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Supplementary Education at College and Its Consequences for Individuals' Labor Market Outcomes in the United States

Steve R. Entrich, Soo-yong Byun¹

Abstract: The current study seeks to expand our knowledge on extended education and its potential contribution to social inequality by examining socioeconomic disparities in supplementary education (SE) at college and its impact on labor market outcomes. Using data from the United States Education Longitudinal Study, logistic and linear regressions deliver the following main findings: (1) Socioeconomic status (SES) significantly affects SE participation, net of other factors. (2) With higher involvement in SE activities, neither employment nor income prospects significantly increase. (3) Low SES graduates are slightly more likely to benefit from SE than high SES graduates. (4) Among high-impact SE practices, only internships exert a positive effect on labor market outcomes.

Keywords: Supplementary education, social inequality, higher education, labor market outcomes

Introduction

Extended education is a broad field covering all kinds of learning outside regular school hours across the individual's life course. Until now, however, most research focused on school-aged children's extracurricular activities, including but not limited to school support programs, community-based after school classes, and supplementary education (Stecher, 2018; Stecher & Maschke, 2013). Few studies have considered extended education activities beyond primary and secondary education. The present article addresses this lack of research by examining supplementary education (henceforth SE) at college. SE at school refers to academic instruction outside regular school hours, especially high-impact activities termed "shadow education", i.e. fee-paying classes at cram and prep schools and private tutoring (Aurini, Davies, & Dierkes, 2013). Likewise, supplementation of formal education at college serves the same purpose: "to enhance the student's formal school career" (Stevenson & Baker, 1992, p. 1639). More explicitly, SE at college refers to those forms of non-regular educational activities meant to improve the student's academic progress and subsequent labor market outcomes, e.g. non-obligatory study abroad programs, research projects, or internships—also known as "high-impact educational practices" (Knouse & Fontenot, 2008; Waibel, Rürger, Ette, & Sauer, 2017).

In particular, the current study seeks to expand our knowledge on extended education and its potential contribution to social inequality by examining socioeconomic disparities in SE

1 Soo-yong Byun acknowledges support by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2020S1 A3 A2 A02091529) and by the Population Research Institute at Penn State University, which is supported by an infrastructure grant by the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (P2CHD041025). The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the granting agency.

use at college and its impact on the individuals' labor market outcomes. Past research on SE at the school level has shown that students from high socioeconomic status (SES) families are not only generally more likely to invest in SE, but they also tend to choose those forms and types of SE (e.g., private tutoring, cram school etc.) that often lead to significant advantages in educational attainment, i.e. above average academic achievement and entrance to more prestigious schools and universities (e.g., Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; Byun, 2014; Enrich, 2018). Similarly, research concerned with SE at college claims that social selectivity in access to high-impact educational practices (e.g., study abroad) would strengthen horizontal inequalities in educational and thus status attainment (Lingo, 2019; Netz & Finger, 2016), because of the significant effects for the individual's labor market outcomes (Knouse & Fontenot, 2008; Waibel et al., 2017). How far significant participation in different types of SE at college prove for future employment and income is all but clear, though. The scarcity of studies dealing explicitly with inequality in SE at college and its labor market returns leave us with rather inconclusive findings.

The United States is a particularly interesting case in this regard. Besides academic achievement in terms of high school GPA and SAT/ACT scores, extra-curricular activities (e.g., academic clubs, sports, music and arts) and SE (e.g., private tutoring and prep schools) continue to play a big role for college admission processes (Buchmann et al., 2010; Shulruf, 2010). American universities have a long tradition of active engagement of students in co-curricular activities as well (e.g., involvement in fraternities/sororities, sports/athletics, and clubs). Due to concerns about the quality of liberal higher education, in 2008 the *Association of American Colleges and Universities* (AAC&U) and its *Liberal Education and America's Promise* (LEAP) initiative started to promote the adaptation of a catalogue of specific high-impact educational practices deemed especially effective in preparing students for their careers in the 21st century. Among others, these practices include SE activities outside the core curriculum of upper classmen, most notably internships (within the US or abroad), collaborative assignments, undergraduate research projects, study abroad to foster global learning experiences, and capstones or senior projects (S. R. Johnson & Stage, 2018; Kuh, 2008; Riehle & Weiner, 2013). Even though these practices are now widely used across the US, it is neither clear whether family SES affects participation in these high-impact SE activities nor if positive outcomes for labor market transition and future income are expectable.

Hence, using data from the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002) following 10th grade high school sophomores in the United States over a period of ten years into early adulthood (2002 to 2012), the current study addresses the following research questions:

1. Are there socioeconomic disparities in SE at college (after controlling for other variables)?
2. Does SE at college affect employment?
3. Does SE at college affect income?
4. Are there differences in the use and effects of SE at college according to type?

To answer these questions, we draw on cultural and social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997) and job-competition theories (Spence, 1973; Thurow, 1976), and derive testable hypotheses. Following an introduction to the ELS:2002 survey data and the variables, we predict the students' participation in SE and its impact on employment probability and early career income by means of logistic and linear regressions.

Friends Matter: The Relationship Between Korean International Students' Friendship Networks and Study Abroad Outcomes

Jae-Eun Jon¹, Heeyun Kim, and Soo-yong Byun²

Abstract: This study examined the determinants of international students' interactions with different friendship networks and the relationships of these interactions with study abroad outcomes, using data from 482 Korean college students who had participated in international student exchange programs. The results showed that students' participation in extracurricular and off-campus activities while studying abroad was significantly related to their interactions with local and other international students. The results also showed that students' interactions with co-national, local, and other international students while studying abroad were positively associated with their intercultural competence, personal development, and career development, even after controlling for other variables. We discuss the policy implications of these findings beyond the Korean context.

Keywords: Study abroad outcome, international student, friendship, South Korea

Introduction

Over the past several decades, an increasing number of students have crossed borders to pursue their education globally. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2019) statistics show that the number of students studying abroad increased from two million students in 1998 to 5.3 million students in 2017. Accordingly, scholars have increasingly paid attention to the experiences of this population. They have especially focused on international students' adjustment in different cultures (e. g., Smith & Khawaja, 2011), and the literature has consistently shown that international students' adjustment can benefit from interaction with local students (Brunsting, Zachry, & Takeuchim 2018; Cao, Meng, & Shang, 2018; Geeraert, Demoulin, & Demes, 2014; Hendrickson, Rosen, & Aune, 2011; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). In reality, however, international and local students tend to have little interaction with each other (Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Schartner, 2015; Smith & Khawaja, 2011). Rather, international students tend to select friends from similar cultural backgrounds, although they strongly desire

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to interact with local students in the host country (Lehto, Cai, Fu, & Chen, 2014; Sakurai, McCall-Wolf, & Kashima, 2010; Schartner, 2015; Yan & Berliner, 2013).

However, as Montgomery and McDowell (2009) have pointed out, international students' lack of relationships with local students should not be understood from a deficit perspective. This is because international students' interactions with co-national students can help with their adjustment, particularly in the beginning of their study abroad period (Geeraert et al., 2014; Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Yan & Berliner, 2013). Furthermore, international students' interactions with other international students can support their academic learning and provides them with emotional support (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009; Schartner, 2015). Nevertheless, little scholarly attention has been given to factors that may promote or constrain international students' interactions with co-national or other international students. Instead, considerable research has focused on identifying patterns in intercultural friendships and factors that can facilitate international students' interactions with local students (Glass, Gómez, & Urzua, 2014; Hendrickson, 2018; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009; Rienties, Hélot, & Jindal-Snape, 2013; Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Rose-Redwood & Rose-Redwood, 2013; Woods et al., 2013).

In addition to contributing to their adjustment, international students' intercultural interaction can also facilitate their development in different areas. Indeed, in their comprehensive review of research on the outcomes of international student mobility programs, Roy, Newman, Ellenberger, and Pyman (2009) concluded that short-term study abroad experiences can contribute to participants' development in terms of their cultural, personal, and career outcomes. Nevertheless, little research has focused on international students' positive experiences of learning and development. Rather, much existing research has focused on international students' negative experiences of difficulties and struggles in their adjustment (Moore & Popadiu, 2011). However, a group of scholars has argued that we need to move beyond the deficit model of international students and the "adjustment paradigm," wherein they are seen as learning from Western culture and needing help in their adjustment (Heng, 2018; Marginson, 2014; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009).

In this study, we addressed these issues by examining Korean students' intercultural interactions while studying abroad and the relationships between these interactions and various learning outcomes. Korea is an appealing case for research on study abroad because it is one of the major sending countries of international students (OECD, 2019) and because much prior research on study abroad outcomes has concentrated on students from Western countries (Roy et al., 2019). Whereas most research on intercultural interaction has collected data from international students studying in one country, we used data collected from Korean students who had studied abroad in various countries. The current study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What determines Korean international students' interactions with co-national, local, other international students?
2. How do Korean international students' interactions with co-national, local, other international students relate to their study abroad outcomes?

Extended Education at College in India: Advancing Equity Through the Extension of Public Academic Support Programmes for Students from the Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Groups

Nidhi S. Sabharwal

Abstract: The paper seeks to expand our knowledge on the importance of public academic support programmes (ASPs) in higher education (HE) in India, which extend supplementary instruction with the aim to improve academic performance and support academic efforts of students from the socially and economically disadvantaged groups (SEDGs). This paper shows that students from the most disadvantaged amongst the SEDGs, that is, those residing in rural areas and women who experience multiple barriers that compound the effects of their disadvantages, have taken advantage of supplementary instruction classes. These classes have allowed HEIs to account for students' academic needs and challenges related to their socio-economic disadvantages, that remain unmet in regular classrooms. By targeting educational resources to students who are most disadvantaged, these programmes compensate for the absence of parental support and recognises the underlying socio-economic obstacles of students from achieving academic success at college. Given the acknowledged role of higher education in providing economic and social benefits to individuals, the paper argues that on-campus state enabled ASPs targeting students from the SEDGs make HE in India more equitable and contribute in reducing social inequalities in the wider society.

Keywords: academic support programmes, supplementary instruction, caste, socially and economically disadvantaged groups (SEDGs), India

Introduction

Most nations around the world have focused on expanding their higher education (HE) systems equitably, as it is widely recognised that educating a large and a diverse student body has economic and social benefits for the economy, society and for the individuals (United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2016). It has the potential to break the inter-generational transmission of economic and social disadvantages and improve individuals' chances of social mobility (Marginson, 2016).

While promoting equity in access to HE has been an important objective, higher education institutions (HEIs) around the world, including in India, struggle to improve graduation rates of students from disadvantaged socio-economic family backgrounds and reduce inter-group inequalities in academic achievements (UNESCO, 2016). Low academic achievements have negative implications for students' labour market prospects and occupational opportunities, which in turn perpetuate inter-group economic inequalities (Varghese, 2019). In other words, inter-group inequalities in academic achievement implies that the potential of higher

education as a means for increasing chances of inter-generational social mobility and achieving a more equal society remains unrealised.

Existing research suggests that deprived socio-economic family background is a barrier that continues to limit access to opportunities through the educational pipeline and manifests as socio-economic disparities in academic achievements (Reardon, 2011; St. John, Hu & Fisher, 2011). Moreover, concerns have been expressed about the inequalities that maybe reproduced by rising parental investment in supplementary tutoring outside regular classrooms, particularly by high socio-economic status families, in order to boost children's academic performance to stay ahead of their peers (Byun, 2014; Entrich, 2020).

In light of available evidence, this paper takes the view that provisions of on-campus public academic support programmes (ASPs) work towards advancing equity in HE and fighting persisting social inequalities in the wider society. These ASPs are effected by way of extending supplementary instruction classes aimed at addressing academic needs of students from the disadvantaged socio-economic families. Equity is understood here as a process of ensuring equality through acts of inclusion that bring students from the disadvantaged socio-economic group into the fold of educational opportunities with a belief that every person has potential, value and should be respected (Varghese, 2018). From this perspective, promoting equity in HE means redressing past unequal access and offering additional educational resources in favour of students from the disadvantaged socio-economic groups, so as to equalise opportunities of access to conditions of learning required to compete and succeed in the system.

In India, affirmative action measures have no doubt played an important role in promoting equity in HE by addressing barriers of entry and contributed to bringing in more students from socially and economically disadvantaged groups (SEDGs) to higher education institutions (HEIs). However, these gains have been overshadowed with these students lagging in academic performance vis-à-vis their privileged peers with persisting inequalities in academic success. Against this background, the focus of the paper is to answer the following two questions: what is the nature of academic challenges facing students from SEDGs in higher education in India? And, how extensions of supplementary instruction classes by HEIs are intervening to expand opportunities of learnings for students from SEDGs to succeed in college?

It is argued that supplementary instruction support programme, with all its limitations, has benefitted the poorest of the poor who are taking maximum advantage by participating in these classes. These classes have allowed HEIs to account for students' academic needs and challenges related to their socio-economic disadvantages, which remain unmet in regular classrooms. Amongst the SEDGs, female students and students residing in under-served rural locations have been extended access to equal opportunities of learning, with on-campus supplementary classes remaining their sole source of academic support. Through extension of supplementary classes, there has been a more equitable distribution of learning opportunities since students have been provided additional help in terms of teaching time, learning material and smaller classes. Thus, efforts such as extension of supplemental academic instructions by HEIs have made substantial contribution in promoting equity in HE in India.

The Educational Practice of School-Age Educare Teachers Teaching Visual Art in Swedish Primary Schools

Marie Fahlén

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to increase the understanding of the challenges that Swedish school-age educare teachers with a certification in visual art experience in their everyday school practice. The study focus on the educational practice of teaching visual art from a holistic perspective which also includes the teachers' perception of their overall work situation and their professional identity. Due to dual professional roles, these teachers are not only required to meet the criteria formulated in the syllabus of the subject visual art, but also to achieve the goals for the educare centre (National Agency of Education, 2019). The method used is in-depth individual interviews with nine teachers, together with observations of visual art lectures and the physical and material environment. The results provide insights into what it means to work as a school-age educare teacher teaching visual art in primary schools, struggling with limited resources and identity conflicts. The study highlights how teachers often end up in a struggle between individual agency and social structures since they have to resist, adjust and negotiate to get acceptable work conditions.

Keywords: policy enactment; professional identity; school-age educare; visual art education

Introduction

The professional role of teachers in Swedish school-age educare (SAE-teachers) has undergone a major change due to teacher education reforms in 2011, which gave certification to teach a practical/aesthetic subject in years 1–6 of compulsory school (one semester of the teacher program).¹ As the responsible teacher for this subject, teachers are not only expected to teach, but also to make assessments and grade in year 6. In 2014, the first group of these “new” SAE-teachers graduated from Swedish universities.² One of the goals with the new teacher education was to create a professional identity focused on the school-age educare centre, together with a special competence in a practical/aesthetic subject (SOU, 2008:109). Historically, the Swedish school-age educare centres were oriented towards socially oriented education and care. Since the 1980 s, closer cooperation with schools gradually developed. However, the change in teacher education 2011 affects the professional identity of these teachers on a deeper level. At the same as conditions are created for developing a new and

1 They also have the opportunity to extend their degree by studying another practical/aesthetic subject, which makes them qualified to teach both subjects in years 1–6 of compulsory school.

2 In addition, since 2013, SAEC-teachers with an older education who received their degrees after 1977 have also been able to apply for teacher certification in these subjects.

independent professional identity where teachers can use and develop their competence in a practical/aesthetic subject, they now become even more of a link between the school and the educare centre. It poses great challenges since this new group of teachers gets a dual professional role, where they must keep a balance between two educational activities: the traditional socially oriented education in the educare centre and the goal-and results-driven school education (Andersson, 2013; Ackesjö, Nordäng, & Lindqvist, 2016). By being given two professional roles, they become “professional hybrids” (Croft, Currie, & Locket, 2015). In addition to questions about professional identity, the dual professional role raises questions about policy practice, how teachers perceive their task in relation to policy documents (Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins, 2011). Due to professional hybridity, their policy practice not only affects the syllabus of their practical/aesthetic subject but also the goals for the educare centre. While the practical/aesthetic subject is mandatory, a formal learning that is measured in grades and reviews (National Agency of Education [NAE], 2019, pp. 26–32), the activities in the educare centre are voluntary, based on a holistic perspective on the pupil which promotes informal learning and development that cannot be measured (ibid. pp. 22–25).

Aim and Research Questions

The topic of this article is SAE-teachers who received their degrees after 2011 with a certification in visual art. In the study, I will focus on the educational practice of teaching visual art. An important part of this is teachers’ interpretation of the subject visual art and the resources they have to conduct their teaching. The study is based on a holistic perspective which includes the teachers’ perception of their overall work situation and their professional identity. The following research questions will be addressed:

- *How do SAE-teachers experience their practice of teaching visual art, and what resources are provided to them to achieve the course objectives?*
- *How do they experience their work situation as a whole?*
- *What effects does the dual mission have on their professional identity?*

Theoretical Framework

The fact that the teachers in the study work in two different educational activities, and that they are given two professional roles, demonstrates professional hybridity. Croft, Currie, & Locket (2015) describe professional hybrids as situated between different organizational groups, where they are forced to move between these groups. They end up in a position where they are not only supposed to balance across boundaries between two different assignments; they are also expected to construct identities as a new professional work force. At the same time as the hybrid role can give potential strength moving between two different professional contexts that enables to view issues in the organization from two different perspectives, as well as ability to retain professional influence across multiple organizational areas, it contains identity conflicts. Croft, Currie, & Locket (2015) stresses the importance of a positive initial stage in

Concepts and Challenges of Afterschool Program Quality in Japan

Fuyuko Kanefuji

Abstract: This study examines concepts surrounding the quality of afterschool programs in Japan and related challenges using qualitative and quantitative methods. A content analysis of government guidelines for afterschool programs provided by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) is conducted, and the differences in the concepts of afterschool program quality (APQ) between them are explored. Second, using government statistics, the author looks at the current situation and systems of instructional features meant to improve quality. Third, the characteristics of the human resource development system of MEXT and MHLW for APQ are clarified using the social capital theory.

Keywords: quality, afterschool program, extended education, instructional features

Introduction

Improving afterschool program quality (APQ) is a critical issue worldwide. Numerous studies have examined various measures to define program quality (Huang, Matrondola, & Leon, 2014). Additionally, it has been noted that “an increasingly [*sic*] number of research studies are available on the educational quality of extended education, especially in the United States” (Schuepbach, Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017).

Providing high-caliber afterschool programs in Japan is seen as a significant issue in both practice and theory. In Japan, afterschool programs in public schools are government funded and can be divided into two types: (1) afterschool children’s clubs (herein referred to as *AS clubs*), which are subsidized by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW); and (2) afterschool classes for children (herein referred to as *AS classes*), which are supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). Both ministries have thus far mainly focused on the quantitative expansion of each afterschool program (MHLW & MEXT, 2018a).

However, the Social Security Council’s (SSC’s) Special Committee inspected APQ recently and submitted a report stating that each program needed to enhance its quality as well as quantity (MHLW, 2018a). Furthermore, the promotion of education through cooperation between schools and communities is being implemented as an important national educational policy in Japan. It is highly desired that various stakeholders such as local residents, companies, NPOs, and related institutions and parties will participate in the afterschool programs as both providers and instructors (Kanefuji, 2018). Such cooperative activities are expected to lead to the improvement of regular class activities as well as APQ, along with the revitalization of the local community itself. In order to respond to the abovementioned recommendations from the expert committee and national education policies, it has come to be recognized that

APQ is an issue that must be addressed by the national government, local governments, and relevant parties who receive national financial support.

Although both ministries have tried to promote cooperation between their programs since 2007 (Kanefuji, 2018), several differences remain in terms of organization, the environment, and instructional features, depending on the sponsoring agency. Thus far, few studies have compared the concepts and circumstances of quality between MHLW's and MEXT's after-school programs. By shedding light on concepts of quality and the characteristics of the two programs and examining their differences, this paper aims to provide insights for Japan's future national education policy, which aims to integrate the abovementioned programs. At the same time, I aim to demonstrate that the two programs have distinct approaches regarding the training and securing of human resources (HR) to guarantee quality; understanding their methods will have strong implications for the development of high-quality management systems for afterschool programs not only in Japan, but abroad as well. Using a blend of qualitative and quantitative techniques, each afterschool program's envisioned concept of quality and the challenges associated with achieving it will be explored thoroughly. My aspiration is that this paper will provide knowledge for policymakers and practitioners of afterschool programs who consider APQ and also provide profound insights for researchers who examine human resource development system to implement high-quality afterschool programs.

Literature Review

Studies on APQ

Diverse studies have explored APQ's impact on children and youth, with a focus on organizations and systems, the environment, and instructional features. For example, since the 2000 s, investigations on APQ and pertinent indicators have included meta-analyses of afterschool program evaluations (Scott-Little, Hamann, & Jurs, 2002; Lester, Chow, & Melton, 2020), program quality assessment and tools (Kahn, Theokas, & Bronte-Tinkew, 2008; Grossman, Goldsmith, Sheldon, & Arbreton, 2009; Huang & Dietel, 2011; Little, 2014; Huang et al., 2014; Oh, Osgood, & Smith, 2015; Schuepbach, Allmen, Frei, & Nieuwenboom, 2017; Jutzi & Woodland, 2019), and program quality and its effects on children (Leos-Urbel, 2013; Fukkink & Boogaard, 2020). Additionally, studies have been conducted on reviews of evaluation research of afterschool programs for adolescents (Apsler, 2009), and on definitions of APQ (Palmer, Anderson, & Sabatelli, 2009).

On the other hand, in the context of an international comparative study on the quality of after-school programs, these studies are just beginning, although progress is being made. For example, the World Educational Research Association (WERA) and the American Educational Research Association (AERA) held international comparisons on the quality of after-school programs as symposia in their annual meetings (Schuepbach, M., Noam, G., Ljusberg, A., Kielblock, S., Stecher, L., Kanefuji, F., & Klerfelt, A, 2019a; Schuepbach, M., Noam, G., Kanefuji, F., Stecher, L., & Bae, S., 2019b). There, research presentations on APQ were conducted by researchers from the United States, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, and Japan.

Specialised Professional Training Makes a Difference!

The Importance and Prestige of Typical Duties in All-Day Schools from the Perspective of Teachers, Leisure Educators, Principals and Coordinators of Extended Education

Olivia Fischer, James Loparics

Abstract: In Austria there is a specialised education (60 ECTS) for “leisure educators”, who are professionals working in all-day schools in the field of extended education but who are not teachers. Despite the existence of leisure educators, also teachers are often tasked with supervising extended education settings like lunchtime, extra-curricular activities and uncommitted free time in all-day schools in Austria. This paper aims to illustrate the difference of prestige that comes with different fields of duty in extended education and the implications of that difference. The paper is based on a quantitative study carried out in all-day schools in Vienna. It looks at the prestige of typical professional duties in all-day schools and at the importance attached to these duties by different professional groups. Leisure educators assign a higher importance to non-formal activities than teachers or other professional groups do. Yet, these activities represent relevant fields of duty in respect of training children and adolescents in 21st century skills. Hence the authors propose to address typical extended education duties in teacher education to enable all-day school professional teams to work on eye-level and efficiently.

Keywords: leisure education, all-day-schools, occupational prestige, specialised training

Introduction & Background

At a similar point in time Austrian and German politics declared the expansion of extended education programs in schools to improve both international assessment outcomes and the compatibility of work and family life. While German and Austrian education systems have quite similar ongoing discourses about the organisation of extended education programs there is one big difference: Austria has been having a specific education programme for leisure educators in schools for years, specifically a one-year training course (60 ECTS¹). Germany does not have such a specific education. In Germany educators and pedagogues with a more general training may choose to work in all-day schools instead of other pedagogical fields and according to Steiner (2013) there are also laypeople or professionalized laypeople working in German all-day schools. Although these lay people and professionalized laypeople work in less different fields of duty of all-day schools (like e.g. offering different extra-curricular activities or supervising homework) than pedagogical professional, Steiner (2013) found.

1 ECTS = European Credit Transfer System Points which are used for recognising academic qualifications and study periods within the European Union. For more information see: https://ec.europa.eu/education/resources-and-tools/european-credit-transfer-and-accumulation-system-ects_en

The Austrian training course on leisure education is offered by Austria's University Colleges of Teacher Education and its target group are people who want to work in schools but who have no academic background in the field of education. Leisure educators typically work in extended education settings, planning and supervising extra-curricular activities, lunch and uncommitted free time. The specialised professional training for leisure educators is unique to Austria and this paper is going to discuss differences in appraisal of various professional duties between the four main professional groups which work in extended education settings in Austrian all-day schools. These four groups are teachers, leisure educators, principals and coordinators of extended education and they vary in their basic professional education. While teachers and principals have all undergone a teacher education, leisure educators have only completed the one-year specialised training course for leisure educators. Coordinators of extended education can either have a background as teachers or a background as leisure educators but the majority comes from a teaching background. Every public Austrian school has an extended education coordinator assigned with all administrative, coordinating and planning tasks concerning extended education in schools.

Drawing from several sources the question arose if the different professional groups in Austrian schools would have different prestige and what effects this could have. “[O]ccupational roles locate individuals in social space” (Treiman, 1977) and with different occupational roles and their associated fields of duty comes different prestige. Domanski (2015) describes in his book “Prestige” that in Poland university professors have the highest occupational prestige of all occupational groups and that this is based on their specialist knowledge and qualification. Goyder (2009) argues similarly in his metastudy of occupational prestige in Canada that high level education is one of the key components for a profession with high occupational prestige. Goyder found in his Canada-wide dataset on occupational prestige that the profession high school teacher scored a rating of 80.3 (out of 100) and elementary school teacher scored 77.5 – a clearly lower rating. Social worker scored 71.4 and child-care provider in a private home 65.1 – both seem to be most comparable to the profession of leisure educators, although this is of course a wide stretch. However, it illustrates the smaller prestige of non teaching education professionals. For reference: the lowest rank Goyder found was telemarketer with 32.8 and the highest rank was physician with 90.5.

In relation to the higher prestige of teaching duties other question arose: Would professional duties ascribed to a more traditional view of school and duties ascribed to extended education settings be seen as of the same importance by all-day school staff. Would the education of a professional working in an all-day school have an influence on how they rank the importance of a field of duty? Our overall hypothesis concerning prestige and importance of duties in this pilot-study was that staff with a background as teachers (hence teachers, principals and most of the coordinators of extended education) see a higher prestige and a higher importance in all-day school duties that are closer to formal learning settings. We assumed this in relation to the previously mentioned research on occupational prestige – because working in more formal learning settings in Austrian all-day schools is related to a higher level of professional education.

A reason for not just focusing on teachers and leisure educators to answer this question but also on principals was that Börner (2015) underlines the important role of principals in all-day schools when it comes to the organisational development of schools and also to staff development. Since Austrian all-day schools additionally have a coordinator of extended education who also has a planning / organizing role, we also decided to include them.

Teachers as Private Tutors: Understanding Dual Professional Identities of Six Faculty Members from Uzbekistan University

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Abstract Due to socio-economic difficulties, many teachers in Uzbekistan combine their regular teaching activities with private supplementary tutoring (PST). Involvement in two professional activities has led to the emergence of teacher and tutor professional identities. It is assumed that the co-existence of dual identities has an influence on the professional activities of a tutor and/or of a teacher. Although a plethora of studies has focused on teacher identity and its effect on teachers' professional activities and some on co-existence of teacher identity with other social identities, there is a gap in the academic literature with only a few studies on teacher-tutor identity and its impact on their professional activities.

The present qualitative study has made an attempt to reveal the types of relationship between these two professional identities, to find out the reasons for the existing relationship and to explore how this relationship impacts their professional activities as a tutor and/or as a teacher. For these purposes, the research utilizes semi-structured interview questions with six university teaching staff members who are also private tutors. By applying a predetermined theoretical framework, an intrapersonal identity network approach, the study reveals the three most predominant types—power relationship, temporal and conflicting. These types of relationship found to have a negative impact on the respondents' activities as private tutors.

Keywords: shadow education, teacher identity, intrapersonal identity network approach, qualitative inquiry, uzbekistan.

Introduction

The Socio-Economic Drivers of PST in Uzbekistan and its Legal Status

PST, which is widely referred to as a “shadow education” because it mimics the curriculum of mainstream schooling, is the provision of tutoring in academic subjects outside regular school classes for financial gains (Bray, Kwo & Jokić, 2015). Being a market activity, PST is driven by the demand of the students and supply by the teachers/tutors. In Uzbekistan, a post-Soviet state in Central Asia, the students' demand for private classes has been conditioned by the poor quality of school education and highly competitive entrance exams to higher education institutions (HEIs), and the teachers' interests to supply this service have been aroused by their low wages. As in many countries, in Uzbekistan the legal status of PST as a market activity remains largely overlooked.

The poor quality of education at different school levels in Uzbekistan has been conditioned by several factors. The first factor is poor school facilities (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2019), which is the result of “severe funding shortage” from the central authority (Organization for Security and Cooperation in

Europe [OSCE], 2003, p. 29). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Uzbek economy has experienced downturn which negatively affected the inherited developed education system (OSCE, 2003; Asian Development Bank [ADB], 2010). The second factor is the shortage of qualified teachers (UNESCO, 2019), since the teaching profession has become one of the least attractive in Uzbekistan and in other former Soviet states. This is the result of the poor working conditions and heavy teaching workload (International Labor Rights Forum, 2012). Along with the low pupil-teacher ratio, the teacher shortage is observed in such subjects as English, IT and sciences (Global Partnership for Education, 2019). The final factor is poor pre-service teacher education (ADB, 2010). As a result, many Uzbekistan mainstream school teachers rely heavily on outdated teaching methods, which are largely inadequate to facilitate productive learning. Thus, the poor quality of school education has been one of the reasons driving students to turn to the service of PST.

The highly competitive HE entrance exams are the result of limited access to HE. This has been mainly conditioned by the underfunding from the Uzbekistan budget. According to the World Bank (2018), Uzbekistan's expenditure on higher education accounts for only 0.3 per cent of GDP and remains "one of the lowest in the world" (p. 24). This expenditure is insufficient to increase the number of academic staff members and to create sufficient facilities to accommodate the wider student population. The insufficient number of HEIs also limits access to education since it does not meet the demand of fast-growing young population. The current quota released by the central authority is capable to cover only 9 per cent of the overall young adult population (the World Bank, 2018). Lastly, the lack of access to HEIs can be explained by the non-transparent operation of Uzbek entrance exams (OSCE, 2016), which makes examinations tough for students to pass. All mentioned has led to more competitive entrance exams and become another reason for students to take PST classes.

The teachers' low salaries in Uzbekistan are the result of the "inadequately efficient distribution of the government funding for educational needs", which in turn can be explained by the "incomplete transition to progressive per capita system" (International Monetary Fund, 2008, p. 32). Although the teachers' wages within the primary secondary and tertiary levels have been increased significantly in the last few years (Global Partnership for Education, 2019), they are still insufficient either for rural or for urban residents due to the devolution rate of the Uzbek currency. The low wages have driven teachers to look for extra sources of income and PST has become the most popular option.

Being in great demand among the students and a popular option for extra sources of income among teachers, the status of PST remains largely overlooked in terms of regulations and/or legal stipulations. Neither educational nor legal regulations stipulate the special status of PST as a market activity. Tutors, however, can apply for a license of an individual entrepreneur to further pay taxes from their tutoring activities. To the author's knowledge, the application process for this kind of license remains rather dense, and thus, very rarely obtained by the tutors. The tutors are raided and penalized from time to time to get encouraged to get the license and pay taxes.

The Research Rationale and Aims

As discussed, in light of the country's socio-economic development and the ever-increasing phenomenon of PST, many Uzbekistan teachers tend to combine professional activities of a