian regions. But due to the mandatory scale of participation, there are no noticeable differences in general education. However, for ECA, the differences in coverage between regions are significant. Within regions, differences participation in extracurricular activities are evident, depending on the level of urbanization and the size of the settlement. In rural areas, children receive education mainly in schools.

In the outside of school ECE, children from rural areas participate on a smaller scale, compared to residents of urban areas. In addition, the ECA programs are of lower quality in context of professional staff and teachers' support. A third of parents of children living in rural areas surveyed by the Monitoring of education markets and organizations noted that their children do not engage in ECE outside of school, while the national average was 23.8%. In cities with different populations (except for Moscow), the proportion of uninvolved in ECA children is 18-20%. Most parents (more than 60%) living in villages noted that their children never attended music, art and sports schools (Kosaretsky, Kupriyanov, & Filippova, 2016). This is because the network of specialized organizations is poorly developed in rural areas and children often have to settle for offers of school-based ECA services (Higher School of Economics Monitoring of education, 2017).

There are several reasons for this: low availability of specialized organizations focused on a deeper and including the pre-professional level of programs; less developed cultural environment; limited transport mobility; the position of the part of the parent community (Alexandrov, Tenisheva, & Savelyeva, 2017). It should also be noted that in rural areas the criterion of "proximity to home" is evaluated differently than in the city, where it is usually understood as a road that takes less than half an hour (regardless of whether on foot or by public transport). In rural areas, more than half a kilometer is often perceived as critical in terms of accessibility (Alexandrov, Tenisheva, & Savelyeva, 2017).

A certain compensation for children from villages is participation in creative activities, as well as sports based on rural clubs, which are not officially related to the ECE system. According to ECA content in rural areas students are more involved in such areas as sports, military-patriotic, tourist and local lore, and at the same time are less likely to engage in foreign languages, research activities, sports in specialized organizations (Higher School of Economics Monitoring of education, 2017).

The villagers who took part in the survey said that their child did not participate in ECA at preschool age. In medium and small towns, fewer students are involved in ECA (except sports) than in the metropolis.

In large cities, in addition to a more extensive network of public organizations, a variety of private sector ECA programs are widely represented. As the size of the settlement decreases, the supply of the private sector decreases in volume and spectrum. In small towns

and rural areas, it is virtually non-existent. This is directly related to the population's solvency (Kosaretsky et al., 2019).

Families' Background: Education, Social Capital and Incomes

Involvement in ECA programs is influenced by the family's place of residence, as well as the families background, firstly education and then welfare. They are implemented on the involvement's scale, preference of schools based ECA activities to out-of-school organizations, intensity and duration of participation, and availability of private sector services.

In families with a high level of education of the mother, children on average spend their time outside less and watch TV, but more attend clubs outside school, are engaged with a tutor and spend more time on self-education. In families where the level of education is average and lower, children have more free time for walking, watching TV, school circles (Kosaretsky, Kupriyanov, & Filippova, 2016).²

In the most educated families, children are more likely to be involved in ECA at pre-school age and the intensity of these activities is higher (Roshchina, 2012).

Children from families of more educated parents have longer trajectories of participation in programs (Sobkin and Kalashnikova, 2014).

The intensity of activities is again significantly higher in the group of more affluent respondents: there is a greater proportion of those who indicated that their child attended two, three or more three ECA types.

Differences are shown in the programs' content. Structured activities with an academic bias-foreign language, school subjects, as well as art are more often attended by children from families with high socioeconomic status, their mothers mostly have higher education; they have many books at home. The relationship of unstructured activity with the status of the family is noticeably weaker and is manifested mainly in classes in subjects: outside the clubs and sections, these or other subjects are additionally studied almost only by children whose mothers have higher education (Alexandrov, Tenisheva, & Savelyeva, 2017).

To analyze the data of the survey of parents of schoolchildren in the framework of the 2016 Monitoring of education markets and organizations, the following approach was used in the aspect of interest to us. There are two groups of respondents: 1) "poor without higher education" – the mother without higher education, a family with a low income; 2) "wealthy with higher education" – the mother has higher education, with an income above average. The first group included 1339 respondents; the second group included 923 respondents out of 3883 possible. The proportion of children from families with low level of education and income not involved in ECE was 2 times higher (44%) than in families with higher education (mother) and income above average (21%). The scale of the gap between groups of families is growing: if in 2013 the difference between groups was 8.5 percentage points, in 2016 it increased to 22 percentage points. In the group "poor without higher education" more of those who attend circles only in school (18%), and less covered by ECE. In part, this can be explained by the higher share of paid ECA services, as well as limited opportunities to accompany children to ECA organizations in this category of families. Children of

2 'Circle' or in soviet and Russian tradition is a small structured and non-formal educational association of children organizing and leading by the teacher or tutor.

well-off parents with higher education, in turn, are more involved in classes outside of school and less likely to participate school based ECA.

In affluent families with higher education, children are more likely to engage in ECE at preschool age. This means that their starting opportunities, including for ECE, increase compared to other peers. The greatest difference in the proportion of children not involved in ECE is expressed in primary and secondary schools: the proportion of such children differs by more than two times. In high school, more than half of the children from the conditional group “poor without higher education” do not participate in ECE.

The gap between family groups in income and education is also observed in the scale of involvement, i.e. the number of circles (sections) attended by the child. It is most significant among those children who attend three or more circles. In affluent families, where parents have higher education, such 30%, among low-income families, where parents without higher education-only 13%. Differences between these groups of families are also evident in the content of ECA programs. Within the school, children of well-off parents with higher education pay much more attention to the study of foreign languages, art, school subjects and less to sports sections, while children from poor families, where parents do not have higher education, are more likely to engage in sports, tourism and local history. An interesting feature is manifested in the field of sports: children of wealthy parents with higher education are more likely to participate in sports outside school and less often in school than children of the second group of parents. Playing sports outside school – is primarily a sports school where programs are being implemented at a higher level. As a rule, classes in them are accompanied by quite high costs associated with the acquisition of uniforms and equipment, trips to competitions and training on specially equipped sports grounds.

Children from well-educated and affluent families are more involved in NGO-based activities. Among wealthy and educated parents, 18% can afford to take the child to commercial organizations, and among low-income without higher education-only 8%. The most pronounced stratification of society on the ECA availability outside of school in rural areas and small towns: 41% of children of low-income parents without higher education there is nowhere else engaged in ECA outside school (compared with 14% of children of wealthy parents with higher education).

The characteristics of families' ECA strategies are largely determined by the characteristics of cultural capital and well-being (to a lesser extent). For families with a low level of cultural capital and financial well-being, the fact that the child is under supervision, the organization of his leisure time is significant. They choose options for further education, focusing primarily on the proximity of the circle to the house (at school or in a government organization located nearby).

Wealthy parents with a high level of education are interested in the development of children, taking care of the efficiency of their free time, looking for quality ECA services, starting from preschool age, often not limited to one type of occupation. They are ready to accompany the child to activities for long distances, more attentive to what happens to the child in the classroom.

From the analysis of baseline factors, researchers have begun to focus on the analysis of involvement and strategies of different groups of families, including choice strategies, use of information etc. It's shown that families with a certain cultural capital, as well as so-

cial and economic resources, have the freedom to choose. The poor have less knowledge and information channels and less information skills than the better-off. At the same time, the attitude of the family to ECE is more determined by cultural orientations and values than by the volume of social and material resources (Poplavskaya, Gruzdev, & Petlin, 2018).

Despite the efforts of the state and the sector's active development, barriers and gaps in ECA accessibility and coverage remain due to various factors. The level of availability of extracurricular education in Russia as a whole, including on a budgetary basis, is quite high. At the same time, there are differences in the involvement of different children groups related to both external barriers of accessibility (lack of infrastructure in some regions, transport barriers), objective (education and income) and subjective characteristics of these groups (motivation and cultural capital of families).

The main reason for interregional and intermunicipal differences in the coverage of children with ECE is the lack of places on high-quality modern programs associated with the scale and structure of the network of organizations of ECA education and insufficient funding. Many children in rural areas have limited access to ECE including art, sports and modern programs in the field of science and technology.

Transport and material barriers to access are significant, but they are not the only factors determining differences in the scale and nature of participation in extracurricular education. Families' background, education and incomes, attitudes and strategies, their involvement in children's education and development, understanding of the ECE's effects, their skills for using the information – all these factors play an important role. It is manifested in differences in coverage and specific types of programs and services (different providers and quality). Children from low-income families with limited cultural capital are later included in ECA education, their trajectories are shorter, the range of programs is limited. The availability of extracurricular education varies depending on the areas of programs. Several sectors of extracurricular education are characterized by a high level of co-financing of families, for example, foreign language, ICT and coding.

In relation to family capital, the value of cultural capital is higher than material capital, manifested in the features of motivation, choice strategies and working with information.

Territorial differences in educational opportunities exacerbate inequality in family resources and reduce the chances of schoolchildren from poorly educated rural families. The specificity of inequality in extracurricular education is manifested – where these cultural capital's features have the best ground for demonstration in connection with the peculiarities of the institution and access regulation.

Discussion

We strongly understand that we are presenting an overview rather than a full-fledged comprehensive study of the problem. It is the starting point for our ongoing program of research on individual aspects of inequality using more complex quantitative methods and expanding the qualitative ones.

We find connections with contextual factors similar to foreign studies (Hastings & Weinstein, 2008; Lareau, 2015). An interesting question is the scale of manifestations, the

power of influence and the presence of country features. However, it is very difficult to draw such conclusions because of the absence of comparative studies. Nevertheless, we can talk about the importance of this research area.

It seems particularly promising to consider inequality not only from the context side but also from the crosshairs of institutional factors. So, we see that inequality is not only related to contextual factors: territory, family background, family strategies and their manifestations. It is necessary to understand how the institutional structure and nature of ECA sector regulation, the participants' rights and guarantees, the financing of ECA system, the framework of choice, supporting of families in choosing affect the inequality.

In Russia, we are the first to focus on this. But now these are mostly hypotheses, they need new research on a strict methodological basis. There are no data in the international field of research, which also allows us to consider this focus as a selective field for comparing country cases of inequality through the analysis of institutional factors.

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Shadow Education in Germany: Compensatory or Status Attainment Strategy? Findings from the German Life Study

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Abstract: In Germany we observe a strong increase in the enrolment in shadow education (*Nachhilfe*) over the last two decades. To explain this development we draw on social reproduction theories identifying two strategies: (1) families seek competitive advantages for their children to maintain or achieve an advantageous education level (status attainment strategy); and (2) families seek performance improvement for their low performing children in order to meet the high demands in the pursuit of the highest school diploma (compensatory strategy). To test our theoretical ideas, we estimate regression models using data from the 2012 German Life study. We find that shadow education is primarily used by disadvantaged educational strata to deal with higher demands in school. We conclude that the increased investment in *Nachhilfe* is an unintended but not yet negative outcome of educational expansion and recent educational reforms in Germany.

Keywords: shadow education, private tutoring, *Nachhilfe*, social inequality, Germany

Introduction

Shadow education is well established in East Asian countries and did also expand in many Western countries over the last 20 years (Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016). In Germany, the proportion of 17-year olds who ever received paid *Nachhilfe*¹, has increased from 27 percent in the early 2000 years to 47 percent in the early 2010 years (Hille, Spieß, & Staneva, 2016, p. 116). The market is dominated by 4.500 *Nachhilfe* schools, of which most were founded since 1992 (Birkelbach, Dobischat, & Dobischat, 2017, pp. 59-62). International research highlights three characteristics of shadow education: It is *academic*, therefore excluding all non-academic forms of out-of-school education; it is used as a *supplement* and therefore taking place outside regular school hours; and it is *private*, profit-oriented and therefore fee based (Bray, 2017). Consequently, past international and German research is dominated by the view that shadow education exacerbates social inequality, be-

1 *Nachhilfe* (extra-help) is a broad description for all kinds of supplementary tutoring. We focus our analysis on private, fee-based, commercial *Nachhilfe*, which fits the formal definition of shadow education by Bray (2017). The terms shadow education, private tutoring and *Nachhilfe* are used synonymous.

cause parents with higher socioeconomic status (SES) seem to be in a better position to reap the benefits of private tutoring (Dohmen, 2012; Heyneman, 2011; Hille et al., 2016; Park et al., 2016). Several empirical studies confirmed that high SES students more frequently enrol in private tutoring and use the more cost-intensive lessons leading to higher performance and better educational placement, i.e. entrance to more prestigious schools and universities (e.g. Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; Entrich, 2018; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Only few studies exist indicating that shadow education is used independent of parental SES and may even reduce social inequality by compensating performance deficits of low SES students (e.g. Entrich, 2018; Luplow & Schneider, 2014; Seiyama & Noguchi, 1984).

Whether *Nachhilfe* reduces the SES achievement gap and therefore social inequality is still “empirically open to research” (Stecher, 2018, p. 144). Against this background, we ask two questions:

1. Why has the demand for shadow education in Germany increased that much?
2. What are the implications of the increased investments in shadow education on social inequality?

We address both questions by outlining two educational developments which affect the demand for *Nachhilfe*: The reform of the German tripartite secondary school system and families’ massive pursuit of higher educational attainment. We draw on *social reproduction theories* to show that shadow education can be both, an instrument to counteract all students’ low academic performance and a status-specific investment strategy of families serving status maintenance and upgrade motives.

We predict the determinants of shadow education investment through logistic regressions using the 2012 *Pathways from Late Childhood to Adulthood* (LifE) study for Germany (Lauterbach, Fend, & Gläßer, 2016). The LifE study questioned parents and students on all key aspects necessary for this analysis. This allows a reliable analysis of SES-specific *Nachhilfe* investment in Germany.

Theoretical Frame

Institutional Context and Increase in Shadow Education

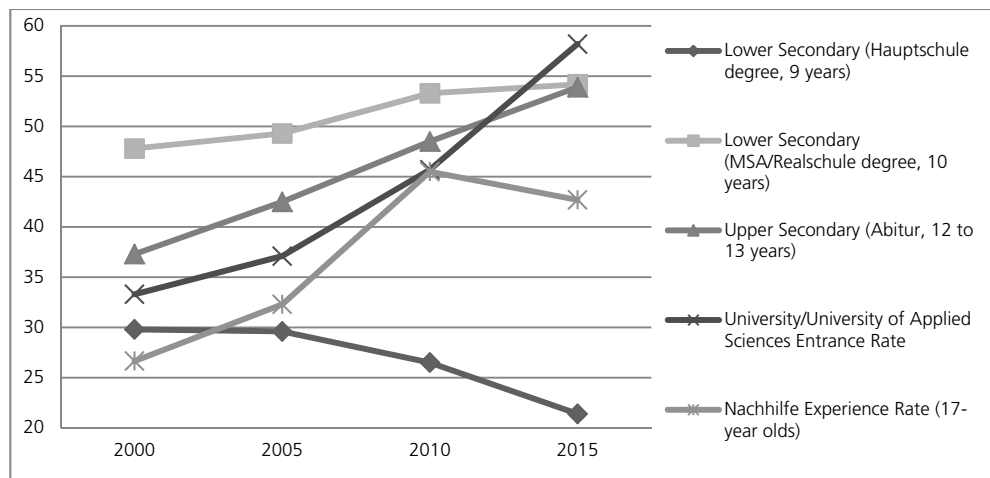
The German educational system has long been criticized for reproducing social inequality through early separation of students into three secondary school types of different length and curriculum: *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*. The *Gymnasium* leads to the *Abitur* (12 or 13 years), the highest secondary school degree, which provides students with the opportunity to enter university. The curricula of the *Real*- and *Hauptschule* are less demanding, leading to lower secondary school degrees after 10 or 9 years of schooling, respectively. Both enable graduates to enter the dual vocational training system (Weiss & Schindler, 2017).

Following the 2002 PISA-shock in Germany, reforms were initiated to increase equality of educational opportunities (Ertl, 2006). The traditional tripartite school system was replaced in 12 out of 16 states by a bipartite school system. *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* were combined to create a comprehensive secondary school type parallel to the *Gymnasium*. From 2005

to 2015 627 of these new secondary schools were established, of which most offer the possibility to achieve the *Abitur*. In 2015 the proportion of all secondary schools providing the upper secondary school program leading to the *Abitur* reached 100 percent in the three federal states Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg, above 90% in Saarland and Schleswig Holstein, and above 70% in Hesse. Only in Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Thuringia, less than 40% of all secondary schools lead to the *Abitur*. But even in the latter federal states, students are formally granted entrance to the *Abitur* track upon achievement of the newly introduced central middle school diploma (*Mittelschulabschluss*, in short MSA) in grade ten (Baumert et al., 2019). Independent of the type of obtained lower secondary degree, whether MSA or traditional degree, all students are allowed to apply at schools which provide the opportunity to achieve the *Abitur* as well (Bildungsberichterstattung, 2016, pp. 74, 257).

As Figure 1 illustrates, a trend towards a bipartite school system with universal access to the upper secondary level is obvious. From 2000 to 2015 the percentage of students achieving the *Abitur* increased massively, from 37.3% to 53.9%. Today, more than every second student achieves the highest school degree and thus the opportunity to directly advance to higher education institutions. Similarly, the percentage of students entering tertiary education has increased from 45.7% in 2010 to 58.2% in 2015. In addition to this formal upgrading of the student population, a significant increase in shadow education enrolment is evident. Between 2000 and 2010 the proportion of 17-year olds with *Nachhilfe* experience rose from 26.7 to 45.5 percent and stayed at a comparable level ever since.

Figure 1. Percentage of Secondary Education Graduates, Entrants to Higher Education and Participation in Paid *Nachhilfe* in Germany (2000-2015)



Notes: Secondary school graduation rates as a proportion of the respective age population of the corresponding year; tertiary education enrolment rates as a proportion of first-year students of the population of the corresponding year of birth; shadow education experience rate based on the item: “Did you ever obtain paid *Nachhilfe*? (Yes/No)” from the GSOEP, showing the weighted mean of 17-year-old participants according to birth cohorts (2000: born 1982-84; 2005: born 1987-89; 2010: 1992-94; 2015: 1997-99).

Sources: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Ministry of Education and Research; BMBF, 2018); German Socio-economic Panel Study (GSOEPv36), own calculation.

Because of the structural change from a tripartite to a bipartite school system, with both tracks leading to the highest school degree, the *Abitur* lost its former elitist character. It became the standard aspired school diploma for most families. With the majority of students attaining the *Abitur* (2015: 53.9 %), the competition between students of all strata increased. Today, the grade point average (GPA) defines the relative value of the degree. Only the best GPA ensures entrance to attractive study programs at universities. For ambitious families this must appear as the best way to secure promising future prospects for their children.

As academic achievement has become more important at the secondary school level, investment in *Nachhilfe* became more attractive also. Recent national representative data show that the participation in paid *Nachhilfe* remains at a low level during primary school (from 2% in first grade to 8% in fourth grade). But, following the transition to the secondary school level, enrolment rates double (16% in fifth grade) and continue to increase further reaching 20% on average prior to the lower secondary degree exams in grades nine (*Hauptschulabschluss*) and ten (MSA; Hille et al., 2016, p. 114).² Another peak in enrolments occurs prior to the *Abitur* final exams in grades 12 and 13 (Birkelbach et al., 2017, pp. 64-65). Both, MSA and *Abitur* mark major transition points, as they decide whether students can proceed to the next schooling level, i.e. to upper secondary education or university, respectively.

***Nachhilfe* as Compensatory or Status Attainment Strategy?**

To explain the increased enrolment in *Nachhilfe*, we draw on social reproduction theories. *Rational choice theory* (Boudon, 1974) indicates that students from disadvantaged family backgrounds receive less support than students from advantaged backgrounds and therefore should have more reason to participate in *Nachhilfe* for remedial purposes. Shadow education could be used to tackle the academic achievement gap between lower and upper social strata families and reduce inequality in educational attainment. However, status-specific differences in educational aspirations affect cost-benefit considerations of families, making the decision for shadow education another rational investment of parents, reflecting status maintenance motives (Enrich, 2015, 2018; Luplow & Schneider, 2014). The higher the parental social status, the more parents want to avoid status downgrading through investments in education (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997), including shadow education.

Effectively maintained inequality theory (Lucas, 2001) points out that only by assessing quantitative (or vertical) and qualitative (or horizontal) dimensions of education simultaneously we can illuminate the dynamics of inequality (Lucas & Byrne, 2017). Because in high educated societies students of nearly all social strata have access to the highest formal education (vertical dimension), upper strata families have to gain new competitive advantages in educational attainment to maintain their status, i.e. higher quality education (horizontal dimension; see also Netz & Finger, 2016; Reimer & Pollak, 2010). If more children of all strata gain access to a formerly advantageous school degree (e.g. the *Abitur*), it is no longer sufficient to simply achieve this diploma to ensure status advantages. High SES parents will

2 Students were asked whether they received paid *Nachhilfe* during the last six months or not.

seek new ways to achieve horizontal advantages, i.e. increase the value of their children's education level (degree) for status attainment.

Consequently, an investment in shadow education can have two major functions related to status attainment: (1) Supporting low performing students to achieve the (new) standard education level, i.e. *compensation* (*vertical* dimension of status motives); and/or (2) increasing students' chances to enter high ranking education or vocational programs through achievement of above average degrees (*horizontal* dimension of status motives). Depending on the performance level and SES of the students participating in shadow education, this investment indicates either status maintenance of higher strata, status upgrade of lower strata, or pure compensatory use for all strata.

In Germany, shadow education was originally designed to support low performing students and has long been a legitimate strategy to counteract learning problems. *Nachhilfe* corresponded with remedial tutoring and was used to increase the chances of reaching a certain education degree (e.g. Dohmen, 2012; Entrich, 2014; Klemm & Hollenbach-Biele, 2016; Stecher & Maschke, 2013). However, examples from different national settings show that shadow education is more frequently used by high SES families to increase the chance of entrance into high ranked schools or universities (e.g. USA: Buchmann et al., 2010; South Korea: Byun, 2014; Japan: Entrich, 2018). This favours the second status motive, leading to horizontal differences in educational attainment.

Recent German studies attribute the increased demand for *Nachhilfe* to a change of investment strategies among families (Dohmen, 2012; Klemm & Hollenbach-Biele, 2016; Koinzer, 2013; Schlösser & Schuhen, 2011; Stecher & Maschke, 2013). Accordingly, high SES parents invest in *Nachhilfe* to ensure that their children maintain an advantaged societal position based on entrance to hierarchically high-ranking educational institutions, i.e. universities or training programs promising high returns. However, up to now it was not empirically tested whether students with good grades attend *Nachhilfe* to maintain their status advantages. Previous research showed that children from high SES families more often enter tertiary education, choose higher ranking universities, and select study programs that promise higher returns. SES-specific differences in the enrolment into qualitatively differently ranked secondary school degree programs were also verified (Reimer & Pollak, 2010; Weiss & Schindler, 2017).

In order to secure an advantageous educational position in relation to other students, *Nachhilfe* can probably be used by well performing students to achieve a better *Abitur* than their peers. If this is the case, these students can increase their chances of gaining access to more prestigious universities, study majors, or training programs. Through this, they will gain higher returns compared to students with only an average or below average *Abitur*.

Based on these considerations, we propose to understand the increased *Nachhilfe* investment in Germany in two ways: Families' intention to maintain or achieve a high or mediocre status through the investment in *Nachhilfe* (status attainment strategy); and the families' demand for remedial *Nachhilfe* in order to meet the high demands in the pursuit of the highest school diploma, i.e. the *Abitur* (compensation strategy). We assume that both strategies are simultaneously pursued by families of all social strata. In order to test which strategy predominates in Germany, hypotheses based on the theoretical discussions are introduced.

Hypotheses

Since status motives are strongly related to parents' SES and aspirations, we first intend to test the following hypothesis:

[H1-1] The higher parents' socioeconomic status and future aspirations for their children, the more likely they invest in paid Nachhilfe to achieve status advantages (status attainment strategy).

Second, based on students' academic performance we assume that students with low performance actually need *Nachhilfe* to achieve a pursued degree (vertical dimension), while especially average performers can use *Nachhilfe* to improve the relative worth of their pursued degree (horizontal dimension):

[H1-2] The likelihood of obtaining Nachhilfe is highest for low performers (compensatory strategy), but not considerably lower for average performers (status attainment strategy).

Moreover, we expect that students have a higher likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe* if they enter qualitatively more demanding school tracks, i.e. leading to the *Abitur*:

[H1-3] The higher the quality of the pursued degree, the higher the probability of obtaining Nachhilfe to compensate for the higher requirements attached to this degree (compensatory strategy).

In addition, we expect that the demand for *Nachhilfe* increases when students face major exams towards the end of the lower (MSA) or upper secondary school levels (*Abitur*) from age 15 onwards:

[H1-4] With higher age, students' probability of obtaining Nachhilfe increases (compensatory strategy).

We also expect that students' own aspirations positively influence their likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe*, because students gain "more influence over the decision for shadow education as they grow older" (Entrich, 2015, pp. 212-213):

[H1-5] The higher students' own post-secondary aspirations, the more likely they are to obtain Nachhilfe (status attainment strategy).

Furthermore, we expect differences in students' likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe* according to the education level of their parents. We classify parental educational level as high (tertiary education) and mediocre (lower than tertiary). First, we expect that within educational strata other family resources are unequally distributed. Families with more financial resources should be able to afford more *Nachhilfe* than others:

[H2-1] Parents without tertiary education are more likely to invest in Nachhilfe if they can draw on other resources, such as high income, so their children can achieve a higher education level (status upgrade strategy).

We also test the assumption that well-performing students from high SES families use *Nachhilfe* to gain horizontal status advantages:

[H2-2] *Children from parents with tertiary education are more likely to obtain Nachhilfe if their grades are not below the average (status maintenance strategy).*

We further expect to find differences between educational strata which come with the different requirements concerning vertical and horizontal differences of secondary school degrees and differences in students' status-specific aspirations:

[H2-3] *Children from parents without tertiary education are more likely to obtain Nachhilfe if they are enrolled in more demanding degree programs, i.e. the Abitur (compensatory strategy).*

[H2-4] *Children from parents with tertiary education are more likely to obtain Nachhilfe at a later point in their school life course, i.e. at the upper secondary school level, to improve the relative worth of their degree (status maintenance strategy).*

[H2-5] *If children from parents without tertiary education aspire to enter university following graduation, they are more likely to obtain Nachhilfe than children from parents with tertiary education (status upgrade strategy).*

Through making these differences between educational strata and focusing on students' grades, school background and aspirations, we are able to identify whether *Nachhilfe* remains a compensatory tool or also serves as status attainment strategy (maintenance or upgrade).

Data and Methods

Data: The German Life Study (1979-2012)

The German Life study entitled *Pathways from Late Childhood to Adulthood* started as a longitudinal youth study with a representative student sample for West Germany, conducted in urban and rural regions of Hesse. Five annual samples of approximately 2000 children of the birth cohort 1967 were collected from 1979 to 1983. Students were questioned up to five times, their parents were questioned two times. The Life study continued to accompany the former students and collected data again in 2002 (age ~35) and 2012 (age ~45). In 2012, the sample of the original participants ($N=1,359$) was supplemented by an additional independent sample of their 12- to 17-year old children³ ($N=581$). In the main survey, the now 45-year olds were asked about their children's education, including out-of-school activities such as *Nachhilfe*. Similar to their parents, the children provided information on their schooling background, leisure activities, and future aspirations. Thus, we are in a position to use direct responses from both cohorts and bring them together for our analysis of *Nachhilfe* determinants. Even though our final analytic sample is small ($N=449$), it allows to make reliable statements about SES-specific *Nachhilfe* investment in former West Germany.

3 Only the first-born child in each family aged 12- to less than 18-years was considered.

Dependent Variable: *Nachhilfe* Participation

In 2012, parents were asked the following questions concerning *Nachhilfe*:

- “Has your child ever received *Nachhilfe* during his/her school life? If yes, how often?”
- “Did you pay for this *Nachhilfe* or was it mainly free of charge?”
- “What prompted you to organize *Nachhilfe* for your child?”

Of the 449 children used in the analysis, 44.5% reported experience with paid *Nachhilfe*, whereas another 8.2% obtained free of charge *Nachhilfe*. The total enrolment rate in paid *Nachhilfe* is thus consistent with the nationally representative data (see Figure 1). Most of the children used *Nachhilfe* “several times” (57.5%), some “rarely” (26%), while 16.6% used it “quite often”. Half of all recipients (51.9%) used these lessons to improve their grades, 37.6% pursued *Nachhilfe* to prepare for upcoming tests or exams such as the MSA or *Abitur*. 26.6% wanted to close gaps of knowledge, or practiced new learning strategies. It’s unclear whether *Nachhilfe* is used for status maintenance of upper strata or status attainment of lower and middle strata. Such motives are not directly intended and thus obtainable through items asking for the reasons to attend *Nachhilfe*. We need to scrutinize the differences in a statistical model where we differentiate social origin, aspirations, students’ grades and schooling background. We recode our dependent variable as follows: (1) paid and (0) unpaid and no *Nachhilfe*.⁴

Explanatory Variables

To test hypotheses [H1-1] and [H2-1], we need appropriate measures reflecting the parental level of education, the economic and social dimensions of social origin, and parents’ educational aspirations for their children. We classified parents’ education level into two categories: tertiary education (1), and non-tertiary (0). We recoded families’ household-net-income into three categories reflecting the relative income position: high income (1=more than 150% of average household-net-income), average income (2=more than 70 % but less than 150% of average household-net-income), and low income (3=less than 70% of average household-net-income; i.e. reference). In addition, we include parental class based on the *European Socioeconomic Classification* (ESeC): The salariat (1), the intermediate (2), and the working class (3, i.e. reference).⁵ Finally, we include a dummy variable reflecting parents’ post-secondary school aspirations for their children, coded as: targeting a university degree (1); or targeting no such degree (0).

4 In previous analyses, we carried out multinomial logistic regressions differentiating our dependent variable in paid *Nachhilfe* (1), free-of-charge *Nachhilfe* (2) and no *Nachhilfe* (3; Entrich & Lauterbach, 2016; Entrich & Lauterbach, 2017). We found no substantial differences between those using free-of-charge lessons and those using no *Nachhilfe*. Since the number of students using free-of-charge tutoring is small, the reliability of our models is better realized with the here proposed binary coding of the dependent variable. Further analyses excluding free-of-charge *Nachhilfe* show consistent findings with the results of our analyses in this paper.

5 The ESeC is used to classify European societies into nine categories, ranging from higher professions and management occupations to routine workers. We recoded these nine groups into three broad classes: the salariat (categories 1 and 2), the intermediate (categories 3, 4, 5, and 6), and the working class (categories 7, 8, and 9; for a detailed overview see Wirth & Fischer, 2008).

To approach hypotheses [H1-2] and [H2-2], we include students' grades in the three core subjects in which students most frequently demand *Nachhilfe*: Mathematics, English, and German (Birkelbach et al., 2017, p. 88). Grades in German schools range from 1 (highest) to 6 (lowest), with grades 5 and 6 implying a failure of the student, thus endangering the transfer to the next grade level. To identify performance related motives, we compute a sum score based on students' grades in all three subjects. We classified three performance categories: high GPA (1=grades 1, 2), low GPA (2=grades 4, 5, 6), and average GPA (3=grade 3, i.e. reference).

To approach hypotheses [H1-3/4/5] and [H2-3/4/5], we include a variable which reflects the pursued school degree. Hence, we are able to see whether students pursue *Nachhilfe* more often if they aspire to achieve a higher degree independent of the school type they are enrolled in. We classified two categories: Upper secondary school degree (*Abitur*: 1); and MSA or other lower secondary school degree (0). An additional variable for students' age as a proxy for years of achieved education is included as follows: 15 to 17 years old (1); and 12 to 14 years old (2). Hence, we can test whether the horizontal or vertical differences at the secondary school level influence *Nachhilfe* investment. Furthermore, students' own educational aspirations are considered similar to their parents' aspirations: aiming to achieve a university degree (1); or no such ambition (0). Lastly, we control for gender (1=male; 0=female).

Methods

To test our hypotheses, we look at descriptive statistics, before we estimate stepwise logistic regressions predicting students' participation in *Nachhilfe*: In Model 1, we concentrate on the influence of parents' social background on *Nachhilfe* persuasion as proposed in [H1-1]. Model 2 addresses students' performance as proposed in [H1-2]. In Model 3, we add all other student related variables to test [H1-3/4/5]. Model 4 focuses on the differences in *Nachhilfe* participation according to parents' educational background. We compare two groups: those from advantaged educational backgrounds and those from disadvantaged educational backgrounds, thus testing [H2-1/2/3/4/5]. As some colleagues have stressed (e.g. Mood, 2010), logistic coefficients and the often displayed odds ratios (*OR*) are not suitable for comparisons between models and groups. Hence, we post-estimated average marginal effects (*AME*). In contrast to *OR*, *AME* show no chances for the occurrence of a certain phenomenon, but rather specify by how many percentage points the average probability of the represented group of one variable is different from the probability in the reference group.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 highlights our descriptive findings. Regarding the social origin of the families, we found that non-tertiary educated families more often use *Nachhilfe* (49.5%) than families with tertiary education degrees (35.6%). Differences according to parents' income and class position are not detected. High-income (43.2%) and salariat families (46.5%) do not considerably

more often invest in paid *Nachhilfe* than low-income (42.3%) or working-class families (47.7%). The biggest difference in the demand for *Nachhilfe* remains with students' performance. Below average performing students more often obtain paid *Nachhilfe* (58.6%) compared to above average (17.9%) and average performing students (45.8%). Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of high performing students received paid *Nachhilfe* in all three core subjects as well (Mathematics: 29.3%; English: 28.6%; German: 31.5%). This shows that there are, in fact, students obtaining *Nachhilfe* who obviously have no learning problems.

Table 1. Differences in the Use of Paid *Nachhilfe* According to Parents' and Students Background Factors

		Percentage of <i>Nachhilfe</i> participants	N (total)
Participation in paid <i>Nachhilfe</i> ...		44.4	449
...according to highest parental education level:	<i>University degree</i>	35.6	160
	<i>No university degree</i>	49.5	289
...according to household-net-income:	<i>High income group (>150%)</i>	43.2	74
	<i>Average income group</i>	45.8	264
	<i>Low income group (<70%)</i>	42.3	111
...according to class of parents (ESeC):	<i>Salariat</i>	46.5	114
	<i>Intermediate</i>	38.2	136
	<i>Working class</i>	47.7	199
...according to parents' educational aspirations for their children:	<i>University degree</i>	38.0	150
	<i>No university degree</i>	47.8	299
...according to children's academic performance in school:			
	<i>Above average (grades 1 to 2)</i>	17.9	84
<i>GPA (all subjects)</i>	<i>average (grade 3)</i>	45.8	225
	<i>Below average (grades 4, 5, or 6)</i>	58.6	140
	<i>Above average (grades 1 to 2)</i>	29.3	164
<i>Mathematics</i>	<i>average (grade 3)</i>	49.0	153
	<i>Below average (grades 4, 5, or 6)</i>	58.3	132
	<i>Above average (grades 1 to 2)</i>	28.6	175
<i>English</i>	<i>average (grade 3)</i>	50.3	153
	<i>Below average (grades 4, 5, or 6)</i>	60.3	121
	<i>Above average (grades 1 to 2)</i>	31.5	181
<i>German</i>	<i>average (grade 3)</i>	50.8	195
	<i>Below average (grades 4, 5, or 6)</i>	60.3	73
...according to aspired school-leaving degree of the children:			
	<i>Upper secondary school degree (Abitur)</i>	46.9	303
	<i>Lower secondary school degree (MSA and other)</i>	39.7	146
...according to children's age:	<i>12- to 14-year olds</i>	36.8	239
	<i>15- to 17-year olds</i>	53.3	210
...according to children's own educational aspirations:	<i>University degree</i>	45.5	211
	<i>No university degree</i>	43.7	238
...according to children's sex:	<i>Female</i>	40.9	237
	<i>Male</i>	48.6	212

Source: Life 2012; own calculation.

A difference between *Nachhilfe* participation according to school degree program is also visible in our data: Particularly students who pursue the *Abitur* make frequent use of paid *Nachhilfe* (46.9%) compared to those who pursue the MSA or other lower secondary degrees (39.7%). Furthermore, students of higher age (15- to 17-years old) show more experience with *Nachhilfe*. Finally, gender differences are detected: According to our data, boys (48.6%) use *Nachhilfe* more often than girls (40.9%).

As shown in Table 2, *Nachhilfe* participation of students is negatively correlated with parental education and aspirations, and the students' grades. The correlations between the predictor variables are mostly weak. We find a positive correlation between household-net-income and parental education (.24), but a negative correlation of parents' class with their education (-.22). Parents' and students' aspirations are also correlated (.33). Parental education is also weakly correlated with students' performance in mathematics and English (.11 to .14). Only students' grades in the three different subject areas German, mathematics and English show moderate correlations with each other (.37 to .56).

Table 2. Bivariate Correlation Statistics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
(1) Paid <i>Nachhilfe</i> (yes; ref: no participation)	1.00										
(2) Parental education level (university; ref: other) ¹	-0.13	1.00									
(3) Monthly Household-net-income ¹	0.05	0.24	1.00								
(4) Parental class (ESeC) ²	0.03	-0.22	-0.18	1.00							
(5) Parents' aspirations (university; ref: other)	-0.09	0.22	0.15	-0.21	1.00						
(6) Students' grades in German ³	-0.23	0.05	0.01	-0.09	0.18	1.00					
(7) Students' grades in Mathematics ³	-0.24	0.11	0.12	-0.05	0.09	0.37	1.00				
(8) Students' grades in English ³	-0.27	0.14	0.01	-0.04	0.15	0.56	0.37	1.00			
(9) Students' age (15–17-years; ref: 12–14-years)	0.17	-0.06	-0.03	0.06	0.02	0.01	-0.06	0.02	1.00		
(10) Students' pursued degree (Abitur; ref: other)	0.07	0.14	0.09	-0.12	0.16	-0.02	-0.02	-0.00	0.00	1.00	
(11) Students' own aspirations (university; ref: other)	0.02	0.23	0.13	-0.12	0.33	0.17	0.14	0.20	0.12	0.13	1.00
(12) Students' gender (male; ref: female)	-0.08	0.02	0.03	-0.01	0.01	0.24	0.04	0.17	0.00	0.02	0.09

Note. Significant correlations ($p < .05$) are printed in bold, highly significant correlations ($p < .01$) in bold italics and marginally significant correlations ($p < .10$) in italics. ¹ Total household-net-income per month ranges from 670 Euro to 70.000 Euro. ² Parental class are coded from 1 (higher professions and management occupations) to 9 (routine workers). ³ Grades are coded from 1 (insufficient/unsatisfactory) to 5 (very good).

Multivariate Analyses

Table 3 shows five logistic regression Models. The first model reveals that – contrasting to [H1-1] – neither parental SES nor aspirations positively influence the students' likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe*. Parents' education level is even negatively related to *Nachhilfe* participation: If parents possess a university degree, their children are 15% less likely to pursue paid *Nachhilfe*. These first results indicate that high SES families can draw on other resources to support their children and have no considerably higher need to turn to *Nachhilfe*.

Table 3. Logistic Regressions Predicting Students' Participation in Paid *Nachhilfe* (Displaying AME)

Reference: Unpaid or no <i>Nachhilfe</i>		Dependent: Participation in paid <i>Nachhilfe</i>					
		M1	M2	M3	M 4		
Parents' Background	Education Level	University degree	-.15**	-.12	-.14**	University degree	No University degree
		REF: no university degree					
	Household-net-income	High income group: >150%	.09	.10	.12	.06	.23*
		Average income group	.04	.04	.03	.00	.04
		REF: Low income group: <70%					
	Class (ESeC)	The Salaried	.04	.05	.05	.03	.07
		The Intermediate	-.08	-.06	-.05	-.04	-.05
		REF: The Working Class					
	Aspirations for children	University degree	-.08	-.03	-.08	-.13+	-.02
		REF: no university degree					
School performance		High GPA (grades 1 or 2)		-.26***	-.27***	-.18*	-.32***
	Low GPA (grades 4, 5, or 6)		.12*	.13*	.23*	.09	
	REF: Average GPA (grade 3)						
	Age (quantity of education)	15- to 17-years old			.15**	.20**	.14**
REF: 12- to 14-years old							
Pursued degree		Abitur			.08+	-.03	.12*
(quality of education)		REF: MSA and other					
Students' Background	Own educational aspirations	University degree			.10*	.07	.10+
		REF: no university degree					
	Gender	female			-.02	.14+	-.11*
N (valid cases)		449	449	449	160	289	
Pseudo R ² (McFadden)		.02	.08	.11	.14	.12	

***P<0.001; **P<0.01; *P<0.05; +P<0.10

Source: Life 2012; own calculation.

Model 2 adds students' performance and increases the model reliability by 6% (McFadden's pseudo R²). Thus, performance is a stronger predictor than SES. As assumed in [H1-2], the overall probability to obtain *Nachhilfe* is highest for students with below average performance, who are 12% more likely to obtain *Nachhilfe* compared to those with average performance. High performers are least likely to use *Nachhilfe* (-26%).

As expected in hypotheses [H1-3/4/5] (Model 3), students enrolled in the *Abitur* degree program (+8%), with more education years (+15%), and university aspirations (+10%) have a greater likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe*. The results of these first analyses indicate that *Nachhilfe* is a general remedial strategy used by all strata, possibly reducing educational differentials.

Model 4 subdivides the analysis according to parents' education background. In line with [H2-1], the household-net-income position does affect the probability of children from parents without tertiary education to obtain *Nachhilfe*. Especially high-income families are 23% more likely to pursue paid *Nachhilfe* for their kids compared to below average income families. As expected, the income position of the household plays a role after all.

In contrast to [H2-2], unexpected strata-specific differences regarding the impact of students' performance on *Nachhilfe* use are detected. Students from highly educated strata

are not more likely to obtain *Nachhilfe* if their grades are not below the average, whereas students from less educated strata with average GPA show no significant difference to low performing students in their likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe*, indicating status upgrade motives also. We also find that students from less educated strata (especially boys: +11%) who pursue the *Abitur* (+15%) and intend to enter university (+3%) are more likely to obtain *Nachhilfe* compared to students from higher educated families.

These results indicate that low and middle status families (i.e. without tertiary education) use *Nachhilfe* to generally cope with the high demands at the upper secondary schooling level and to achieve status upgrading. Parents without university degrees seem less capable of supporting their children if they aim for the *Abitur* and intend to enter university than parents with university degrees. Students from highly educated families (especially girls: +14%) seem to be more likely to invest in *Nachhilfe* towards the end of secondary schooling (i.e. with higher age: +20%), prior to major exams such as the MSA and the *Abitur*, which largely influence the worth of the degree. Our results thus indicate that through *Nachhilfe* especially middle status parents without tertiary education but with sufficient financial resources try to ensure that their children will achieve the *Abitur*. With this former elitist diploma, low and middle strata children gain the opportunity to enter university and achieve better access to more attractive jobs, i.e. compensate the high requirements attached to the new standard school diploma *Abitur* and possibly even achieve a status upgrade as proposed by hypotheses [H2-3/4/5].

In sum, our analyses show that students of all strata use *Nachhilfe* for remedial purposes to achieve their pursued school degrees. *Nachhilfe* functions as a remedial strategy for those who encounter general learning deficits in school and as a compensatory and status upgrade instrument for those children from low and middle strata who face higher requirements in school when striving to achieve higher credentials, i.e. upper secondary and tertiary education degrees.

Conclusion

A positive significant impact of parents' SES and aspirations on their children's probability to obtain *Nachhilfe* could not be verified (disproving [H1-1]). However, when differentiating for the educational background of parents we found a significant impact of household income for lower educated families (confirming [H2-1]). Based on these findings, we suspect that middle strata families without tertiary education actually drive the increased demand for shadow education in Germany, because they seek a status upgrade through achieving higher educational credentials for their kids. Our analyses further showed that school performance remains the crucial factor for whether or not *Nachhilfe* is considered by families – independent of social background (confirming [H1-2], but not [H2-2]). Hence, we found no evidence that high educated parents have become more likely than other strata to invest in *Nachhilfe* to gain horizontal advantages for their children by achieving the best degrees with the highest GPA's.

As expected in [H1-4] and [H2-4], students' likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe* increases with their age, i.e. with the higher requirements at the upper secondary level – for all strata.

In addition, we found that the qualitatively higher requirements of the highest degree program *Abitur* only significantly increase lower strata students' likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe* (contrasting to [H1-3]). This indicates that students from lower and middle strata, who pursue the highest-ranking degrees, use *Nachhilfe* to deal with the higher curricular demands of this degree program. By achieving the *Abitur*, these students might already gain a status upgrade, as they have access to tertiary education and increase their chances on the labour market (as expected in [H2-3]). Furthermore, the expected impact of students' aspirations on *Nachhilfe* participation ([H1-5]) was verified: Children from parents without tertiary education but with high ambitions show a higher likelihood to obtain *Nachhilfe*. In addition, we found a high likelihood of low and average performing students from less educated backgrounds to obtain *Nachhilfe*. This supports the notion that lower and middle strata use *Nachhilfe* with the intention to achieve a status upgrade.

We conclude that, contrasting to past findings and assumptions from international and national research on shadow education, students from upper strata families in Germany are unlikely to use *Nachhilfe* for status maintenance purposes. Our findings indicate that the main reason for the increased demand for *Nachhilfe* in Germany is the need for remedial support caused by educational expansion and education reforms (compensatory strategy). We showed that more and more German students pursue the highest secondary schooling degree (*Abitur*), thus being confronted with higher demands than in the lower ranking tracks. Additional support becomes increasingly relevant, especially for those who intend to proceed to tertiary education and by this achieve status upgrades. In this sense, the higher participation in *Nachhilfe* in Germany rather reduces the SES achievement gap instead of widening inequalities.

In light of these findings, the often-made statements by proponents of social reproduction theories, arguing that investments in shadow education would inevitably lead to widening inequalities, have to be questioned. We too used rational choice and effectively maintained inequality theory to hypothesize on the possible rationales behind the increased *Nachhilfe* investment in Germany drawing on status motives. But instead of restricting our focus to upper strata's status maintenance strategies, we additionally considered the possibility that lower strata's status upgrade motives may play a considerable role in *Nachhilfe* demand, thus opening up to the possibility that *Nachhilfe* may help to tackle academic achievement gaps between students from high and low social strata. The primary use of *Nachhilfe* in Germany is directed at supporting students with low performance, who then might increase their chances to achieve higher degrees. Considering the recent findings of Guill, Lüdtke, and Köller (2019), using data from the representative German National Education Panel Study (NEPS), a reduction in the SES achievement gap remains questionable, though. The authors found no direct effects of *Nachhilfe* use on the students' performance development. But, similar to previous German research on the subject (e.g. Guill & Spinath, 2014; Hosenfeld, 2011), Guill et al. (2019) did not focus their analyses on private, paid *Nachhilfe* but rather used all possible kinds of *Nachhilfe* as their dependent variable. International research has shown, however, that the effects of shadow education vary considerably according to the used type of tutoring and between SES groups (e.g. Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun, 2014; Entrich, 2018), suggesting positive effects for Germany as well. Until now, neither SES group comparisons nor differentiated analyses focusing on different

types of *Nachhilfe* exist that clearly show whether shadow education in Germany holds positive effects for students' performance and educational pathways. Future studies should investigate the concrete effects of different types of *Nachhilfe* participation for different social strata to clarify whether and which students manage to reap the benefits of shadow education investments.

This study also holds policy implications insofar that we found no massive use of *Nachhilfe* for status maintenance of upper strata (yet), as confirmed for East Asia. We believe the reason for this is that the German education system does not possess "gatekeeper" exams that determine transitions to the upper secondary or tertiary education levels, such as the SAT (scholarly aptitude test) in the United States or entrance exams in Japan, South Korea, or China.⁶ Nevertheless, recent reforms are likely to have caused increased competition between students in schools, while ranking systems for secondary schools and universities became more prominent (Weiss & Schindler, 2017). Our findings indicate that, up to now, the expansion of *Nachhilfe* participation remains an unintended but not yet negative outcome of educational expansion and recent education reforms in Germany. Whether this will change in the future depends largely on the kind of education policies that follow.

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6 In fact, policies in the United States and East Asia implemented various forms of state after-school programs to provide all students with opportunities for academic preparation for high-stakes exams and lessen the dependence and subsequent socioeconomic disparities in shadow education (Bae & Jeon, 2013; Kanefuji, 2015; Lubienski & Lee, 2013; Mori, 2013; Yamato & Zhang, 2017).

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Stratification in Extended Education Participation and its Implications for Education Inequality

Sang Hoon Bae, Eunwon Cho, Bo-Kyung Byun

Abstract: This study identified subgroups of elementary students based on similar patterns of participation in four different types of extended education in Korea. The study also investigated relationships between student patterns of extended education participation and their various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, including residential location, parental education, and family income level. To achieve these aims, the study used latent profile analysis and logistic regression on a dataset of 18,186 students from 786 elementary schools provided by Statistics Korea. Results reveal five distinctive subgroups of students in terms of extended education participation: afterschool academic program users, shadow education users, moderate afterschool academic program users, ordinary users, and talent development seekers. Results also show that student socioeconomic and demographic characteristics are strongly associated with their classification into the above-mentioned subgroups. These findings signal the possibility that “educational stratification” based on student socioeconomic background may be occurring in the area of extended education.

Keywords: extended education, participation, stratification, educational equality

Introduction

Korea is well known for its people’s “education fever” (Seth, 2002): parents are willing to make great sacrifices to ensure their children’s success in education and life. Over the past five decades, this culture has intensified with the strong public belief that education is one of the most effective investments for individual “upward mobility” from one social level to another, and contributes to the reproduction of family socioeconomic status.

In reality, parents’ desire for their children’s education leads to incessant efforts to provide increased access to better education opportunities for their children. Given the greatly equalized and standardized regular curricular activities under the strictly mandated national curriculum framework, Korean parents seek alternative routes to differentiate educational opportunities and experiences of their children from those of their peers through “out-of-school time.” This is demonstrated by the ever-increasing participation rate in private supplementary tutoring, also known as “shadow education” (Bray, 1999). Most parents believe that attending “*hakwon* (for-profit private tutoring institutions)” will help their children prepare for tests and therefore achieve higher scores, paving the way for their children’s

admission to prestigious universities. Regardless of whether such private tutoring indeed enhances student learning, private supplementary tutoring is a dominant culture in Korean education. Furthermore, private tutoring is becoming increasingly normative and institutionalized in other East Asian countries, as well (Bae & Jeon, 2013; Bae & Kanefuji, 2018; Bray, 2013). From a public policy perspective, however, one serious problem concerning the widespread and increasing shadow education is that the accessibility and affordability of private tutoring services considerably differ across students from different socioeconomic classes and regions. Because the financial costs of private tutoring are relatively high, only students from wealthier families can afford to take part in such educational opportunities. Due to the lack of private tutors, students in rural areas have much more limited access to private tutoring compared to their peers in urban areas. In this regard, the ever-increasing participation in private tutoring is considered as a factor exacerbating educational equality in Korea.

A countermeasure to such problems has been presented in the form of school-based afterschool programs, defined as “a set of student-centered learning and development activities which are school-based operations but a not a part of the regular curriculum” (Ministry of Education and Science and Technology, 2012). These programs are generally run by school teachers or education professionals hired by schools, and are mostly implemented within school premises after regular school hours. More importantly, these afterschool programs are much more affordable than profit-seeking private tutoring services. Accordingly, school-based afterschool programs have become an alternative educational arrangement for students from lower income families and rural areas who have limited access to expensive private tutoring. In other words, school-based afterschool programs can be viewed as an education policy that promotes education equality in Korea.

As explained above, private supplementary tutoring and afterschool programs are the two main pillars of extended education in Korea. These two types of programs and activities are implemented with a variety of purposes. Private supplementary tutoring is provided by for-profit education services that are designed to increase students’ test performance. With the ever-intensifying competition among students, the private tutoring market in academic subjects has been continuously growing. The cost of private tutoring varies based on its performance in raising scores and/or sending students to prestigious universities. Meanwhile, afterschool programs for academic subjects are relatively cheaper and usually provided for students who cannot afford expensive private tutoring, as well as those who are left behind.

With the growing perception regarding the importance of extended education participation in students’ growth and development, an increasing number of talent development programs and activities are also provided after school hours at a variety of places. Some programs are offered by profit-seeking vendors, while others are provided as one of the school-based afterschool programs. Costs differ based on the quality of programs and activities.

With various extended education programs, Korean students are able to choose which programs to attend after school. While there has been little research to directly compare the quality of provided programs, anecdotal evidence and market rules suggest that the costs of programs are directly proportional to their quality. It is also assumed that socioeconomic status—for instance, family income level and residential location of students—greatly in-

fluences students' choice of programs. In other words, students from different socioeconomic backgrounds may have different levels of access to extended education and consume different types of extended education for different purposes. Such stratified patterns of extended education participation among different socioeconomic groups may have harmful effects on social and educational equality. In this regard, it is important to empirically examine whether distinct profiles of extended education participation exist among students.

Using Latent Profile Analyses (LPA), this study intends to identify groups of students categorized based on similar profiles of extended education participation. In other words, this study examined whether there are differing subpopulations of students who show differential pattern of participating in different types of extended education programs and activities. It also investigated whether different profiles or classes in extended education participation are associated with students' demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. The study's research questions are as follows:

1. What extended education participation patterns exist among Korean elementary school students?
2. What relationships exist between student socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and the patterns that students exhibit?

Literature Review

Defining Extended Education

Because definitions of "extended education" tend to vary across different country contexts, an examination of what constitutes as extended education is particularly fitting for the purposes of this study. Bae (2018) presents a conceptual framework to classify different types of learning opportunities based on (a) whether said opportunities were provided in school, and (b) whether these opportunities were provided during school hours. Based on this framework, extended education refers to all learning and development opportunities provided outside of school class time.

Such extended education can be further divided based on who is supplying these learning opportunities—namely, schools or for-profit actors. To begin with, there are afterschool programs—instruction and activities provided by schools, but outside regular school hours. This particular type of extended education is particularly prevalent in the U.S. and Korea (Bae, 2018; Bae & Jeon, 2013). Another major type of extended education takes the form of shadow education. Three characteristics set this particular type of education apart from others (Bray, 2012). According to Bray, shadow education is characterized by "supplementation," as it covers subjects which students already learned in school; it also denotes "privateness," as the providers of shadow education are for-profit actors from the private sphere; finally, it is "academic subject-focused," and therefore primarily aims to help increase students' academic performance—namely, test scores.

Yet another way of classifying extended education is based on its underlying causes and aims (Bae, 2018). Some extended education programs have been developed with the primary purpose of nurturing child development, whether in the form of academic compe-

tence, inter-personal skills, or various other forms of non-academic talent (Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014). Others were developed to address gaps in the standardized public school curriculum (Bae & Jeon, 2013). There are also types of extended education designed to cater to the various needs of society, such as after-school child care for the children of working parents or remedial language training programs for immigrant students (Dyson & Jones, 2014). Finally, some forms of extended education mostly aim to facilitate students' competition for upward social mobility, and thus serve as a vehicle for social reproduction (Bray, 2012).

Participation in Extended Education Worldwide

Due to varying definitions of extended education, it is difficult to directly compare levels of participation in extended education in different countries. The literature generally notes that shadow education has particularly been noticeable in the East Asian region, wherein it is a highly systematized industry (OECD, 2014). Lee and Shouse (2011) note that shadow education in these regions is often perceived as a prerequisite in the competition for social mobility. Bray (2012) notes that participation in shadow education is much lower in Western Europe and extremely low in Northern Europe. The literature generally shows, however, that shadow education is gradually increasing in countries across the world (OECD, 2014). Figure 1 of the Appendix compares student participation levels in out-of-school-time lessons with non-school teachers in countries across the world (OECD, 2011).

While most countries take a laissez-faire approach to the recent increase in shadow education, the Korean government has made active efforts over the past decades to reduce students' reliance on it (OECD, 2014). One such effort has been to introduce afterschool programs—for both academic development as well as general enrichment (activities not directly targeting academic achievement, such as the arts and sports)—in almost all K-12 institutions across the country. By doing so, the government hoped to reduce student demand for shadow education and address the widening achievement gap between privileged and less-privileged students (OECD, 2011). The number of Korean students participating in such afterschool programs has thus rapidly increased over the past decade. Worthy of note for the purposes of this paper is that participation in after-school programs is particularly high among elementary school students: as of 2018, approximately 59.3% of elementary school students in Korea (1.6 million) participated in afterschool programs (Ministry of Education, 2018). This ranks as the highest participation in within-school extended education among all K-12 students, in terms of both percentages of participation and number of students participated. Particularly worth note is that the afterschool programs offered by Korean elementary schools are much more diverse in nature, when compared to those offered by middle and high schools. As shown in Table 1, elementary schools offer a wide variety of programs with an academic focus (including Korean, math, science, and English); but a great number of programs with an enrichment focus are also offered (including music art, physical education, and computer skills).

Table 1. Number of Afterschool Programs, by School Level

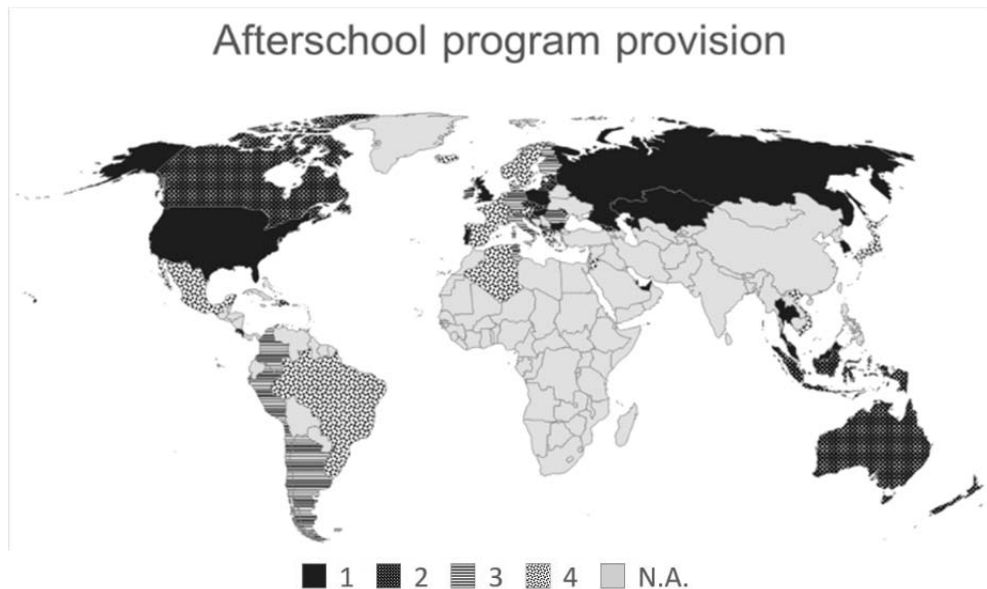
Academic Programs								
		Korean	Math	Social	Science	English	Second Foreign Language	Etc.
Elementary School	Number of Programs	2,478	12,554	1,481	11,937	13,051	2,882	1,815
	Proportion	9.90	31.12	8.28	37.91	34.51	55.17	17.95
Middle School	Number of Programs	3,869	6,619	2,728	3,379	6,607	1,267	1,131
	Proportion	15.45	16.41	15.25	10.73	17.47	24.25	11.18
High School	Number of Programs	18,690	21,167	13,682	16,168	18,161	1,075	7,166
	Proportion	74.65	52.47	76.47	51.35	48.02	20.58	70.87
Total Number of Programs		25,037	40,340	17,891	31,484	37,819	5,224	10,112
Enrichment programs								
		Music	Art	Physical Edu.	Computer Skills	Reading Essay		Etc.
Elementary	Number of Programs	30,595	22,344	31,838	23,190	5,330		40,680
	Proportion	75.73	84.54	68.07	87.89	75.22		82.81
Middle	Number of Programs	7,375	2,547	10,060	1,403	742		4,266
	Proportion	18.25	9.64	21.51	5.32	10.47		8.68
High	Number of Programs	2,430	1,538	4,872	1,791	1,014	1,111	4,177
	Proportion	6.01	5.82	10.42	6.79	14.31		8.50
Total Number of Programs		40,400	26,429	46,770	26,384	7,086		49,123

Note. Data from the Korean Ministry of Education (2018).

Cross-country comparisons of participation in afterschool programs presented in Table 2 of the Appendix reveal that participation rates in said programs are again particularly high in Korea. On the other hand, the U.S. and the U.K. show extended education program participation rates slightly above the OECD average. While many Western European and Scandinavian countries fell behind the OECD average in terms of provision of afterschool programs in the past, these countries have increasingly been offering more afterschool programs in recent years. Germany, for example, has seen a steady rise in all-day schools (StEG) over the past decade (Maaz, Baethge, Brugger, & Fussel, 2016).

A recent study by Bae, Park, Kwak, Cho, and Jung (2019) provides further insight into worldwide participation patterns in science-related afterschool programs, using PISA 2015 data.

Figure 1. Worldwide Distribution of Afterschool Program Provision, by Quartiles of PISA Science Scores



Note. Taken from Bae, Park, Kwak, Cho, & Jung (2019). PISA science scores of students from 54 PISA-participating countries and regions were divided into quartiles, with quartile 1 signifying the highest scores and quartile 4 signifying the lowest (see legend). Countries with no available data were marked as N.A.

Extended Education and its Impact on Social Equality

Impact of Shadow Education

The literature on the effects of shadow education on students' academic achievement shows mixed results; however, studies generally tend to lean toward the verdict that participating in shadow education is positively associated with improved academic performance. For example, Shin and Kim (2010) state that participation in shadow education and cost of participated program is positively associated with elementary and middle school students' academic performance in Korea. Kang and Lee (2010) also found that shadow education participation increases his or her academic performance, albeit with differential effect sizes for varying subjects. This relationship—namely, the positive association between participation in shadow education and academic performance—has also generally been observed across countries in Europe – e.g., Spain, Ireland, Poland, Greece; East Asia – e.g., Hong Kong-China; and Australia (OECD, 2011).

Impact of Afterschool Programs

While the literature on afterschool programs shows mixed results, the general consensus is that students who participate in said programs perform better than those who do not. This pertains to both studies conducted with an international focus (Fischer, Theis, & Züchner, 2014; Huang et al., 2007; Jenner, E. & Jenner, L., 2007; Lauer et al., 2006; OECD, 2014; Posner & Vandell, 1994, 1999; Vandell et al., 2007) as well as studies conducted specifically in Korea.

Jang (2018), for example, conducted a meta-analysis of the Korean literature to evaluate effects of afterschool program participation on student outcomes. He found that participating in afterschool programs were reported to have a positive effect on a variety of outcomes including academic achievement, cognitive development, and affective development. Bae, Kim, and Yang (2010), using data on extended education expenditure from Statistics Korea, also found similar results—reporting that an increase in afterschool program expenditure led to an increase in students' academic achievement, especially for students from low-income families. A number of other studies using data from different student age groups and divergent definitions of academic achievement have yielded similar results (Chae, Ihm, & Woo, 2009; Kim, 2010).

It is also important to note that afterschool program participation has been associated with improvement in cognitive and affective outcomes as well. Park, Ha, and Kim (2014) for example, using nationally representative data, reported that students who attended afterschool programs experienced a moderate but significant increase in academic self-efficacy and class engagement.

These findings suggest different meanings when viewed in light of who participate in shadow education and afterschool programs. Regardless of country, the literature shows that socioeconomically privileged students have the tendency to participate in shadow education; those from low-income families, rural areas, and other less-privileged backgrounds show higher participation in more affordable afterschool programs (OECD, 2014). This gives way to the hypothesis that shadow education may be increasing social inequality by raising the achievement of privileged and wealthier students. Afterschool programs, on the other hand, by providing less-privileged students with alternatives to prohibitively expensive shadow education, possibly have the potential to address social inequality. In this context, this study aims to better examine this possibility.

Methods

Data and Sample

This study aims to identify latent groups according to the pattern of extended education participation of Korean elementary students and explore family background variables that influence students' classification into respective groups. Data used for this analysis was drawn from the 2018 Survey on the Status of Private Tutoring provided by Statistics Korea. The survey was conducted across elementary, middle, and high school levels. The literature, as well as recent government statistics (see Table 1), emphasizes that students increas-

ingly flock toward extended education programs with a solely academic focus as they progress through middle and high school. Elementary school students, on the other hand, participate in a wide array of extended education programs for both academic and enrichment purposes. Because this study aims to examine divergent patterns of extended education participation, focusing on the elementary school population—which participates in a variety of different types of extended education, rather than all participating in one certain type—was deemed particularly fitting for this study. Moreover, a large body of literature points to the fact that gaps in academic achievement and development in early childhood years oft lead to larger gaps in later secondary education and beyond (Claessens & Engel, 2013). This provides further need to examine the elementary school population, as participation in different types of extended education may influence gaps in early childhood development. The sample used for this study thus consists of 18,186 students from 786 elementary schools. Table 2 shows the overall characteristics of the sample used for study analyses.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Sample

		n	%
Region	Seoul	2,421	13.3
	Metropolitan	5,845	32.1
	Small town	6,352	24.9
	Rural area	3,568	19.6
Father's education level	Below middle-school graduate	75	0.4
	Middle-school graduate	219	1.2
	High-school graduate	5,371	29.5
	University graduate	10,386	57.1
	Above university graduate	2,135	11.7
Mother's education level	Below middle-school graduate	103	0.6
	Middle-school graduate	234	1.3
	High-school graduate	5,933	32.6
	University graduate	10,471	57.6
	Above university graduate	1,445	7.9
Family income (ten thousand Korean won)	Below 200	947	5.2
	200 – 400	6,190	34.0
	400 – 600	6,249	34.4
	600 – 800	2,632	14.5
	Over 800	2,168	11.9
Total		18,186	100.

Note. Correlation between the income variable and parental education was only moderate in the case of both father's education (correlation coefficient 0.336, $p < .001$) and mother's education (correlation coefficient 0.349, $p = < .001$). The study thus uses all three variables in its analyses.

Variables

Observed Variables

In order to measure the extent of a student's participation in extended education programs, this study used the variable of his or her expenditure to attend the programs. In other words, spending for extended education programs was used as a proxy variable for the degree of participation in a certain program.

Extended education participation in this study was divided into two types, namely private tutoring and school-based afterschool programs. These two types were in turn each divided into two categories based on the purpose of participation: "academic-focused programs" refer to programs aiming to increase students' academic achievement in general and test scores in particular), and "enrichment-focused programs" refer to activities not directly targeting academic achievement as their main goal such as the arts or sports. The unit of measurement for these variables is 10,000 Korean won per year. Meanwhile, private tutoring is generally much more expensive than school-based afterschool programs and therefore direct comparison of values may not provide meaningful information in light of the purpose of research—i.e., examining students' participation patterns or profiles in four types of extended education programs. For the purpose of comparison of four variables having different range of values, the study normalized data into the range from 1 to 10 using the min-max normalization technique. In addition, when interpreting Figure 3, it is necessary to take note of the relative differences in the values of each observed variable rather than the values themselves noted in the y axis.

Predictors

This study is intended to investigate the relation between SES variables of students and their participation pattern in extended education—differential profiles of extended education participation. SES variables of students were measured by residential location, father's education, mother's education, and family income level.

Residential location of students was coded into four dummy variables including Seoul, metropolitan area, small town, and rural area. Parental education level was measured by years of schooling. Finally, family income was coded into five dummy variables to be included via logistic regression analysis (below 2 million won=1, 2-4 million won=2, 4-6 million won=3, 6-8 million won=4, above 8 million won=5).

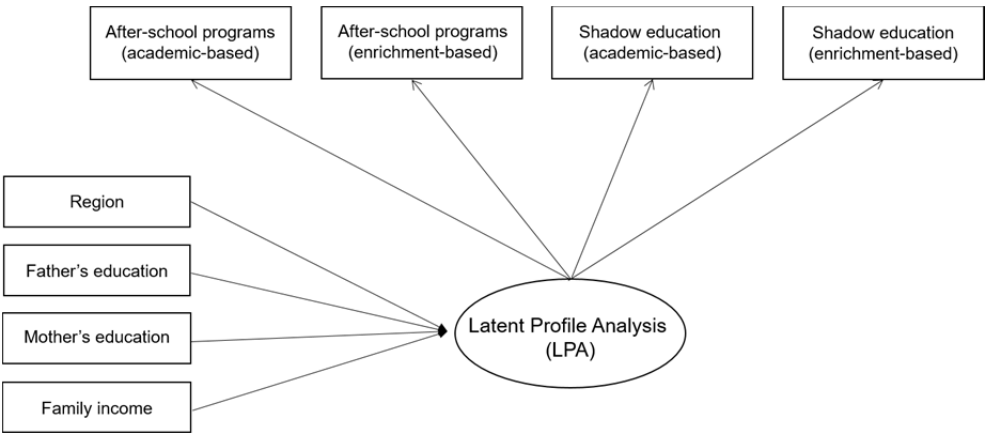
Analysis

The study used latent profile analysis (LPA) to divide elementary students attending extended education into separate groups, based on the similarities and characteristics of each group. LPA is a stochastic cluster analysis method that classifies potential subgroups around observers. Unlike cluster analysis by which the number of groups are arbitrarily determined by the researcher, LPA determines the number of groups by referring to statistical criteria and preventing classification errors by using probabilities (Magidson & Vermunt,

2002). The study gauged the best-fitting model using the following criteria: the Akaike information criteria (AIC), Bayesian information criterion (BIC), sample-size adjusted BIC (SABIC), parametric bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (BLRT), and the level of entropy. Indices of the AIC, BIC, and SABIC suggest that lower values indicate a better fit (Sclove, 1987). For accuracy of classification, a higher value of entropy close to 1 indicates that each individual belongs to the latent profiles with precise posterior probability, thereby presenting a good model fit (Clark, 2010). The p-value of BLRT was used for model comparison based on the likelihood difference between the k-class and the k-1 class model. A significant p-value for the k-class model means that the k-1 class model is better than the k-class model based on the log likelihood (McLachlan & Peel, 2000). In addition to statistical criteria, interpretability of the latent profile solutions was considered in identifying the final model. The conceptual framework for the latent profile analysis is found in Figure 2.

Thereafter, logistic regression analysis was performed to determine the socioeconomic characteristics of students that help predict their membership into respective groups. For this purpose, variables representing students' family background (residential location, father's education, mother's education, and family income) were selected as predictors. SPSS 25.0 was used for the above analysis.

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework for Latent Profile Analysis



Results

Latent Profile Analysis

LPA was employed to answer the first research question—what extended education participation patterns exist among Korean elementary school students? The study suggested fitted models which identify 3 to 5 latent classes, respectively.

Table 3. Fit Indices for Latent Profile Models

Model	AIC	BIC	SABIC	Entropy	LRT
Class 3	54984.98	55125.535	55068.33	0.935	0.000
Class 4	50828.56	51008.151	50935.06	0.906	0.000
Class 5	46376.11	46594.749	46505.77	0.916	0.002

Table 3 indicates that a 5-class model was most appropriate for the data. The SABIC, on the other hand, decreased with the addition of latent classes. Entropy for all latent classes exceeded 0.9, with the 3-class model closest to 1 at 0.935. LRT tests showed that all three classes were statistically significant. Finally, these statistics above reveal that the 5-class model better explains the data used in this study than the other two models. In other words, the 5-class model was found to be optimal. Table 4 below outlines descriptive statistics for each of these five latent groups produced by the 5-class model.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for Each Latent Class

	N (%)	Afterschool programs				Shadow education			
		Academic-based		Enrichment-based		Academic-based		Enrichment-based	
		M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE
Class 1	651 (3.6)	3.182	0.022	1.255	0.015	1.247	0.015	1.330	0.014
Class 2	1,145 (6.9)	1.087	0.006	1.108	0.006	2.411	0.011	1.520	0.015
Class 3	3,111 (16.7)	1.917	0.005	1.219	0.005	1.257	0.006	1.338	0.006
Class 4	12,263 (66.9)	1.041	0.001	1.095	0.002	1.248	0.003	1.268	0.003
Class 5	1,016 (5.9)	1.184	0.010	2.060	0.010	1.213	0.010	1.393	0.012

Note. The grand mean for all five classes is 3.651, and the corresponding standard error 0.006.

Figure 3 presents item-profile plots from the finalized 5-class model. As shown in the figure, five distinctive profiles of students in terms of extended education participation were found in elementary schools.

Class 1, which the study named “afterschool academic program users,” includes students who show particularly higher participation in academic-based afterschool programs compared to other groups. It appears that this group of students uses afterschool programs as a substitute for private tutoring to enhance their academic achievements. Presumably, this group includes low income students who cannot afford expensive private tutoring and/or rural students who have only the choice of the academic programs offered by the school.

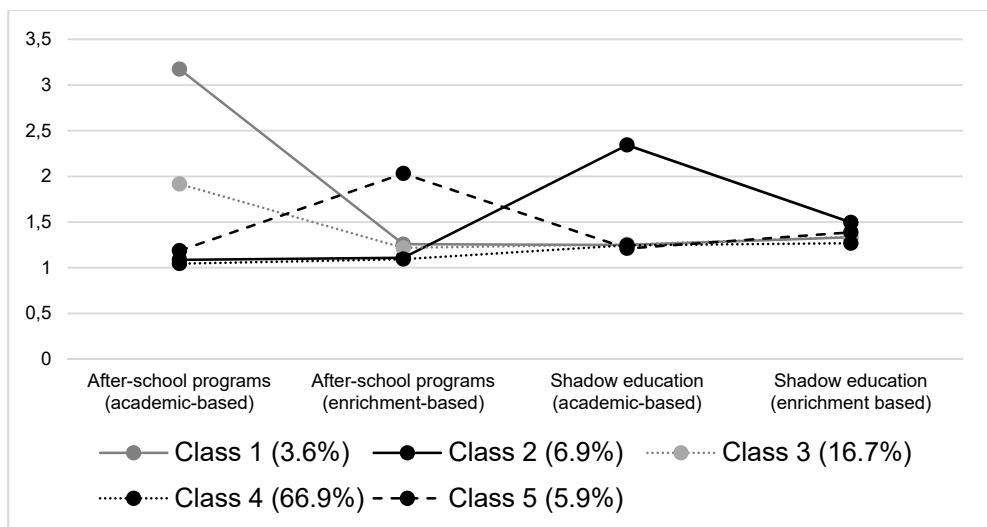
Class 2 was named “shadow education users.” This group includes students who tend to participate more in academic-based private supplementary tutoring as opposed to other comparable programs after the regular school hours. Considering the higher costs of private supplementary tutoring, it may be assumed that this group represents students from relatively affluent families and has strong motivation to promote academic achievement.

Class 3, named “moderate afterschool academic program users,” refers to those students who participate more in academic-based afterschool programs than shadow education, but whose participation levels are lower than those shown by Class 1 students. This class is the second group with the most number of students.

Class 4, named “ordinary users,” includes the majority of students in the study sample. This group took up 66.9% of all student samples.

Finally, class 5 was named “talent development seekers.” This latent group includes students who showed considerable participation in afterschool enrichment programs. It is notable that they are not much interested in other kind of extended education programs, particularly academic ones. This group could probably include lower grade students who are not pressured regarding academic achievement and just enroll in afterschool child-care programs.

Figure 3. Item-Profile Plot of Latent Groups



Note. Data was normalized into the range from 1 to 10 using the min-max normalization technique. As a result, it is necessary to take note of the relative differences in expenditure by each sector of extended education, as opposed to the normalized range noted in the y axis.

Logistic Regression Analysis

The study examined the extent SES variables of students relate to their group membership among these five latent classes by using logistic regression analysis. Logistic regression is useful in investigating the impact of independent variable on the odds ratio of the observed event of interest—in this study, student membership of a certain group. For the purpose of comparison, class 2 (shadow education users, the group of students who greatly participated in private supplementary tutoring) was set as the reference group and was compared with

all other latent groups. This choice of reference group was deemed particularly fitting for the purposes of this study: class 2 “shadow education users” can be considered the most socioeconomically privileged group of students, in light of the fact that shadow education tends to be the most expensive of all forms of extended education. As a result, this study believed that comparing this privileged group with other groups would provide particular insight into questions of educational equity—which constitutes the main purpose of this study. Table 5 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis.

First, concerning residential location, students who live in Seoul were set as the reference group. Results show that residential location was strongly associated with the subgroup of extended education participation a student belongs to. More specifically, students from Seoul were less likely than those from other regions to belong to class 1, 3, 4, and 5 when compared to the reference group, class 2. This shows that students from Seoul were more likely to attend private supplementary tutoring compared to other student groups. Particularly, students who lived in rural areas had a greater tendency than students from Seoul to fall into class 1 “after-school academic programs users” ($OR = 2.030$, 95% CI: 1.315, 3.135). Students from rural areas also had a greater tendency than students from Seoul to fall in class 4 “ordinary users” ($OR = .178$, 95% CI: .140, .227). This reveals that students from rural areas tend to participate in after-school academic programs while students from Seoul are more likely to participate in private supplementary tutoring.

Second, parental education level was generally found to be a significant predictor of student membership in different latent classes. Students with fathers with lower levels of education were more likely to fall into class 3 (high participation in school-based after-school activities; $OR = 0.948$, 95% CI: .906, .991) or class 4 (ordinary users; $OR = .927$, 95% CI: .890, .967), as opposed to class 2 (high participation in shadow education). A similar pattern was found for students with mothers having lower levels of education. The lower the mother’s education level, the higher the tendency of the student’s participation in school-based after-school programs (class 1 and class 3) as opposed to shadow education (class 2). Similarly, students with mothers with lower levels of education were more likely to fall into class 4 (ordinary users) compared to class 2 (students showing greater participation in shadow education).

Finally, family income significantly predicted students’ latent class membership. Students from lower-income families were more likely to fall into the “after-school academic program users” group (class 1; $OR = .579$, 95% CI: .562, .638), the “moderate after-school academic program users” group (class 3; $OR = .527$, 95% CI: .492, .565), and the “ordinary users” group (class 4; $OR = .489$, 95% CI: .458, .521) as opposed to shadow education provided outside school (class 2). Considering the lower cost of school-based after-school programs, it seems natural that more low-income students attend after-school programs than expensive private tutoring.

Table 5. Logistic Regression Predicting Membership into Latent Classes by Students' Socioeconomic Characteristics

	Class 1			Class 3			Class 4			Class 5		
	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Exp.(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Exp.(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Exp.(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Exp.(B)</i>
Region (ref.: Seoul)												
Metro-politan	-0.908***	0.215	0.403	-0.624***	0.138	0.536	0.858**	0.120	2.359	-0.389*	0.172	0.678
Small town	0.040	0.135	1.041	-0.611***	0.097	0.543	-1.126***	0.088	0.324	-0.628***	0.119	0.534
Rural area	0.708**	0.222	2.030	0.028	0.143	1.028	-1.724***	0.124	0.178	0.007	0.180	1.007
Father's education	-0.031	0.031	0.969	-0.054*	0.023	0.948	-0.075***	0.210	0.927	-0.017	0.028	0.983
Mother's education	-0.106**	0.031	0.900	-0.077**	0.023	0.926	-0.143***	0.022	0.866	-0.027	0.028	0.973
Family income	-0.546***	0.049	0.579	-0.640***	0.036	0.527	-0.716***	0.033	0.489	-0.563***	0.044	0.569

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

Note. Reference group for all logistic regression models set to Class 2; S.E. = standard error; *Exp.(B)* = odds ratio.

Discussion

With increasing parental interest in their children's education and intensified competition among students, extended education in Korea—especially those with an academic focus—is on the steady rise. The types and purpose of extended education are also expanding rapidly to cater to diverse students' varying needs. The majority of extended education programs can nonetheless be classified into two categories based on who provides these programs: private tutoring is provided by profit-seeking institutions and professionals outside the school, while afterschool programs are primarily offered by schools. These two categories can again be divided into two streams in terms of their underlying purpose – namely, academic programs with a remedial or excellence focus or enrichment activities for student talent development. Programs greatly differ not only in quality but also accessibility and affordability. In this context, examining participant profiles in the types of extended education programs they attend and their purpose for participation is critical as an initial step in discussing the issue of equality in the area of extended education.

The purpose of this study was twofold: it first aimed to identify categories of elementary students based on their profiles of participation in four different types of extended education. The study then examined relationships between different subgroups of extended education participation and students' socioeconomic characteristics including region of residence, parental education level, and family income. To achieve this aim, the study used latent profile analysis and logistic regression with elementary student data drawn from the 2018 Survey on the Status of Private Tutoring provided by Statistics Korea.

Results revealed five distinctive subgroups of students based on their patterns of participation in various forms of extended education—namely (a) afterschool academic program

users, (b) shadow education users, (c) moderate afterschool academic program users, (d) low participants, and (e) talent development seekers. More than a half of the sample fell into the “low participants” group, which refers to students with little interest in any form of extended education. Examining the above-mentioned subgroups suggests that the major purpose of participating in extended education involves raising academic achievement or test performance, whether through private tutoring or school-based afterschool programs.

Interesting to note is that student socioeconomic characteristics strongly influenced classification into each subgroup. To be more specific, students residing in Seoul were more likely to participate in shadow education as opposed to school-based afterschool programs; students from rural areas, on the other hand, showed higher participation in the latter. Parental education level was also associated with student membership in different subgroups, as students with parents with lower levels of education displayed higher rates of participation in school-based afterschool activities as opposed to shadow education. In addition, students from low-income families were more likely to attend school-based afterschool programs rather than shadow education provided outside school.

Taken together, these findings imply that school-based afterschool academic programs may serve as affordable alternatives for expensive types of shadow education. This holds particularly true in the case of low-income students who cannot afford expensive private tutoring and students from rural areas who are much more limited in access to private tutoring academies. This conceptualization of school-based afterschool programs as a form of “compensatory” education for disadvantaged students is in line with the literature from other countries. For example, a U.S.-based study by Bennett, Lutz, and Jayaram (2012) suggested that schools contribute to reducing the social class gap in extracurricular activity participation by providing affordable activities in which students from low-income backgrounds can easily participate. They also asserted that without school-based afterschool programs, social class gaps in extracurricular activity participation would be even wider. In this sense, school-based afterschool programs can thus be regarded as an effective means to improve educational equality in terms of access.

Viewed in a different perspective, however, findings that student socioeconomic background is highly associated with his or her pattern of extended education participation are cause for concern. This study found that students from low-income families or who had parents with lower levels of education were more likely to attend school-based afterschool programs as opposed to more expensive, specialized forms of shadow education; all the while, a large body of literature attests to the effectiveness of shadow education in improving students’ academic performance, which in turn provides them with an advantage in future social mobility (Kang & Lee, 2010; OECD, 2011; Shin & Kim, 2010). These results indicate that students from less privileged backgrounds are disadvantaged not only in terms of the type of school they attend and the quality of school education they receive, but also in terms of the type and quality of extended education they are receive after school hours. This study thus contributes to the literature on educational inequality in that it highlights how “stratification” can take place not only through schools but also outside of school through the realm of extended education.

Educational stratification refers to the differential allocation and attainment of educational opportunities based on student sociodemographic backgrounds (Mare, 1981). It is

likely that such trends of stratification in extended education are particularly prevalent in a country such as Korea. With its highly standardized education system, parents from privileged backgrounds are strongly motivated to secure an advantage for their children by providing them with specialized educational opportunities outside the boundaries of the standardized school curriculum. That said, however, similar trends have also been noted in countries outside of Korea. For example, studies have examined how child participation in out-of-school time activities tends to be stratified along socioeconomic lines, and how participation in these different activities influence educational outcomes in countries including the U.S. (Stevens, 2007; Weininger, Lareau, & Conley, 2015), Taiwan (Shi & Yi, 2014), and Germany (den Besten, 2010). These findings suggest that stratification in extended education is steadily becoming a widespread phenomenon around the world. While school-based afterschool programs will admittedly not likely be able to compete with the most expensive, specialized forms of shadow education, school-based programs—with the right planning and administration—have the potential to reduce extant gaps among different social classes in access to quality programs and activities after regular school hours.

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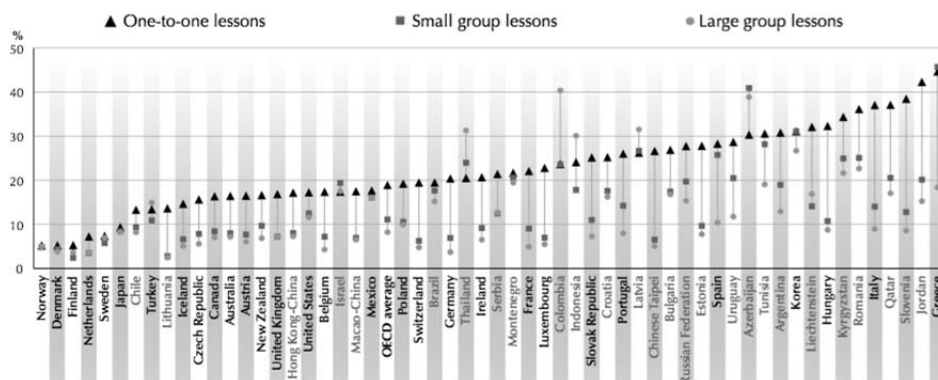
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Appendix

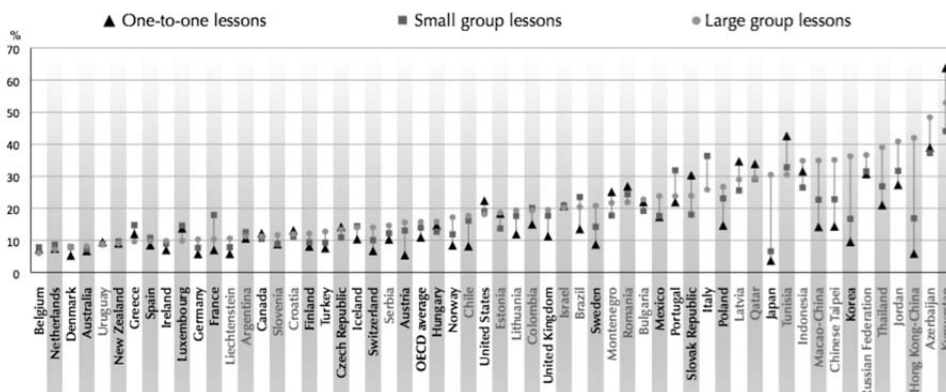
Figure 1. Percentage of students taking out-of-school-time lessons with non-school teachers, by type of out-of-school-time lessons



Countries are ranked in ascending order of the percentage of students taking out-of-school-time one-to-one lessons.

Source: OECD PISA Database 2006, Table 2.3.

Figure 2. Percentage of students taking out-of-school-time lessons with school teachers, by type of out-of-school-time lessons



Countries are ranked in ascending order of the percentage of students taking out-of-school-time large group lessons.

Source: OECD PISA Database 2006, Table 2.3.

'Bursting With Activities': Impression Management as Edu-Business in School-Age Educare

Linnéa Holmberg

Abstract: Starting from an understanding of contemporary society as occupied with a dominant trend in image-boosting, the study explores how school-age educare centers engage in edu-business when promoting themselves through self-presentations on their websites. Using a qualitative method with an analytical attention directed towards unexpected angles, these self-presentations are problematized in terms of discursive impression management and with a focus on how messages are communicated by using different discursive resources to make the presentations trustworthy and selling. The edu-business logic found on the websites is not primarily about competition between different school-age educare centers, but is instead about competition between compulsory school and school-age educare, as well as the choice to participate or not in the education offered in the school-age educare centers.

Keywords: websites, School-Age Educare, Edu-Business, Image-Boosting Business

Edu-Business the Swedish Way

Sweden has, through a political willingness to stage market-liberal ideas, quickly changed from a state-run, micromanaged and uniform education system to a deregulated and liberal ditto building on a free school choice with a voucher system (Holm, 2013; Hudson, 2011). This transformation can be considered part of an international reform trend in which freedom of choice is highly valued, and where streamlining – along with increased quality for both the individual and society – is a desirable goal. It also implies that greater freedom of choice is equated with flexibility, pluralism and enhanced professionalism among teachers (for in-depth discussions see, for example, Ball & Youdell, 2009; Erixon Arreman & Holm, 2011a, 2011b; Lubienski, 2016; Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). This has led to massive activity in terms of visibility, measuring and comparing results and quality based on ideas concerning a customer choice model, where consumers are expected to base their choice on available information about various educational establishments. In this regard, education is considered a product that needs to be marketed for prospective customers, namely children, young people and their guardians (Rönnerberg, 2017). Today, the marketplace where offers about the products and services available to choose from is main-

ly on the Internet. Information technology thereby functions as an incorporation of a freedom of choice system that makes the public sector exposed to competition (Holm, 2013; Lubienski & Lee, 2016). Nevertheless, the system is still tax-funded and therefore currently described as a market hybrid, as public services do not operate on a completely free market. They are today a mix between political decisions and competition. Referring to this form of governing and organization, the term 'quasi-market' is commonly used. Another way of describing this approach is through the now established expression New Public Management (Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). Activities that increase visibility and highlight comparisons in this kind of management can be seen as edu-business (Ball, 2007; Erixon Arreman, & Holm, 2011b). Operating in this so-called quasi-market are public (municipal), as well as private, actors. During the school-year 2017-2018, there were a total of 4255 school-age educare centers (hereinafter referred to as Saec) in Sweden. 3552 of these were operated by municipalities and 689 were driven by a private actor. In total, 484 399 children were enrolled (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019a).

In a report, the Swedish National Agency for Education (2000) states that the main problem with school-age educare is its invisibility, something that still seems to be the case today. In comparison to preschool and compulsory school, less attention is paid to school-age educare when it comes to both research and media. Nevertheless, due to recent political changes, including a reinforced regulation of school-age educare in the Swedish Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and a clarification of the educational assignment in a new separate part of the curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019b), it seems that even the Saec need to engage in edu-business, since more and more of these are made visible on websites. With the market as a model, Saec – as well as all other forms of education – need to listen to what the customers want, and to remain competitive it becomes necessary to engage in some kind of marketing to put forward an attractive image. In the fight for a good reputation, branding becomes important (Ball, 2007; Lubienski, 2016; Oplatka, Hemsley-Brown, & Foskett, 2002).

Previous research about the contemporary phenomenon of edu-business almost exclusively involves upper secondary or post-secondary education, and only in some cases addresses compulsory school (see for example Lubienski & Lee, 2016 and Chapple, 2015). One study examines material similar to what is analyzed here, but in a preschool context (Holmberg, 2018). Thus, as no other such study focuses on school-age educare, this article will take a closer look at this particular institution.

Aim and Research Questions

This article aims to explore how competitiveness can be discursively managed in the Swedish education system. More precisely, an edu-business logic is studied as found on 350 Saec websites, where self-presentations are available. These are analyzed in terms of impression management and image-boosting business. The analytical focus is directed towards the following research questions:

1. What recurrent basic messages are communicated through the websites?
2. What discursive resources can be distinguished in the self-presentations found on the websites?

3. How are these discursive resources used to make the constructions of school-age education appear trustworthy, convincing and selling?

Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points

The main marketing space for Saec today is their websites. More suitably, these could be described as front pages, because this kind of digital front office is where the first meeting with potential customers often takes place (Wihlborg, 2013). Besides, these can be regarded as public self-presentations, and through the available information knowledge about school-age education is produced. These self-presentations – as well as the Saec – are conditional on the Education Act and the curriculum, in which the political assignment, among other things, is about offering an equivalent education. Simultaneously, the Saec find themselves on the competitive quasi-market and therefore need to stand out from the crowd and appear attractive in one way or another.

To analyze this edu-business logic, the study takes the starting point in a social constructionist understanding of language which assumes that language acts are never passively mediated, but is instead always actively descriptive (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). That is, language use is not a mirroring of an objective reality or a pure image of the world, rather, people construct subjective versions of reality through their use of language. From this point of view, there is no language free from rhetoric, use of language is always a persuasive activity (Billig, 1997; Potter, 1996).

In addition, the study builds on an understanding of Swedish contemporary society as occupied with yet another dominant trend – coherent with the aforementioned one that revolves around freedom of choice – here depicted as an *image-boosting business* (Alvesson, 2013). This concept takes hold of the widespread current focus on creating a nice surface, that is, constructions of illusionistic projects. Spending time and money on impressive representations seems more important than spending it on the quality of actual content:

In today's society, a strong emphasis on 'it must look good', and preferably even shine, is vital for the success of individuals, occupational groups, and organizations. Considerable time is devoted to the right visual approach, the right jargon, and the right mass-media focus, while less attention is paid to considerations about substance, practical viability, and quality. The brand is often more crucial than the actual product, and the CV is more important than expertise and ability. The focus is on the surface (Alvesson, 2013, p. ix).

This image-boosting business establishes a grandiosity consisting of an attractive and well-polished semi-realistic surface within reasonable limits in a specific context in order to enhance status and generate success (Alvesson, 2013). From this point of view, the article deals with how Saec fabricate themselves discursively by directing the impression of the website-consumer in certain ways. This discursive practice will, along with the concept of the image-boosting business, be understood as *impression management*, a concept inspired by Erving Goffman (1990). This discursive management is, thus, seen as a rhetorical marketing strategy available to actors within the education system – as well as in other areas – interested in being visible and emphasizing themselves in a promotional manner. When promoting tempting offers, objective information risks being overshadowed by the impres-

sion management, where branding and a nice surface are key components. When studying impression management, analytical focus is directed at how the staging of self-presentations tends to distort equitable information by blurring the boundaries between information and commercial advertising, since edu-business on the quasi-market encourages Saec, among others, to fabricate themselves in ways that boosts the images of them (Harling & Dahlstedt, 2017; Holm, 2013; Knauf, 2017). The concept of impression management is here used as an analytical tool when examining this blurring as a way to shed light on how Saec "learn to 'say' themselves in ways that are recognizable and 'sensible' to evaluators, 'clients' and 'customers'" (Ball, 2007, p. 145).

The analysis makes no claim to say anything about the actual activities in the Saec or about the website-consumers' reactions. The intention is merely to highlight and problematize how these centers make themselves attractive by conveying specific messages using a certain range of discursive resources.

Material and Procedure

All available (just over 800) school-websites in the ten largest (based on population) municipalities in Sweden have been reviewed in search for information about school-age educate. In these, about 350 presentations of Saec were found and compiled to form an empirical basis for the analysis, an approach that resulted in a non-predetermined mixture of public (municipal) and private actors.

The scope of the presentations varies from a few lines up to descriptions of around 1000 words. The information is publicly available, however, since the analytical interest is not aimed at seeking variations or making comparisons between municipalities or centers; no names or web addresses are used in the empirical examples found in the analysis. For the same reasons, the names of persons and specific places that appear in these excerpts have been anonymized. These empirical examples have thereto been translated from Swedish to English by the researcher.

To avoid hampering research rich in meaning which challenges prevailing conceptions, excessive rigorous and systematic interaction with the empirical material has been avoided in favor for a relatively free qualitative analytical approach. Since this not involves any strict coding, the act of interpretation is crucial. The attention is about trying to find unexpected angles that stimulate curiosity when problematizing the empirical content (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011, 2013; Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2018). Building on this, the initial analytical reading came to be about highlighting recurring basic messages communicated through the websites. Based on these, the material has then been sorted into three analytical categories, presented in the form of headings in the analysis. By these categorizations a picture is portrayed of the recurring selection of content that tends to be included in the self-presentations. In closer readings, the analytical interest has been directed towards how the content in the basic messages are constructed by focusing on how different discursive resources are used, and how the constructions of school-age educate are organized to appear trustworthy, convincing and selling. The picture is nevertheless in no way comprehensive, since all websites differ regarding information given in terms of content and scope. Fur-

thermore, this research-based categorization is not the only conceivable one; rather, it is one of many possible portrayals.

As the terms children and pupils, as well as parents and guardians, occur on the websites, they will all also appear in the analysis. In current policy documents, children who participate in school-age educare are referred to as pupils, and their relatives are described as guardians.

Analysis

In the following three sections, self-presentations found on the websites will be analyzed in terms of impression management and image-boosting business as a way to study how an edu-business logic is present in the constructions of school-age educare. The various discursive resources in play in the self-presentations will be examined throughout the analysis. How they form a specific edu-business logic adapted to a school-age educare context will be discussed in more depth in the concluding remarks.

Discursive Constructions of the Political Assignment for School-Age Educare

Many self-presentations start with basic explanations of school-age educare. In these representations of the given assignment, it becomes clear that general knowledge of school-age educare cannot be taken for granted among the potential readers of the websites:

When school ends for the day, you go to school-age educare. Here, we have snack [mellanmål] every day and continue socializing together, indoors or outdoors. Here you can paint, make crafts [pyssla], or just sit and read or talk. There is time for everyone here! (Saec 1)

Here, an explanation of the Saec as an institution suitable regardless of who you are or what interests you have is communicated in an easy-going and inviting way. Depictions like this often also include information about the personnel working in the centers: “In the personnel group you will find experience, youth, playfulness and a great joy in the work” (Saec 2). Using a direct and thus personal tone, these examples deliver an attractive offer that promises various things and therefore can, potentially, reach different types of personalities among children and guardians. Descriptions formulated in this selling way are examples of how the language in the self-presentations seems to be used to convince possible future customers that the specific Saec is an attractive and suitable place for children to spend time in; that is, they exercise a kind of impression management.

Following the initial and fundamental clarifications, there are usually references to – often combined with quotes from – the policy documents that determine the Saec’s official assignment. Unlike the explanations regarding whom the Saec is directed towards, when you spend time there and attitudes among the personnel, the parts about national guidelines appear more or less taken for granted. There are mostly clarifications that show they exist, rather than explanatory comments about how they are put into practice. The Saec communicate their awareness of these documents and their content and function by using a high level of certainty as a discursive resource in the statements: “The center follows the guidelines that apply” (Saec 3).

References to the Education Act (SFS 2010:800) and its request that Saec stimulate pupils' development and learning, and offer a meaningful leisure and recreation based on a holistic view of the pupil, can be found on most websites. It seems, however, that it is not selling enough to represent the centers by only stating that the assignment is managed. Another recurring discursive resource in the image-boosting business of the self-presentations is to follow up such statements with words such as 'beyond' or 'also', as if it is not enough to do only what is expected:

Beyond the curriculum and the school's guidelines we at the Saec want to:

- Protect and develop the children's personalities and talents.
- Encourage a good character and order amongst the children.
- Develop a good cooperation with the parents concerning the children's schooling, and in collaboration with the school teachers. (Saec 4)

In this way the Saec present themselves through a subjective modality (a visualization of the perspective of a person/organization expressing oneself) – yet another common discursive resource – as ambitious, propulsive, and as centers that provide added value beyond the necessary. Whether or not the extra content is already in demand in the policy documents does not seem to play any major role. In the excerpt below, for example, play appears as something added in extension to the curriculum, even though this document prescribes play as a central part of the centers. Again, a subjective modality is used and directs focus to the extra value that this specific Saec adds: "Our objectives for the school-age educare are based on the curriculum. Also, we attach great importance in being outdoors, play and sports, and in meeting the children's imagination and creativity" (Saec 5).

A further component in the discursive re-presentation of the political assignment is local operationalizations. These consist of school-age educare definitions similar to the ones found in policy documents, but are communicated in a slightly more accessible and easy way by a common and generally established use of language. 'Pleasant life' is, for example, an expression not found in education policy parlance, but it occurs on the websites: "Our work is to ensure that the children feel good and have a pleasant and active life in and after school" (Saec 6). A concept used by The National Agency for Education (2019b) is 'meaningful leisure', something, which among other things, seems to be operationalized into 'pleasant life'.

In addition to paraphrases with a more informal tone, there are re-presentations that go a bit further: "[Name of the Saec] aims to be the best Saec in [Name of municipality]" (Saec 7). To distinguish oneself through the aim of being better than everyone else might be rewarding for marketing purposes, but from a national perspective it is risky in relation to the requirement for equivalence in school-age educare (Holmberg, 2018).

Widened depictions of the official assignment are also made in the form of visions, seemingly as part of an image-boosting business:

Our vision that will lead us through the darkness: "That every day becomes a good day for everyone". With that vision, we work in this way: We want to create a school-age educare environment that we all want to participate in. (Saec 8)

The pleasurable framing visible in this vision is a frequently occurring discursive element in the self-presentations, something that often includes not only the children and personnel but also their parents: "Our Saec should simply be a wonderful, exciting and inspiring place

for you as a child, you as parent and for us as personnel!” (Saec 9). Again, the message is addressed in a direct, personal and enthusiastic way that seems appealing in a promotional manner.

Yet another central component in the staging of the assignment in the self-presentations is talk about safety. Creating safety in the group of pupils is part of the political assignment (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019b). In the Saecs’ own words, the concept becomes a recurrent buzzword launched as a need that the Saec can satisfy. Here it is communicated with an objective modality (in which it is not clear who is expressing the opinion) as an almost universal statement: “In the afternoon, many children need a safe and home-like place to go to” (Saec 10). Safety is linked together with the home, which means a slippage in comparison to create safety between pupils, who in turn do not need to have anything to do with homeliness. Safety and calmness are thus promoted as something needed after school hours:

[Name of Saec] offers calm moments and safety after the school day. Each child receives a personal reception. We read every day and provide opportunities for undisturbed homework. (Saec 11)

In addition to the safety offered, homework is also a common selling point. Talk about homework is not to be found in the policy-documents, but it is used extensively on the websites. Therefore, homework opportunities may be regarded as a way to offer something extra in an image-boosting business.

Discursive Constructions of Time in School-Age Educare

The second basic message distinguished in the self-presentations is constructions of time. The policy documents denote this time span as ‘leisure time’: The Saec should “offer a meaningful leisure time” (SFS 2010:800, 2§). Some Saec choose to literally follow these guidelines, and – with a high level of certainty – portray the time span taking place in the centers as leisure time: “It’s Their leisure-time” (Saec 12, upper-case in original). Somewhat contradictory, institutionalized education is referred to as leisure. Many Saec even go one step further when they claim that it is “childrens’ free time” (Saec 13):

In the Saec, the children are in charge of their free time, but is offered different activities. The Saec puts great emphasis on the child’s social development, and to both fill the free time with optional stimulating activities and to ‘just hang out’ with friends. (Saec 14)

Despite the institutional framing it seems possible to describe school-age educare as ‘free time’ by claiming that it is a period of time with a child-centered focus, even though it is simultaneously regulated by Swedish law and the curriculum. ‘Free time’ appears to be an important sales argument in the context, a kind of blurring information-giving and promotion as part of an impression management. The tone is usually inclusive, making the self-presentations appealing regardless of what the website-consumer is looking for, whether it be social development and stimulating activities or just time to hang out.

Time spent in Saec is also constructed in a way that distinguishes it from time spent in school, meaning a discursive construction that specifies that it is school time that school-age educare is free from: “School-age educare comprises school-free time, which the child is entitled to from the year it starts in preschool class” (Saec 15). Institutionalized school-free time is presented as a right for children, which differentiates this definition of time

from the obligation that comes with school time. This kind of time – involving the part of the day not spent in school and not at home – seems like a blurry in-between: “For us it’s important to give the children good care and safety during the school-free part of the day” (Saec 16). There are even petitions claiming that children’s days should include a ‘school-school-age educare time’ (skolfritidstid). During this sort of time the school is meant to be impregnated with the value added by the Saec, here communicated in a convincing way through both an objective and subjective modality and with a high level of certainty:

The Saec should stimulate the pupil’s education and learning, and offer them a meaningful leisure and recreation, based on a holistic view on the pupil and its needs. Under the school day we do this by offer school-school-age educare. In school-school-age educare the pupils get other experiences and knowledges than they usually get in the classroom. (Saec 17)

The scope of interpretation does not end with this. The ingenuity in the impression management surrounding the time concept continues with, for example, ‘workshop time’: “Coherent school day means that we “blast in” school-age educare in the school day to make the children’s school day more varied. The school-age educare during the school day for children in year 1 and 2 is called “Workshop time”” (Saec 18). There is obviously no uniform or common view of the concept of time; local variations occur on many websites. Moreover, there does not seem to be any agreement about whether children’s days are to be run seamlessly, or if there should be clear breakpoints. This is an ambivalence closely connected to descriptions of school-age educare as either completely separated from school or built into the ordinary school. Time spent in school-age educare may even be depicted as an “extension of the school” (Saec 19), and the relevance in the children’s day as coherent is here emphasized through a subjective modality:

For us it’s important that the children perceive that the school day is interrelated. Therefore, we have integrated the school-age educare into a natural extension of the school day and the mandatory activities. (Saec 20)

On the other hand, there are constructions where the weight is on the opposite side, where children’s ability to notice the difference between various parts of the day is emphasized by a direct appeal to the website reader, and with a high degree of certainty: “It’s important that your child feels the difference between school and school-age educare. In school-age educare, your child should be able to feel relaxed, have time for reflection and a chance to process all the impressions of the school day” (Saec 21). There are thus self-presentations where time is about managing the aftermath of the school activities, as well as presentations where the importance of some form of school-age educare during school is advocated.

Discursive Constructions of What Happens in School-Age Educare

A large number of the self-presentations consists of enticing descriptions of what happens in the Saec: “Among the various activities, baking, board-games, study visits, needlework, small handicrafts, outdoor play and much more can be mentioned” (Saec 22). The activities listed can be regarded as operationalizations of the so-called central content for school-age educare requested by the curriculum in form of specific areas of knowledge that are to be handled in the teaching (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019b). The long lists of activities found on several websites can be understood as an assurance that these areas are

covered in the Saecs. However, communicating a broad and varied content can also be considered an image-boosting business to convince potential new customers that the specific Saec has something interesting to offer:

It's bursting with activities in school-age educare; our base is crafting, art and design. We also offer activities such as baking, building with Lego, table tennis and table hockey. Of course, there are board-games, time for reading, or the possibility to just relax. Sometimes we arrange appreciated spa Fridays, and sometimes the children themselves are responsible for the activities and then it might be disco, a movie, costume dressing or face painting. (Saec 23)

The staging of the content seems, through the easy-going and informal tone, more focused on impression management that suits a wide range of potential customers than proving the content to be consistent with the areas that are to be taught. In these respects, no links between how disco, movies and more relate to children's development and learning are made in the constructions. Instead, the activities are communicated as decoupled and sufficient in themselves: "In school-age educare the children can play with friends, get cozy in a sofa or do homework, but also try on a range of activities – everything from making your own jewelry to skating" (Saec 24). In these discursive passages, expressed by a subjective modality, it appears more relevant to base the activities on the children's interests than to claim compliance with and fulfillment of the policy documents: "The most important thing for us is to listen to the children's thoughts and ideas. Based on the children's interests, we then create the activities in [Name of Saec]. Games, puzzles, circus theme or baking, bingo or movies" (Saec 25). Instead of individual activities, the content is sometimes packaged as courses, selectable for the children:

The school-age educare is given entirely in form of courses, where the starting point is to respond to the children's wishes. There is a lot to choose from, such as art, ceramics, music, drama, cooking and team sports. Often, the courses end with vernissages or exhibitions to which the parents are invited to look at the things the children are doing on daytime. (Saec 26)

Descriptions of courses in, among other things, ceramics and cooking do not differ significantly from commercial advertising. In terms of edu-business on the quasi-market, the self-presentations might actually be considered as such, even though these courses do not involve any costs apart from the fee for the Saec as a social service, as municipalities have the right to charge.

With reference to the constructions of time, there are also discursive constructions of what happens in Saec, advocating that those evening activities children choose to engage in ought to be transferred into the Saec:

We think also, that it's important that the children to a greater extent can engage in their leisure activities early in the afternoons rather than in the evenings. For that reason, we have a well-developed cooperation with associations, as part of our school-age educare. This model makes it possible to create a center with both traditional and association-driven elements that fits the child's individual needs. (Saec 27)

Constructions like this might be understood as a marketing strategy in impression management aimed at exhibiting the Saec as a smart and effective choice by offering activities that free up evening time for the children who participate.

Further, an almost sacred concept in the official school-age educare discourse, as well as in local speech, is play. This is reflected in the self-presentations where play is always a

central topic. The descriptions of this concept are built on taken-for-granted assumptions about what play *is*: "The play is in its nature spontaneous and intuitive, where feelings, a will and thoughts are interwoven. It is, in essence, an important and joyful activity used to create meaning in life" (Saec 28). Play is also portrayed as a given and highly prioritized element in the Saec: "The center is based on free play" (Saec 29). Moreover, it is considered an important element in the specific time that elapses in this education: "The children's school-age educare-time should be characterized by play" (Saec 30). At the same time, a convincing rhetoric seems necessary in order to prove that play is good. Examples of such rhetorical activity are justifications for why it is central in the context: "Play is vital! Play stimulates the fantasy. Here, one is allowed to be someone else. During play, the children train their ability for empathy. Play is important for children's development. Therefore, we give high priority to free play!" (Saec 31). An objective modality is used here, giving the statements weight through the certainty conveyed as an impression management. As indicated in the examples, 'free play' seems to be the ultimate form of play. This concept does not occur at all in the policy documents, but flourishes on almost all of the analyzed websites. A similarity is, however, that both The National Agency for Education and the self-presentations use the term as a medium for other things. There are rarely any statements saying that play for its own sake is enough. In the curriculum (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2019b), play is portrayed as a means of promoting different abilities in children. Similarly, the Saec use play as a discursive resource to be able to say that development and learning take place, but in more informal ways than in the school:

Play is the foundation for learning. Except that play provides theoretical knowledge, the pupil works with its organizational ability, and the ability to cooperate with others. [Name on Saec] is based on freedom of choice, and great emphasis is placed on the pupil's free play. (Saec 32)

In line with the listings of activities in the visualizations of what happens in the Saec, the discursive constructions of play usually consist of an enumeration of things that play is said to generate. This image-boosting business may involve organizational and collaborative skills, or be about children in play who practice "turn taking, endurance and concentration" (Saec 33). The 'free play' is also described as stimulating "children to take initiative, imagination, solutions and responsibility" (Saec 34). Furthermore, play is also communicated as developing rules and norms, as well as training children in, among other things, democratic values:

We believe that free play, inside and outside, is very important. Through the play, the children train and practice communication and social skills. Acquired skills are tested. Simultaneously, the children are practicing conflict management, empathy and democratic values. Rules and norms are developed. (Saec 35)

It seems that virtually anything can be accomplished via play – preferably 'free' play. Thus, the concept, as a rhetorical panacea, becomes fruitful when it communicates that a Saec conducts the activities required. This can appeal to various kinds of possible customers: those who like the 'free' in play, and those who prefer training and learning as well as those who want it all.

Concluding Remarks

As shown in the analysis, the political assignment is re-presented through basic descriptions of what a Saec is today. To reach the website reader with the argument that children's afternoons are best spent in Saec, they are frequently addressed – sometimes explicit towards children, parents or guardians, sometimes implicitly – as if previous knowledge about this education is non-existent. Clear explanations of when and where the school-age educate takes place, how it is conducted and for whom it is intended can be considered a marketing strategy aimed at demonstrating pedagogical professionalism. The information is communicated using references to policy-documents, usually by discursive operationalizations in which the official construction of the role and function is informalized and addressed directly to a potential customer in a way that differs from the language used by the National Agency of Education. Colloquial language use is prominent in the self-presentations along with an easy-going and casual tone. In this way, content offers are provided in a promotional manner that exceeds the necessary and requested content. This image-boosting business is staged by managing an appearance as equivalent but still unique. That is, in their self-presentations the Saec claim to offer the education requested by the steering documents, but simultaneously give the impression of offering something more, beyond the political assignment.

The ambiguity of teaching guided by objectives simultaneously referred to as leisure, allows for a variety of constructions concerning how time is spent in Saec. This results in a time span both intertwined with, and separated from, the school. There is apparently no coherence in how time in school-age educate is to be defined and presented, and therefore it serves as an available element in the impression management. Regardless of the version promoted, it seems important to position school-age educate as anything but formal school. Conceptual development, together with various self-composed terms, seems to try to establish the Saecs' credibility in their own definition of time and in the chosen organizational strategy. In this way, they try to convince the reader that the version presented is the most rewarding one. This is done with a given certainty used as a discursive resource in the process of convincing.

The listing of a large range of activities going on in the centers in many ways fits into the areas of knowledge invoked by the curriculum, as these are widely formulated. Regardless, the discursive constructions do not seem to focus on demonstrating that educational requirements are met, but is rather lined up in a manner that makes the Saec attractive no matter what interests a child has or how the time in the center is preferably spent. The appeal is frequently enthusiastic, just like in the sections about the political assignment. A difference here, however, is that the communication does not have as much focus on a particular addressee but on a benevolent and well-liked sender in the style of 'we encourage...' or 'we arrange appreciated...'.

When made visible, the relatively invisible education in the form of school-age educate exhibits a kind of marketing that differs from the edu-business that takes place between, for example, upper secondary schools (see Harling & Dahlstedt, 2017). There, the element of competition is mainly about staging a school as attractive and selectable in comparison with other schools. When it comes to Saec, the competition appears to focus primarily on distin-

guishing school-age educare from the compulsory school more than to demonstrate that one Saec is better than another, although there are examples of Saec that promote themselves by proclaiming a desire to be the best center in the municipality. Offering something additional to what the political assignment requires is usually about portraying what happens in school-age educare in contrast to the formal activities of a school filled with duty. This is probably due to the fact that the Saec are automatically included in the choice of school. Consequently, the edu-business logic found in the self-presentations is concentrated in the choice of whether or not to take part in school-age educare, rather than choose between various Saec. In other words, what is sold on the websites is institutionalized leisure time in exchange for leisure time spent elsewhere. This time-span is defined as different from time in school, both by being described as offering learning and development (but in ways other than those in the school) and by descriptions of being attractive regardless of the child's interests. That is, in their impressive visual surfaces, the Saec seem to offer a sort of leisure time including everything and more.

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The Need for Care: A Study of Teachers' Conceptions of Care and Pupils' Needs in a Swedish School-Age Educare Setting

Liza Haglund

Abstract: This paper presents the findings of a study investigating School-Age Educare (SAE) teachers' conceptions of care and care practices and how these conceptions of care and actual practices relate to pupils' needs. The study is based on observations and interviews with two experienced SAE teachers and one young teacher in a Swedish SAE centre, working with pupils between 9–11 years old. The study was undertaken between March 2018 and April 2019, and provides insight into different forms of care and caring practices. The study also shows that pupils nowadays, according to the teachers, have needs that were previously met by their families. The teachers' conceptions of the importance of a well-functioning group and pupils' needs to be able to share their feelings, dreams and worries and to value each other's differences were also salient findings of the study.

Keywords: School-Age Educare, conceptions of care, caring practises, pupils' needs, care ethics

Introduction

School-Age Educare (SAE) in Sweden has its own chapter (4) in the national curriculum policy document for the primary school system, preschool classes and after-school centres (The National Education Act (NAE), 2011/2018). In addition to offering meaningful leisure time, SAE should also “stimulate pupils' development and learning” (p. 23). Previously, after-school centres were mainly places for care and recreation (cf. Calander, 2000). National policy (NAE, 2011/2018) now states that “The concept of an educational programme should be given a broad interpretation in school-age educare, where care, development and teaching constitute a whole” (p. 23). Care, development and teaching can thereby be interpreted as impossible to separate from each other. Policy documents provide evidence of an ideological shift from leisure and care as the main objective of SAE towards a more comprehensive view. The use of the term “teaching”, with children seen as “pupils”, signals that children are now the objects of education (Pihlgren & Rohlin, 2011). SAE is expected to contribute to the fulfilment of school objectives. Learning is described in the curriculum relating to SAE (NAE, 2011/2018) as situated, activity oriented and based on pupils' needs and interests. It means that SAE activities can serve several aims, being meaningful and fun from the perspective of pupils while at the same time enhancing subject knowledge and skills development. However, this implies a risk that SAE might reproduce the logic of tra-

ditional classrooms and overlook care- and value-based issues (Pihlgren & Rohlin, 2011; Boström, & Augustsson, 2016; Holmberg, 2017). Concern about the increased emphasis on education at the expense of care has also been reflected in worries about the risk of “schoolification” of the pre-school curriculum (Gunnarsdottir, 2014, p. 246).

On the other hand, there is an international trend towards care for children’s well-being and socialisation, embodied by programmes such as social and emotional training (SET) (Kimber, 2006). These programmes depart from a risks perspective, accounting for children that have to handle unsound peer relations, bullying, dysfunctional families, crimes and drugs, etcetera (Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg, & Hultin, 2014). The sociologist Frank Furedi (2004) identifies this trend, promoted in schools, as anti-intellectual, as it focuses on the development of emotional intelligence. As such, according to Furedi, it forms a part of a wider predominant therapeutic culture. The main caring objective is to raise pupils’ self-esteem and help them develop self-control. Care in this sense relates to pupils’ psychological lives and relies on the idea that strong self-esteem is the foundation for learning. However, Furedi (2004) argues that despite its focus on self-control, this trend makes us helpless and in need of others and may therefore hamper the development of pupils’ autonomy. It has even been argued that caring teachers are the main obstacles preventing pupils’ development into democratic citizens (Mc Cuaig, 2011).

Review of the Related Literature

The Inward Turn in Education and the Programme Invasion

At the beginning of 2000, Sweden witnessed an upsurge in different preventive health programmes in schools. This was mainly in response to a call for evidence-based methods and assumption that teachers lacked the relevant competencies to teach the life skills, values and other health-related issues required to meet schools’ caring and fostering responsibilities (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015; Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016). Social and emotional training (SET), referred to above, was for instance designed to prevent drug abuse and criminality and to develop pupils’ emotional intelligence (Kimber, 2007). Although the use of programmes such as SET has declined, variations of this programme and others like it remain in schools throughout Sweden (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015; Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016) and internationally (Wood, 2018), where they influence fostering practices. Some research has reported positive outcomes of the SET programme (Kimber, Skoog, & Sandell, 2013; see also, Durlak, Dymnicki, Weissberg, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011). However, this so-called “inward turn in education” (Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016) has been criticised (Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg, & Hultin 2014). Feelings, in these programmes, are often regarded as biological responses to stimuli. They do not account for other perspectives on feelings, i.e. that they are socially and culturally constructed and therefore can arise and be evaluated and interpreted according to different social contexts (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2015). Focusing on the management of feelings and self-control also implies to a significant extent that the individual is responsible for failures in life. The source of the problems encountered in life (e.g. unemployment) is found in the individual’s emotional domain rather than in structural and political domains.

Wood (2018), in a British study on 400 teachers working with social and emotional learning, found that staff mixed social and emotional aspects of the self with moral issues and the formation of moral attitudes. Norms and values held by the staff were transmitted to students and in this way worked to maintain a hegemonic white culture. According to Wood, such programmes therefore contradict democratic values. Irisdotter, Aldenmyr and Olson (2016) reported that teachers who used different programmes believed that sharing one's innermost feelings and an existential dimension in life were necessary for self-reflection and improved self-control. However, care in these programmes was concerned solely with the psychological well-being of individuals, and lacked a connection to the greater societal good. It is therefore interesting to study conceptions of care and caring practices in order to see which meanings are associated with "care" following criticism of the programme invasion and the new demands formulated for SAE. It has also been argued that care "...is [a] frequently unrecognised and unrewarded aspect of teachers' professional lives" (Hjalmarsson, Löfdahl-Hultman, & Warin, 2017, p. 231).

The Ethics of Care

Nel Noddings, the feminist philosopher and educationalist, can be considered one of the most important thinkers to have written extensively on the ethics of care. From the perspective of the ethics of care, the aim of schools is that children should grow up to be "...competent, caring, loving and lovable people" (Noddings, 1995, p. 5). Care has been defined by Noddings (1996, p. xiii) as "a set of relational practices that foster mutual recognition and realisation, growth, development, protection, empowerment, and human community, culture, and possibility". In other words, care is related to needs in the sense that the care provided by a teacher is based on needs (Noddings, 2005). In the sense intended by Noddings, care is not necessarily related to one kind of need. Pupils may rather have all kinds of academic, psychological or social needs. Everybody, however, needs the experience of caring teachers in a caring environment. Caring teachers try to develop pupils' ability to care for and to empathise with other people. Noddings (1995) has argued that the ethics of care should apply at all levels: teacher–pupil relationships, the school as an institution and education policy. The aim here is not to argue for the implementation of the ethics of care in school and nor is it to provide a full account of Noddings' theory, but rather to present an overview of some distinctions that can provide a framework for the concerns of the present paper.

Noddings (2012) describes the difference between "virtue caring" and "relational caring" (p. 53). The former relies on the teacher's conception of and decisions concerning the needs of the pupil, whereas the latter requires mutual reciprocity, and considers the relationship between the carer and the cared for as essential. It means that the teacher listens to the pupils, identifies their needs, and, if possible, meets these needs (Noddings, 2005). If it is not possible to meet the need, the need should be respected and acknowledged. In order for the relationship to be upheld (and the reciprocity condition to be met) the pupil signals that the care has been received, or respected. A crucial distinction is therefore between expressed and inferred needs. The former is what the pupil expresses, and the latter is what the carer/teacher infers that the pupil needs. However, pupils may have needs that are hard to ascertain. For instance, a pupil may feel the need to belong and to succeed in school but his/her fear of failure may prevent him/her from performing adequately. Such pupils may

act as if school does not matter to them. These so-called hidden needs can be expressed in various ways, and interpretation of their expression requires skill on the part of the teacher. They may be vague and hard to differentiate from wants.¹ Pupils may claim that they want something, whereas in reality this claim reflects not an inner real want but rather a trend or popular view. Identifying hidden needs is time consuming. However, doing so is important, as it pertains to pupils' development of care and trust. Some inferred needs are basic and expressed biologically (e.g. the need for food, water and shelter). Some basic needs arise in specific cultures, such as in democracies, where there is a need for the freedom to make life-directing choices. Some inferred needs are general and are "inferred proactively" and included in the curriculum. The present study focuses not on the curriculum but rather teachers' conceptions of needs they infer interactively, so-called specific needs, for example, when an SAE teacher realises that pupils need to learn how to behave in the corridor (i.e. walking rather than running). Pupils may also have overwhelming needs due to sick or absent parents, or being the victims of violence, mockery and feelings of worthlessness and also stomachache and the like (Noddings, 2005). Overwhelming needs cannot be overlooked. "Children who are in pain, afraid, sick, or lost in worry cannot be expected to be interested in arithmetic or grammar" (p. 153). Noddings (2005) also argued that the caring teacher ought to focus more on pupils expressed needs than inferred needs. As such, expressed needs can be related to pupils' rights to participation and influence formulated in the NAE (2011/18), and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Teachers should be ready to change their minds about needs that they have inferred, as they may not be equivalent to real needs. On the other hand, there are cases in which teachers should encourage pupils to reassess their own needs and wants and reflect upon how these relate to their objectives. In addition, teachers should act on needs that they have identified rather than leaving it up to someone else to take action.

The application of Noddings' ethics of care in school contexts has been criticised from several angles (Colnerud, 2006; Mc Cuaig, 2012). For example, teachers' capability to actually relate to all pupils' in the required sense does not seem reasonable given the number of pupils teachers are usually responsible for. Many caring actions may also be performed without the cared-for person ever being aware of them, hence the required condition of reciprocity is not met. It may give rise to unsound power relations, as can be found in families. The ethics of care also fail to acknowledge the complexity of the human mind and that feelings are nested and volatile (cf. Mc Cuaig, 2012). Nevertheless, the ethics of care provide some distinctions that can be useful in analysing teachers' conceptions of care and their actual caring practices.

Research at the SAE

Research on how care is conceptualised and provided by SAE teachers is scarce. However, Hjalmarsson, Löfdahl-Hultman and Warin (2017) have studied how gender and profession relate to conceptions of care. Although care has traditionally been female coded, it was shown that men also thought about care both with regard to everyday practical matters (e.g. getting dressed) and psychological needs (e.g. hugs). They argue for the need to widen the

1 See Noddings (2005) for an explanation of the difference between needs and wants.

concept of “care”, allowing it to cover a broader range of teachers’ work that traditionally might not be associated with care. In a study by Hjalmarsson and Odenbring (2019), it was showed that SAE teachers supplied proper clothes and specific equipment for outdoor activities, as well as snacks for excursions and afternoon snacks, something which was considered particularly important, as not everyone was served evening meals at home. Andishmand (2017) describes how the staff at one centre, situated in an area with large linguistic diversity and social problems, considered it important to compensate for social inequalities. The social climate was tough and children had problems in their relationships. Notably, the staff expressed the view that it was positive that the pupils were different—it was described as an asset. At the same time the SAE was organised around dichotomies of sex and age, and children were categorised according to binary terms such as boy/girl, Swedish/ not Swedish. Although teachers had the intention of caring for pupils’ specific needs they may, according to Andishmand, reproduce structural injustices.

Research studies show an ambivalence with respect to the role of SAE (e.g. Haglund, 2015a; Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014a; Lager, 2019). However, care and pupils’ social learning is at the core of SAE. Staff adhering to a social pedagogical discourse may adopt a “distant subject position” (Haglund, 2015a). This means watching pupils from a distance and checking regularly that everybody is fine, that each child has someone to play with and feels safe, on the presumption that pupils learn best from each other and too much interference may affect pupils’ abilities to develop social skills. Such strategies are also explained by the number of pupils attending the centres in relation to staff (Haglund, 2015a). Jonsson (2018), in a study of social learning, showed that staff regard safety as the basis for social learning. Due to organisational circumstances, some staff were hindered in planning activities or involving themselves in pedagogical discussions. They therefore saw themselves more as role models. Teachers’ interpretations of “participation” and pupils’ abilities to make responsible choices rely on conceptions of what skills pupils need to develop (Närvänen & Elvstrand, 2015). Teachers may therefore, in the best interest of pupils, plan activities without involving pupils in the planning (Haglund, 2015b). Holmberg (2017), with reference to Foucault, describes how caring teachers shape pupils’ behaviours by way of “pastoral care”, “pastoral power” and “mentalised steering techniques” (ibid. p. 32), that is, soft methods. In order for teachers to provide pastoral care they have to have knowledge of the pupils’ dreams and fears, and therefore pupils have to take part in confessional practices (cf. Furedi, 2004). In other words, care may be given quite different meanings depending on different conceptions of needs.

Aim and Research Questions

The aim of the present study was to investigate conceptions of care and care practices in a Swedish SAE centre. The study aimed to shed light on how conceptions of care and actual caring practices related to conceptions of pupils’ needs.² ‘Caring practices’ is used here in

2 In one sense, it is impossible to delineate conceptions of care from conceptions of development and teaching. The main focus is, however, on care and care practices. It should be noted that one teacher often used “teaching” (sv. undervisa) in dialogues.

order to cover actions that aims at learning certain skills, that is, closer to what might be associated with ‘teaching’, but covering practices performed for no other reason than for instance, encouraging and comforting.

Methodology

Data

The study was undertaken between March 2018 and April 2019 in an SAE centre here referred to as Logos. Logos is situated in a large city in the middle of Sweden, and was selected for the present study because of its explicit global vision of a better world with responsible caring people.³ It was assumed that staff would show exceptional care for individual pupils, and that caring practices would also be aimed at developing ‘a common good’ (Irisdotter, Aldenmyr, & Olson, 2016). Ninety-nine pupils are enrolled at Logos. The school does not use SET or any other programme. However, all teachers in the school receive regular training in non-violent communication (NVC), a communication model that shares some similarities with SET in so far as the individual’s psychological needs are in focus. The head of the school selected teachers on the basis that they were the most experienced and also willing to take part. One teacher had a qualification as a sports consultant and a university degree as a teacher in leisure time centres dating from 2013. Another teacher had taken a degree in leisure time pedagogy in 1983. Both had worked since the 1980s in different leisure time centres. At the end of the project a third teacher took part in a recorded group interview. She had an upper secondary school-level qualification in child care education. The data in the study are based on field notes recorded during observations on 15 visits, with each visit lasting between 2.5 and 5.5 h. Observations were “second order participant” (Bjørndal, 2005). When observing circle-time activities, I was given the role of a pupil. Short notes were sometimes taken directly and completed after the observation before leaving school. In addition, three audio-recorded interviews were conducted (see Halldén, Haglund, & Strömdahl, 2007 on interviewing). There was one interview with each of the two experienced teachers (60/40 min each). The interviews took the form of a dialogue in which the teachers were initially asked to describe their work, what they found important with regard to care, and how they planned activities. The third audio-recorded interview (50 min) included the two experienced teachers and the young teacher. In this interview, they were asked to talk about care and the possibility of performing care at the SAE school in relation to the learning of school subject material. The interviews were fully transcribed, except for some parts that were judged to be off track with regard to the research questions in this study.

3 The vision focuses on children’s education, in the sense of internal character development, and is based on thinking about sustainability.

Interpretation of Data

The data has been interpreted by departing from a holistic approach to interpretation (extensively described in Haglund, 2017; cf. Halldén, Haglund, & Strömdahl, 2007; Haglund, 2017; Klaassen & Lijnse, 1996). It does not presume that language mirrors thinking.⁴ It means that utterances and observed behaviour has been looked upon in terms of actions (Downes, 1998; Halldén, 1999; Davidson, 2001). Interpretations of actions, according to the philosopher Donald Davidson (2001; cf. Roth, 2009; Rönström, 2006, 2011), cannot rely on speakers using words in the same sense. Interpretation is in other words always “radical”. It implies that “Charity is forced on us” (Davidson, 2001, p. 197), that we have to assume that the speaker is fairly coherent and rational,⁵ and that we have to look for that rationality. It relies on us as humans being able to discern the same salient objects and phenomena in a shared environment. Something is salient when it stands out against a more diffuse background (cf. Wertheimer, 1923). Also, speakers’ behaviour is salient (Davidson, 2002) and we can, with varying amounts of effort, recognise and interpret people’s actions and reactions. For instance, when observing a teacher that sits on the floor with a child in her lap, moving her hand back and forth on the child’s back, the bodily movements are, together with other available information (as for instance other children are playing, it is not time for rest), salient enough to interpret it as comforting. Transcriptions of interviews have been performed between visits and then read several times, looking for meanings of care that stand out as salient. Interpretations of the interviews and observations have then been triangulated (Davidson, 2001). Triangulation means briefly, that teachers at a later occasion were asked to confirm or disconfirm specific interpretations of utterances and observations. Teachers also had the possibility to be more specific or correct misunderstandings. Triangulation does not mean the same thing as discussed in research method literature in relation to different kinds of data used in a study (e.g. Cohen & Manion, 1994). It rather refers to the communicative interaction between researcher and teachers at the school with the aim of discussing the meaning of specific propositions in interviews and meanings ascribed to observations (Haglund, 2017). Interpretations and triangulation start already in the interview. For instance, a teacher said at a specific point that it is important “that children are safe”. She was asked to explain what she meant by “are safe”. She explained that that she meant that they should “feel safe” in terms of being able to explain themselves without being ridiculed.

Results

This study was aimed at investigating conceptions of care and care practices and how these conceptions of care and actual practice related to teachers’ conceptions of pupils’ needs. In

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- 4 Fontana and Frey (2005) characterized the possibility of drawing conclusions about interviewees’ conceptions in a scientific interview as a myth. Others have criticised all research on beliefs, conceptions, etc. that relied on Piagets’ (1929) clinical method (Schoultz, Säljö, & Wyndhamn, 2001), arguing that such research rested on a faulty premise of “unobserved entities” (p.109).
 - 5 The principle of charity has been construed in different ways and for different reasons, although Davidson’s version (2001) emphasises reference to a shared world (Saka, 2007; Roth, 2009).

the presentation of the results, quotes from the recorded and transcribed interviews are used, although the results are also based on an analysis of the field notes.

Conceptions of Care

Safety

The most salient conception of care shared by the three teachers was care in terms of pupil's feelings of safety. Being safe means that someone is looking after you and comforts you when needed. Everyone should feel that they have been seen and that the staff care about them. Feeling safe also means not being afraid of showing feelings, giving voice to fears and needs, and being allowed to speak one's mind without being ridiculed or harassed. Care is strongly related to the development of positive self-esteem. It also means that one should not need to worry about being unsure of what is happening. For instance, the teachers made sure that they explained what it meant to take part in activities that they had not tried, or were new. Pupils should not feel insecure when trying new things. Psychologically, health, feeling safe and having a good self-image are regarded as the foundation for "everything else" – for learning social skills during SAE and learning ordinary school subjects in school time.

Fairness

Care means recognising pupils' right to be fairly treated. The teachers regularly returned to the importance of knowing how to relate to other people and how to behave in a group. "It is still those who rule and those who choose not to take part. That is what we want to change" (Laura, recorded interview). According to Laura some pupils do not take part in certain group configurations and that is a choice they make. They are not treated as equal participants so they would rather keep themselves at a distance from pupils who rule over other pupils in games or activities. A well-functioning group in which the pupils are nice to each other is desirable, not only because everybody has the right to be fairly treated. It is also because they want to transmit the idea that we need each other, we can help each other and we can learn from each other.

Personal Development

Care means helping pupil develop as people, making use of their full capacity. Laura phrased it concisely, explaining that pupils should leave SAE as 'the best version of themselves' (Laura, recorded interview). In this sense, care means developing pupil's self-esteem. Anne stressed the need to encourage children to show their feelings, 'to let go of the hard surface' (Ann, recorded interview). Ann noticed that it was mainly boys that lacked this kind of competence, and therefore there was a particular need to help them develop it. Laura regarded herself as being better at developing pupils' self-esteem by engaging them in different plays, games and hand crafts rather than through deep conversations. This helped to encourage pupils who would not see themselves making, for instance, a

pearl plate, or attending an excursion. She stressed that pupils needed to try new things and not limit themselves. Pupils could enrich their personalities by taking part in the various activities that the SAE offered. In the citation below, Laura differentiates the core aims of the professionals in SAE and school teaching respectively. “Other teachers in the school focus mainly on knowledge building, whereas we focus on the person. I want to help them to be experts on themselves” (Laura, recorded interview). It appears that SAE staff have to take care of a variety of pupil needs, while school teachers generally take limited responsibility for pupils needs that are not directly related to the school subject they teach.

Caring Practices

The teachers employed different interventions to encourage the pupils to express their needs. They mentioned that core ideas from the NVC model were a valuable tool, in particular the focus on needs and feelings rather than misbehaviour. Caring practices can be summarised in terms of comforting, educating, force and exceptions.

Comforting – Overwhelming Needs

The caring practices that teachers have to provide in order to meet pupils’ needs on a daily basis are often of the acute kind:

The children crash out on my lap ...well, when I was 25, no problem. But now, I’d rather not... but we have to, some really need it...families look different, children are stressed...they meet so many different teachers nowadays ... some arrive at seven with a sandwich in their hand. (Laura, recorded interview)

Laura does not regard it as her main role to comfort children on her lap but considered it a necessary part of her job. In many discussions Anne, the other experienced teacher, also stressed that the pupils’ need for this kind of care was greater today than in the past. This kind of need cannot be negotiated, neglected or postponed: they just have to be met immediately. Elsa, the young teacher, described how she had to leave her own group or her lunch or whatever she was doing to attend to pupils’ acute need for comfort. This is something she has to do rather than what she ought to do according to her schedule, even when it means being in the wrong place.

I have no time for it, I should not even be there, but it is like ... all the time you go on some kind of feeling /.../ is worth taking the time to respond though when you see someone sitting and crying. It becomes a priority. (Elsa, recorded group interview).

According to Elsa, a large amount of work revolves around meeting acute needs, or in Noddings’ (2005) words, overwhelming needs. A crying pupil needs to be comforted. She stressed that she could not do otherwise and that she did not expect that other teachers should do the work. “You have to do it, and it is always worth it,” she said. As Noddings (2005) argues, the caring teacher acts personally rather than leaving it to others to take action.

Educating – The Need for Basic Skills

Developing as person involves developing the basic skills that pupils need and which teachers inferred from everyday interactions (Noddings (2005). Some pupils do not know “simple things”. Laura stressed that teaching at the SAE involved training the pupils in skills that previously they would have learned at home.

Many pupils, even more so today, do not have this knowledge when they come to school. In the past, parents sat and played games with their children, they ate dinner as a family, four people together, and waited for their turn, and they used a knife and fork, they received this sort of education. Now we have to teach them, although it is called nursing. (Laura, recorded interview).

Laura argues that SAE is about teaching these skills, as these are basic skills that everyone needs to master. In the citation below, Laura give further examples which points to the core role that SAE has in providing care for pupils’ overall development. Laura described how they had to make the pupils practise walking along the corridor, instead of running. One boy had to try three times before he managed to walk the whole length of the corridor. She continued:

Laura: ... this is a form of teaching. They do not know that you should not run in the corridor. Some do not know how to dress themselves, play games together, or socialise in the same room ... that this would be nursing (sv. omvårdnad) without learning? That is exactly what it is. (Laura, recorded interview.)

Of note, Laura was the only one who used the word “nursing” [sv. omvårdnad] instead of “care” [sv. omsorg], which was the term introduced in the interview. She used the word when talking about how SAE has changed and that the abilities in question do not evolve naturally by themselves or by peer interaction. They have to be learned, and this requires teaching.

Force – The Need for Variation

The teachers, in different ways, also tried to get the pupils to reassess some of their needs, such as doing the same activities every day. When they failed to convince the pupils to try new activities, they found other ways. Laura said, “we force them to try, if they do not like it, ok. then...but they need at least to try”. In some cases, they placed restrictions on the pupils. For example, some boys played football every day. It was not regarded as beneficial for the boys. “We stopped the football game for some time” (Laura, recorded interview). Laura further explained that this was in the best interest of the football players, who then tried other activities. Stopping the football game for a period was also positive for those who were not invited to take part in the game as it gave rise to new group dynamics. It became beneficial for both the individual pupils’ development and for the group.

Exceptions – The Needs of Others

The teachers tried in various ways to teach the pupils to accept differences and that people have different needs. Accepting differences implies that the teachers allowed pupils not to follow common rules all the time. They also made such exceptions explicit to the group. Laura exemplified this by a situation in which a pupil, Lasse, could suddenly be permitted to leave an activity. “We say, Lasse, we can see that you are upset now, and we know that

you need to be left alone for a while so...". Although the pupils had complained previously that it was unfair that not everybody had to attend (because it was presented as a compulsory activity), they all now accepted that exceptions have to be made as people may have different needs. Differences are important also because it means that we can help each other. Laura summarised her main goal at work:

My main ambition is to teach that we are all different, we are unique, and to find this uniqueness. Then, we can also help each other. Oh, you are afraid of dogs ... ok, then I can ... (Laura, recorded interview)

The teaching Laura refers to is performed both in circle time activities but also in every day interactions. Laura also noted: "No child is impossible," adding that under the surface "everybody wants to be in the group, we are social beings."

Circle Time Activity

The group was for one semester divided into two smaller groups and Ann and Laura worked with each one intensively, directing exercises aiming at developing simple skills, such as turn taking, listening, and being nice to each other, as well as having the courage to share feelings and thoughts. According to Noddings (2005), these teachers inferred that pupils (to various degrees) needed not only to develop social skills, but also to learn about other pupils needs. A specific caring practice that the teachers hence applied was the circle time activity. It starts with a round in which, for instance, everybody draws a stick with a question on it. It is supposed to be a simple question such as "what is your favourite food?" This activity is generally followed by a game, which is chosen with the particular aim of creating contact between the participants and getting pupils to play in new groupings. Laura explained later (in the interview) that it was important to do something fun together to create specific shared moments. Therefore, the teachers also took part in the games. After the game, the pupils have to solve an individual task, such as the "flower task",⁶ which focuses on values and/or emotions. Sometimes the pupils are placed in pairs to interview each other or to solve a task together. The activity ends with a round in which the pupils share something with the group, for example something new they have learned about a friend.

The teachers make up their own combinations of exercises based on their experience developed during the time when "life competence skills" emerged in schools. Laura describes below how she draws on drama pedagogy, and that many years of experience of working with different groups of pupils are crucial when designing these activities.

I learned from a drama teacher, at the time when it was the so-called 'life competence skill' (sv. livskunskap), but it is also a concept [life competence skill] that one is not allowed ... and it is, well, reasonable not to buy something straight off. But I have selected... I have worked so long (Laura recorded interview).

The choice of exercises is also based on current knowledge about the group. Having knowledge about the group requires knowing individual pupils' particular needs, fears and uncertainties, something which is inferred in everyday interactions or which has been expressed in previous circle time activities or in small talk with the staff.

6 The flower task derives from SET. It involves filling in answers on paper petals on the following topics: A memory, my favourite food, something I like to do with my family, a song/music I like, or an activity I enjoy at the leisure centre.

Even exercises that have been successful in the past, these don't work in all groups. Some exercises are only successful within a particular culture or group atmosphere. Like the card game, you have to jump around and sit on each other's laps. Many will feel uncertain. It is only if they think it is funny. That is, that is the actual craft [sv. hanverket] involved. (Laura, recorded interview)

It is important to plan the activities with the particular group in mind and, according to Laura, this is at the core of the job of an SAE teacher, the "actual craft". By performing different exercises, the pupils are trained in social skills, such as listening to each other and turn taking, and also trained to share their thoughts and feelings. According to Noddings (2005), teachers should pay less attention to inferred needs and more to expressed needs. It means that teachers should listen to their pupils. The circle time is one way of giving the pupils the opportunity to express their needs.

Discussion

The teachers in this study brought up various forms of care that were related to their conceptions of pupils' needs. Overall, care means that the pupils should feel safe in several senses. As such, the results of this study are similar to many earlier studies stressing safety as a core value in SAE (e.g. Haglund, 2015a; Jonsson, 2018).

The caring practices performed by the teachers resemble a pedagogy described in earlier SAE studies in which the development of social skills is regarded as a main task (Haglund, 2015a, Haglund, 2015b; Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014a, Klerfelt & Haglund, 2014b; Jonsson, 2018; Lager 2019). The teachers had to be ready to meet urgent, or to use Noddings' (2012) term, "overwhelming needs", which required the teachers to comfort children immediately. This kind of care is an important part of teachers' work, as noted also by Hjalmarsson, Löfdahl and Warin (2017). Caring practices are also aimed at filling the gaps in basic knowledge that the pupils lacked. This is a kind of care that in the past would have been provided at home. As such SAE has a compensatory role, which has also been identified in other studies, for instance Andishmand (2017) and Hjalmarsson and Odenbring (2019). In this study, it was not social injustice in terms of pupils' needs for proper clothes for outdoor activities, or extra snacks that needed to be addressed, as identified in Hjalmarsson & Odenbring (2019). Rather, this issue was similar to that described in Andishmandi's study (2017) in which the pupils lacked basic social skills. Pupils at Logos also needed to be trained in a range of social skills. However, several of the skills that the teachers identified that pupils needed to develop were not only about how to treat each other, but how to get dressed, walk in a corridor, eat properly and play games etc. So, despite the trend away from care towards education, reducing caring practices in schools does not appear to be an option.

Noddings (2012) argued that teachers should pay more attention to pupils' expressed needs rather than inferred needs. A caring practice that was operationalised by the teachers in this study was to run circle time activities. This allowed pupils to express needs that had previously been inferred by the teachers. The teachers in this study did not follow any of the programmes that had been criticised by Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg and Hultin (2014) and Irisdotter, Aldenmyr and Olson (2016). In activity planning, they made use of

their long experience and singular exercise from SET were used when training pupils to express their feelings and needs. However, the needs that pupils express do not necessarily coincide with their true thoughts and their internal needs. What pupils say in circle time, as well as in daily activities, may not form part of their actual thinking but rather be socioculturally situated (cf. Schoultz et al., 2001) and part of the predominant discourse at Logos, inspired by the language of non-violent communication. The circle time activities described here can be said to form part of what Furedi (2004) described as the therapeutic trend. This “inward turn in education” and the critique of various confessional practices reviewed above (Mc Cuag, 2012; Bartholdsson, Gustafsson-Lundberg, & Hultin, 2014; Hultin, 2015) suggest that although circle time activities have the potential to contribute to the development of both individual pupils and the group at large, they are accompanied by certain risks. If circle time activities aimed at the strengthening of social relations and the development of self-esteem are prioritised in SAE, one may miss the opportunity to develop pupils’ abilities to critically analyse moral and political injustices. This is not to suggest that feelings should not be taken seriously. On the contrary, feelings are important but can also be looked upon as culturally and socially situated constructs that can be interpreted differently according to different situations (Bartholdsson & Hultin, 2014). SAE could, in other words, be a place in which care for pupils also means inviting them into the investigation of profound questions that also are intellectually challenging. It does not necessarily imply a “schoolification” of SAE, but could entail designing activities in which the focus is on philosophical issues pertinent to pupils. In other words, challenging pupils by turning them towards the world and not inwards (Bergdahl & Langmann, 2017). “Care” could, as stressed by Hjalmarsson, Löfdahl-Hultman, & Warin, (2017), be given a wide interpretation.

The teachers in this study stressed the importance of teaching tolerance, acknowledgment of each other’s competencies and that we should help each other. This type of SAE teaching is in line with the vision of Logos to educate for a better world. The present study did not investigate whether this vision drove the teachers’ actions or if it was something they shared regardless of place. This study involved only three teachers at a specific SAE centre in Sweden. It gives an insight into how care and caring practices can be conceptualised and performed in relation to needs. Another limitation is that the observations did not account for how much of the time staff spent on the various forms of care. Neither does the study account for how the caring practices were received by the pupils from their point of view and in relation to their actual needs. Research from the pupils’ perspective would therefore be valuable (cf. Elvstrand, & Närvänen, 2016).

Although this study is small, it points to a situation where we may see more pupils in need of learning the basic skills and social skills that earlier were taught at home. The results may be used in discussion at SAE centres in terms of which caring practices need to be strengthened and whether some have to be systematised or maybe abandoned. Different forms of care require different caring practices, or as one teacher said “teaching”. It is by no means clear that all kinds of circle time activities are the best activities to teach various skills. Teachers therefore require time to reflect together on the meaning of “care” and “nursing” as well as which kind of caring practices that need to be developed or changed, and time to reflect on their own needs. Teacher education, on the other hand, should prepare the students so they can meet pupils’ different needs. Last but not the least, some ques-

tions arise which may fall into the realms of philosophy: In a democratic society what are the basic needs that should be provided by SAE? What are the actual moral responsibilities that should be placed on SAE?

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The Method of the Socio-Spatial Map for the Reconstruction of Transformative Educational Processes in Educational Contexts

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Abstract: This article is concerned with the method of the socio-spatial map. It is a method that combines visual (sketches/drawings) with verbal expressions (interviews) in a triangulating manner. This process is particularly suited to empirical questions and analyses of *educational contexts, processes* and *strategies* within the framework of extended education, as they are too complex to be captured solely by a single method. Rather, educational processes require a methodical-methodological design that enables as holistic a reconstruction as possible, within the mode of language and visualization, fundamental dispositions, experiences and forms of processing (cf. Maschke, 2019).

Keywords: triangulating methodology on space, educational research on space, arts-informed research, documentary method

The Socio-Spatial Map

Characteristics of the Socio-Spatial Map

On the basis of the narrative map, an instrument used in narrative and visual social research in ethnographic orientation (Behnken & Zinnecker, 2010), we made modifications aimed at creating a *common* methodological basis for analysis (cf. Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski, 2015, p. 20). In order to do so, the triangulating components of the narrative map – the verbal and visual components – were linked by means of the documentary method (Maschke & Hentschke, 2017). To emphasize the extended expressive possibilities and the interactivity between both methods (interviews and sketches/drawings) and the socio-spatial aspect of the map, we no longer speak of a narrative map, but rather of a *socio-spatial map*. This method has, on the one hand, a certain similarity to arts-informed research (Guruge et al., 2015, p. 1); this is a data collection method that combines “drawing activity” with “focus group discussions”. On the other hand, it is similar to narrative mapping (Thomson, 2019, p. 132) as “a form of visual storytelling” or “mental sketch mapping” (Giesecking, 2013, p. 712).

The socio-spatial perspective focuses on the social creation and appropriation of space and habitus. The tenets are (1) that spaces are constructed interactively. They are constituted “in the interaction between action and structures” (Löw, 2017, p. 191). Actors create spaces,

and in turn, the space also has an effect on them (cf. Hummrich, 2011). In addition (2), the effect of different and also divergent experiential spaces for the creation of habitus is significant. Taken together (3), the interactively generated social (and at the same time, spatial) action practices (cf. Hummrich, 2011) can be taken into account on this basis. In this way, educational processes or (reflective) educational moments can be identified (cf. Maschke, 2013).

Implementing the Socio-Spatial Map

Like the narrative map, the socio-spatial map combines the graphical element of the drawing with the narrative (also guided) interview. Initially, an introduction impulse, adjusted to topic and age, is given, with which the respondents are invited to make a drawing/sketch of their personal space, e.g. of growing up during childhood or adolescence, or on specific transitions, with biographically relevant experiential spaces, stages, encounters, situations, events etc., and to talk (in parallel) about what seems significant to them. The entire process is recorded; any open questions are noted down for the subsequent interview phase. The first phase ends when the drawing is complete in the view of the respondent. This is followed by a follow-up question section and, if required, by a guided interview, which incorporates new content (cf. Behnken & Zinnecker, 2010). Individual parts/elements are then explained and/or evaluated by the respondents using standardized signs (e.g. plus or minus signs); for this, a transparent sheet can be laid on top of the sketch, or they can use a specially-colored pen to add something directly. The implementation of the socio-spatial map takes between approx. 30 minutes and one and a half hours.

Theoretical Background

Transformative Educational Processes

By connecting it to the concept of the subjective education space (in the tradition of socio-spatial analysis, inter alia, Kessl & Reutlinger, 2007; Deinet, 2009), the socio-spatial map can determine the habitual conditions of educational acquisition. Here, we refer back to the education-theoretical work on transformative educational processes (inter alia, Marotzki, 1990; Koller, 2010; Maschke, 2013; Nohl, Rosenberg & Thomsen, 2015). An international connection is produced via approaches of transformative learning (e.g. Kasworm & Bowles, 2012). In essence, these studies state that the transformation of the habitus arises from new *educational experiences*, which create a ‘tension’ in the current habitus (Maschke, 2013). The perception and release of this tension takes place within the self-reflective awareness or also the (self-)realization of biographical aspects – in our case with a view to the use and management of educational programs.

In both theoretical as well as methodological terms, the socio-spatial map draws triangulating research attention to cognitive-linguistic forms of expression in an interview as well as to a performative aspect, which finds its physical expression in the drawing/sketch (cf. Maschke, 2013). As such, the spectrum of possibilities of expression expands across a holistic approach, “room for the whole person-feelings as well as thoughts, body and soul, as well as mind” (Schapiro, Wasserman & Gallegos, 2012, p. 358-359) – which is particularly important for international comparative research. Though it hasn’t been applied in in-

ternational comparative research yet, we suggest the application of our method for the analysis of subjective educational space.

The Documentary Method and the Socio-Spatial Map

An empirical perspective that has so far received scant attention is the holistic and qualitative perspective of extended education, which addresses the reconstruction of transformative educational processes or their blocking.

The documentary method refers to a method in reconstructive social research (cf. Bohnsack, 2003). This includes “the practice of action as well as that of speaking, performing and debating” (ibid., p. 42). In addition to the interpretative aspect, this practice includes the “*practical* production and construction of the world” (Bohnsack 2009, p. 17). The comparative analysis direction is also of great significance, i.e. the “controlled operation with empirical comparison ranges or comparative cases” (Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski 2015, p. 11). Reconstructive research is aimed at the reconstruction of (constructed) everyday actions of social actors – and thus also on the underlying “implicit” or even “silent” (Bohnsack 2009, p. 15) knowledge of the research subjects.

The aim of triangulation within the framework of the documentary method is to contribute to the consolidation of results (cf. Maschke & Schittenhelm, 2005). This can be achieved when the different methodological approaches relate to “the *same* object” (Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski, 2015, p. 19). Both image and text interpretation can be taken equally as a basis without blurring the specific inherent logic of image and text.

The Narrative Interview

The interview stage within the method of the socio-spatial map follows on from the carrying out and analysis of the narrative interview. The documentary method is also applied in “modified form” in the interpretation of the narrative interview (Bohnsack, 2003, p. 134). ‘Access’ within the narrative interview is “individualizing”, i.e. it relates to a biography-theoretical framework as well as to a collective one, by relating autobiographical narratives to process structures of one’s life, institutional sequence patterns and collective trajectories. We assume a familiarity with the stages of the interpretation of interviews (with the documentary methods, cf. Maschke & Schittenhelm, 2005) and focus more strongly on the application of picture analysis.

Picture Analysis

Within the framework of the documentary method, the work stages of the interpretation of pictures involves a differentiation between *immanent* and *documentary meaning*, and the resulting differentiation of *formulating* and *reflective* interpretation (cf. Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski, 2015). Formulating interpretation enquires about the immanent meaning, it asks *what* is presented in the picture (cf. Bohnsack, 2003), or “WHAT is being drawn” (Wopfner, 2008, p. 167). The differentiation is made in the pre-iconographic dimension: what can be recognized in the picture that comes from the material world?, and the iconographic dimension: which social

scenes can be identified in the picture? (cf. Przyborski, 2018). The reflective interpretation is concerned with the documentary meaning, it asks about the how of the production of the picture, about “HOW the drawing is made” (Wopfner, 2008, p. 167). This refers to the “reconstruction of the formal structure” (Bohnsack, Michel & Przyborski, 2015, p. 22). The aim is to capture the “formal construction of the picture across the surface”, namely by means of a “seeing view”, which opens up the “inherent meaning” of the picture (Bohnsack, 2006, p. 54). This includes: the “planimetric composition”, whose reconstruction makes the “cohesion or disintegration of the composition across the surface” (Przyborski 2018, p. 158) visible, and works in particular with the use of lines. Furthermore, the “perspective projection” (Przyborski 2018, p. 158), which classifies the “depicted representationalism in its presented space” and thus expresses the “world view” (Przyborski 2018, p. 158) by carving out the utilized perspective, as well as the “scenic choreography” (Przyborski 2018, p. 158-159). The aim is to “make the balance, symmetry or tension, the constellations as relationships from top to bottom, near and far, related and segregated, from individual and groups of people or from people and objects visible in the picture” (Przyborski 2018, p.158). The conclusive iconological-iconic interpretation refers to the picture as a “constructed whole” (Pilarczyk & Mietzner, 2005, p. 141) and, ideally, takes into account all possible “ways of reading” a picture.

The key question with a view to drawings/sketches is what is documented by the drawing/sketch about the research participants and their conjunctive experiential *spaces*. Overall, the sketches (and interviews) show “centers” (Maschke, 2019), which are both an individual-biographical and collective expression at the same time – because every form of communication, including an “inner dialogue”, assumes a “generalized other” (Bohnsack 2003, p. 116). They are characterized by particular detail or even differentiation, interactive (spatial) density, graphic emphasis, delimitation and directional determination by means of lines etc., and metaphorical content (cf. Nohl, 2006).

Research Example

It should be noted that the documentary method is comparative, though only one example is described here. In addition, we will limit the example to a summarized interpretation due to space limitations.

Brief profile¹

The young adult, 22 years old at the time of the interview, is a first-year student of architecture at an institute, has siblings, and grew up in a city with approx. 30,000 inhabitants,

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- 1 The West African republic of The Gambia has a population of approx. 2.1 million (2017) (Munzinger, 2019). According to the country report of the European Asylum Office (EASO) 60 % of the population is younger than 25 years. Youth unemployment in The Gambia of the youth aged 15-24 was more than 44 % and about 91 % of this age group had had no vocational training in 2012. Many young people especially from poorer families leave school early, and almost 25 % of the youth under 20 had had no schooling at all (2013). Altrogge (2018) talks about a huge lack of income and educational prospects. The national development plan of the Gambian government states: “the issue of quality and relevance of the curriculum and learning materials continues to be a source of serious concern” (Republic of The Gambia 2018, p. 5). Therefore, many parents prefer to send their children to private schools with school fees, as the quality there is much better. Children may also be enrolled at Early Childhood Development Centres for two or three years before starting primary school. These Centres are mostly private institutions with fees to pay.

where he still lives today. His father is from a Ghanaian migrant background, Wolof as well as English are spoken at home, the parents' academic qualifications are not known. The interview partner attended a 6-year private elementary school in The Gambia. The educational center consists of an early childhood development center, a basic school, an integrated health project, a youth program and a particular focus on life skills. It is located in a deprived neighborhood of N., has a radical priority for poor children and is free of charge. It offers numerous programs in the area of extended education, e.g. computer courses, health education and summer schools. In addition, the pupils receive a free lunch. In the following, we present our empirical procedure.

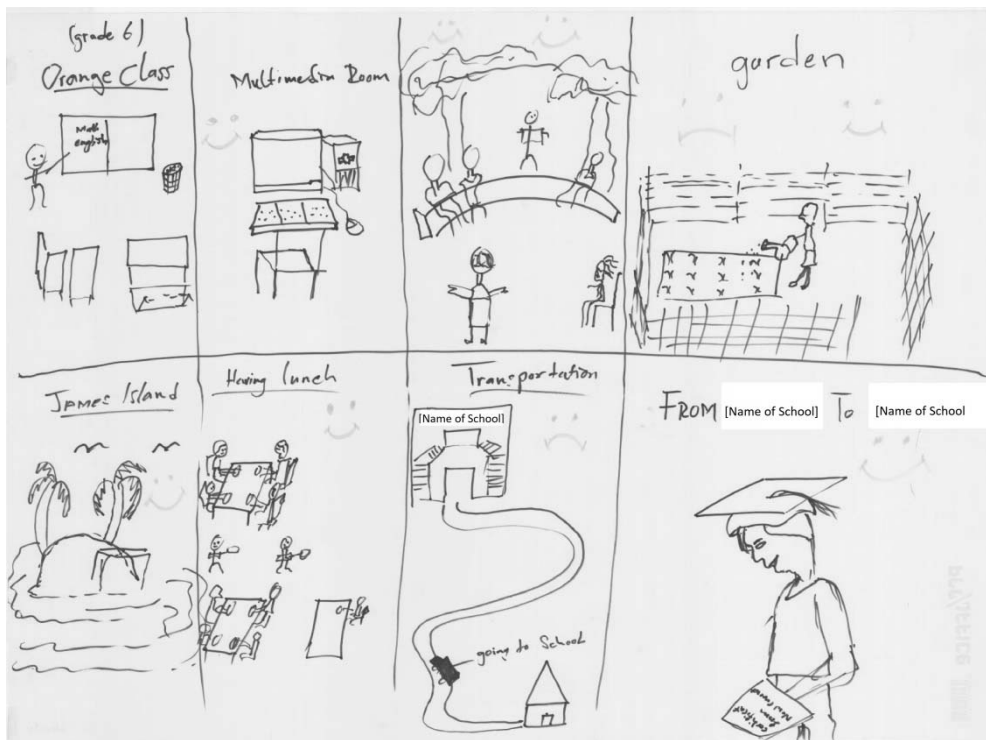


Figure 1. Socio-Spatial Map of X.

The picture evokes a picture book that reads from left to right. The eight situations and stages appear to be organized sequentially and at the same time as self-contained narratives. Seven of the individual pictures have titles, some of which are emphasized by underlining. One title is especially emphasized with the use of capital letters: "FROM [...] To [...]". Some pictures have additional explanations and definitions. The irregular distribution of the space is noticeable, which centers each third picture from the right, in particular the term "Transportation" in the lower level, and an upright person on the upper level.

Iconological-Iconic Interpretation

The impulse² is geared towards the balancing of the time at elementary school and the transition to secondary school, perhaps even to tertiary education. As a result, we would expect retrospective information on the time at elementary school, the transitions to upper basic school, high school and a further transition to college. Although the participant was already a first-year student, the drawing shows a clear orientation towards the past, which relates almost exclusively to the first six school years at elementary school. Only his excellent school leaving qualification after 12th grade, with which he returns back to his first school to present it, is portrayed. By contrast, the transition to college is missing; a transfer to the present or the future does not take place. The clear outer lines of the drawing outline a (familiar) interior that is limited in time and space, and at the same time refer to an (unfamiliar) exterior. Gaps (also visible in the patchiness or incomplete lines of the lower level) indicate that the participant is in a self-contained life situation or episode that he is not (yet) able to leave of his own accord. This would require the genesis of forward-looking biographical plans or a new action strategy.

Interpretation of a Key Interview Excerpt

In the interview, he describes the transition to upper basic school – which is only possible with the help of the school management and due to the ongoing cover of school fees –, and the second transition to high school, where he discovers his talent for technical drawing. However, he repeatedly refers back to his past, which illustrates his attachment to it. His answer to the question of whether he is someone who likes to learn, is:

“I want to (...). To become a big architecture. I don’t want my education to end just like that (...). It’s just like, **I want to become somebody in the future.** I one thing (...) like (...), I don’t know, but I want just to support my dad. Supporting someone to a certain stage and forget about the person-. It might be the person can’t continue, so that support will become useless (...) that’s what I’m saying. You can’t support me up to grade nine, the high [inc.]. I’m grateful. I’m always grateful to [Name of the School], but you can’t support me up to grade nine and say ‘Okay, this is where we can stop’. If I also drop out from school, the support becomes useless, you see? So I don’t know if [Name of the School] can still help me to catch up my dreams in the future. I want to be an architecture and at this moment, at this time it is a very difficult time for me, very, very difficult time, I’m just coping.”

Here, his future life plans become clear: The respondent clearly expresses that he wants to become “a big architecture”; the desire not to leave his training incomplete is key. He connects positive experiences of the past – financial and emotional support experienced at elementary school – with the possibility of future failure, should he fail to cope with current challenges on his own. His inner conflict becomes clear when he realizes that he was supported up to a certain point, but was then “forgotten”, which may lead to a failure of promising educational prospects. Although he expresses his gratitude for the support he experienced, he also has ambivalent feelings between insecurity and hope in the transition from the familiar into the unknown. He is facing his own decisions in a “very difficult time”.

2 “You have been at [...] until grade 6 and are now at another school (or finished school). Please tell and draw everything that has been important to you since you started school: Situations, people, or places, also successes and difficulties.”

When asked why the present is difficult for him, he refers to the transportation problems from his home to his place of study that continue to exist, which is already indicated in the drawings, and to financial difficulties in paying his study fees, which he hopes to solve with the help of financial support from his employed brother.

As a reflection center in the triangulation of drawing and interview, “Transportation” can be understood figuratively as transfer efforts, the wrestling with the transition to an independent life. It is not the transition to another school or college that represents the challenging, tense situation here, but rather the arising insecurity about his further course of education after leaving elementary school (from a protected/supported to an unprotected space). A further reflection center can be seen in the drawings of disproportionately large people: a self-portrait of the respondent as a graduate with his eyes lowered and a backward-facing body posture remaining in the institutionally pre-structured space of the school. He only constructs his own space in the interview, indicating the cognitive-reflective engagement with present and future challenges, which so far have only been implemented in part in the action practice of (self-)liberation from the challenging social and biographical circumstances. On the one hand, he addresses conflicting feelings of powerlessness, such as frustration and having been forgotten, which turn into accusations. On the other hand, he is aware that his own efforts are required to shape the successful transitions into the second year of study and into the working world.

Conclusion

It can be argued that the perspective of the socio-spatial map opens up a broad spectrum of analysis and interpretation. It is suitable for the reconstruction of subjective educational spaces and temporal-spatial reflections of transitions by offering a multi-perspective focus on transition problems. In the present example, individual educational efforts become apparent, which have certainly led to a transformation within the context of elementary school, in the sense of a change in self and world relations, key educational orientation (“To become a big architecture”), his own self-efficacy etc. On the other hand, he faces structural hurdles in the form of a lack of educational *progression* in The Gambia. For example, if we discuss the extension of training periods and further education programs in Germany, this leads to an expansion of transitions that lose their “linear character” and become increasingly “complex” (Stauber, 2007, p. 131). In the example from The Gambia, there is also an expansion and complexity of transition, though under very different conditions: the first successful educational stage does not consequently or automatically lead to further extended options in institutionalized education and choice. Rather, the open-ended transition in our example is experienced as separation and isolation, dependent on the complete biographical responsibility of the individual, in terms of the outcome of both possible success or failure. On the basis of the example presented, we have shown that free extended education reduces social inequality by enabling the individual to develop successful strategies for action, despite a weak socio-economic background, which is shown here in the transition to secondary education, high school, and university. However, due to a lack of opportunities in The Gambia to progress, these strategies are not sufficient to cope with the multiple transitions –

into the working world, into society – without adequate economic capital to finance fee-based extended education.

In Educational Science the development of a theoretical perspective and empirical research is desired, with which it can be asked for the educational potential of societal and especially pedagogical space relations in view to the interwoven power-and-subjection practices (cf. Nugel 2016). Our method of the socio-spatial map is especially suitable for research in extended education with its different institutional settings. Children and adolescents make various socialisation experiences in the different social spaces of school and extended education offers, which can be visualized by the unique potential of the socio-spatial map. For example, children could be asked about their reason or future aspirations for participation in extended education. In a second step, the method can be used in the frame of longitudinal surveys in order to show the personal development of the participants.

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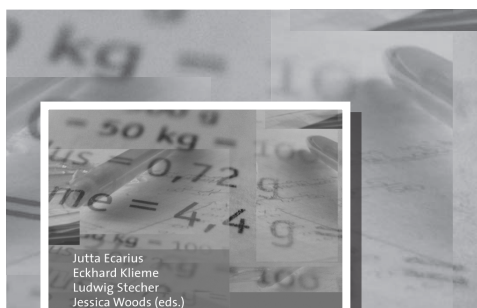
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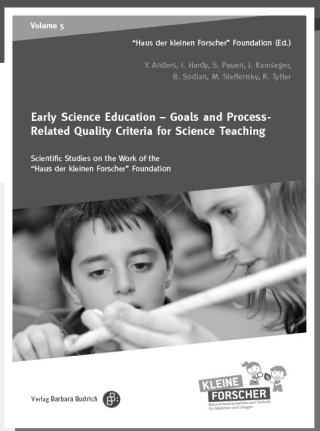
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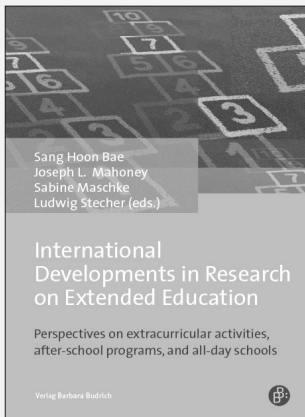
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