IJREE

Issue 2 2020

International Journal for **Research** on **Extended Education**

ISSN 2196-3673

Verlag **Barbara Budrich**

IJREE – International Journal for Research on Extended Education
Volume 8, Issue 2/2020
ISSN: 2196-3673, ISSN Online: 2196-7423

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Publisher
Verlag Barbara Budrich GmbH, Stauffenbergstr. 7, D-51379 Leverkusen-Opladen, Germany, phone +49 (0)2171 79491 -50, fax +49 (0)2171 79491-69,
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Editor's preface

The COVID 19 pandemic changed many things in our lives. Academia has also been faced with many challenges, particularly in relation to activities of academic communities. In the case of IJREE, we have experienced difficulties in finding scholars who review manuscripts for the journal. Although we fortunately found reviewers, communications were not easy and often delayed in many cases. I am sincerely grateful to reviewers who spent valuable times for reviewing papers. In addition, my thanks go to managing editors who have shown a great commitment.

In a 2/2020 issue, we have a special section on the topic of 'Extended Education at College and Its Outcomes' in which three articles are included. On behalf of editorial board members, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Steve R. Entrich from University of Potsdam who has played an excellent role of the guest editor of the special section. We also owe him that for writing an introduction of the special section.

In the general contribution, we have four articles. The first article written by *Marie Fahlén* investigated challenges and issues that Swedish school-age educare teachers with a certification in visual art experience in their practice. The study presents how Swedish school-age educare teachers suffer from a conflict between individual agency and social structures since they have to resist, adjust and negotiate to get acceptable work conditions.

The second article deals with the concepts and challenges in relation to the quality of afterschool programs in Japan. In this research, *Fuyuko Kanefuji* conducted a content analysis of government policy guidelines for afterschool programs and provided information about the systems of instructional features to improve quality of afterschool programs.

The third paper examined the perceived difference about prestige that comes with different fields of duty in extended education such as lunchtime, extra-curricular activities, and uncommitted free time in all-day schools in Austria. In this paper, Olivia Fischer and James Loparics addressed extended education duties which can be considered in teacher education to help all-day school professionals perform their roles in a more efficient manner.

The fourth article written by *Andrey Khojeev* explored two different professional identities – teacher and private tutor – which many teachers in Uzbekistan have experienced. His study found that an identity as a teacher has negatively influenced professional activities as private tutors.

In this issue, we have authors from a variety of nations, Germany, the United States, Korea, Sweden, Japan, Austria, and Uzbekistan. We are so proud of our journal, increasingly becoming a unique and leading international journal in this field. We thank all authors and anonymous reviewers for their valuable works.

Sang Hoon Bae

Extended Education at College and its Outcomes: An Introduction

Guest Editor: Act. Prof. Dr. Steve R. ENTRICH, Department of Education, University of Potsdam
Chief Editor: Prof. Dr. Sang Hoon BAE, Department of Education, Sungkyunkwan University

The field of extended education covers a large range of educational extra-curricular activities over the life course, including but not limited to school support programs, community-based after school classes, and supplementary education (Stecher, 2018; Stecher & Maschke, 2013). Especially the rapid growth of private supplementary education markets across the world caused a stir among researchers of diverse disciplines including education, sociology, economics and psychology (Baker, 2020; Entrich, 2020; Entrich & Lauterbach, 2021; Gordon Győri, 2020; Kim & Jung, 2019). The explicit aim underlying supplemental forms of education to improve school performance, increase the chances of admittance to advantageous educational tracks or institutions, or provide individuals with the opportunity to acquire cultural capital of different sort and valuable additional qualifications beside formal degrees ultimately led to the deserved recognition as a significant part of modern mass education (Aurini, Davies, & Dierkes, 2013; Bray, 2020; Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016).

Surprisingly enough, though, with few exceptions research interest is limited to extended education at the various school levels. Given the observed unequal uptake and resulting (assumed) unequal distribution of the returns to supplementary education at school for educational pathways and status attainment (Bae, Park, Kwak, Cho, & Jung, 2019; Bae & Stecher, 2019; Bray, 2017; Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010; Byun, Chung, & Baker, 2018; Entrich, 2018, 2020; Entrich & Lauterbach, 2019; Kornrich & Furstenberg, 2013; Schneider, Hastings, & LaBriola, 2018), we know surprisingly little about the determinants and effects of extended education at college.

Similar to various types of supplementary education inside and outside of school (e. g., private tutoring and cram and prep schools, also known as "shadow education"; clubs, sports, music and arts, but also international school exchange programs and so forth), there exist a range of supplementary educational practices at the higher education levels in all countries. These practices include quite prominent examples of supplementary, extra- and co-curricular education that are meant to improve the student's academic progress and subsequent labor market outcomes, such as study abroad (Ogden, Streitwieser, & Van Mol, 2020), internships (Hoyle & Deschaine, 2016), research projects, academic support programs and private tutoring, but also involvement in fraternities/sororities, sports/athletics, and clubs etc. (Johnson & Stage, 2018; Kuh, 2008; Mitra & Sarkar, 2019). While topics such as study abroad received major attention from researchers, only little research explicitly deals with the students' other non-regular educational activities at college and their actual outcomes. Even though these

International Journal for Research on Extended Education, Vol. 8, Issue 2/2020, 112–115
https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v8i2.02

practices are now widely and increasingly used across the world, it is neither clear whether participation in these practices leads to the anticipated effects nor who reaps the possible benefits of extended education at college.

To make a first step towards bridging this lack of knowledge, the present special issue of the IJREE focuses on participation in different forms of extended education at college and its various outcomes. To clarify when and under which conditions different forms of extended education at college might actually prove beneficial for individuals' educational pathways, their personal development, skills and relationships, as well as labor market outcomes, the three contributions in this special issue provide new findings on the role of extended education for individual educational opportunities, educational and career paths, and social inequality across a diverse set of societies.

Entrich and Byun focus their analysis on the potential role of a variety of high-impact educational practices for social inequality in the United States. Following a discussion about the recent adaptation of practices deemed especially effective to prepare college students for their careers in the 21st century (i. e. study abroad, internships, research and community-based projects, culminating senior experience, and mentoring programs), the authors examine socioeconomic disparities in participation in these high-impact practices at college and their impact on the individuals' labor market outcomes. Based on social reproduction and job competition theories, hypotheses are derived and tested using large-scale national representative data from the 2002 Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), which tracked high school sophomores through college into the labor market and allows to measure effects on early career occupation and income. Among other things, the main findings show significant social selectivity in supplementary education participation at college without the generally expected positive outcomes. Only internships exert a positive effect on employment and income. The additionally reported interaction effects of supplementary education and family background on the graduates' likelihood of employment suggests that although socially disadvantaged students may have fewer opportunities to participate in supplementary education at college, they tend to benefit more from their participation. Important to highlight are also the additionally found effects of supplementary education at high school on participation in high impact practices at college, which indicate that students with former experience with extended education at school may appreciate the value of such an additional investment and thus be more inclined to invest in similar practices at college. This analysis also provides first evidence on the often suggested (but unproven) long-term effects of supplementary education at school and college for labor market outcomes.

In the second article, *Sabharwal* seeks to shed light on public academic support programs at the higher education institutions in India, focusing on students from the socially and economically most disadvantaged groups, i. e. female students from disadvantaged social background coming from rural areas. Rather than presenting an empirical analysis based on a specific national data set, the author provides a rich overview of a combination of quantitative and mixed-methods studies and statistics from India. In doing so, two questions guide the review analysis. First, what academic challenges face the most disadvantaged students in higher education in India? And second, what supplementary academic support exists for these students to succeed in college? Findings show significant barriers to compete with high socioeconomic status families, which considerably increased their investments in supplementary tutoring outside regular classrooms over the last decades to boost their children's academic performance. On-campus state supported academic support programs create supportive

learning opportunities for the most disadvantaged students and thus helps to reduce this inequality at college in India. With all the barriers in access to state-supported supplementary instruction the most disadvantaged students may face, the role of these classes for higher inclusion cannot be neglected. The Indian example impressively shows how effective state measures in the light of more inclusive education can reduce inequality at the higher education level.

In the third article, *Jon, Kim and Byun* examined South Korean university students' intercultural interactions with other (co-national, local, or international) students while studying abroad and how these interactions affected their study abroad outcomes. The data for analysis come from a panel study which followed undergraduate students from Korea University who participated in international student exchange programs. The authors found that active engagement in on-campus extracurricular activities helped the students to build better social networks with other international students, while off-campus activities such as part-time jobs, internships, or community service also promoted friendship with local students. Finally, frequent interaction with other international students and participation in regular instead of special classes for international students was positively associated with the students' intercultural competence, personal development, and career development. Through their innovative study the authors were able to show the importance of extended education activities as an opportunity to accumulate valuable cultural capital, which is highly relevant for their individual and career development.

Overall, all three contributions provide fresh evidence on a rather neglected part of extended education research and highlight rather positive outcomes for individual pathways, careers, and the potential for more inclusive higher education systems in three highly diverse national settings. The presented findings call for more research in other domains and in specific types of extended education at college in different countries and in cross-country comparison.

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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 Byun[1]

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, Rüger, 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; Entrich, 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.

Background

Social Inequality in Supplementary Education at College

Past international research clearly shows that, among individual and institutional factors, family SES strongly influences participation in SE at the primary and secondary education levels (Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun, 2014; Byun, Chung, & Baker, 2018; Entrich, 2018, 2019; Gerhards & Hans, 2013; Park, Buchmann, Choi, & Merry, 2016; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Specifically, students from high SES families, i. e. where parents are highly educated, have high income, and/or a high occupational status, are generally more likely to participate in high impact SE activities such as private tutoring, lessons at cram schools, and study abroad, compared to students from lower SES families. Multivariate empirical studies controlling for demographic confounders have verified this influence of family SES on SE activities in many countries, including the United States (Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun et al., 2018; Byun & Park, 2012). With a few exceptions, research concerned with high-impact SE practices at college lacks such concrete findings. Whether college students study abroad, for example, depends largely on their families' economic, social and cultural capital (Lingo, 2019; Netz, Klasik, Entrich, & Barker, 2019; Simon & Ainsworth, 2012).[2]

Social reproduction theory (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) provides a useful framework for understanding socioeconomic disparities in SE use at any level of education. From this theoretical view, high SES families seek SE for advanced educational opportunities to reproduce their elite status for their children (Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Indeed, SE is increasingly seen as part of the upper middle-class families' strategies of "concerted cultivation" (Lareau, 1989) to increase their children's social mobility (Park et al., 2016; Park, Byun, & Kim, 2011). For example, Park et al. (2011) found that SE is an important strategy for high SES parents to enhance their children's academic success in Korea. Similar strategies were identified for Japan (Entrich, 2018) and the United States (Buchmann et al., 2010).

From a rational choice theory point of view (Boudon, 1974; Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997), investment in SE, as any other educational decision, is based on choices made by forward-looking, rationally acting individuals. However, the assessment of the costs, benefits and thus the likelihood to participate in SE clearly differ according to SES (Entrich, 2018; Lörz, Netz, & Quast, 2016). High SES students are not only more willing to take risks, but they are also more likely to realize the benefits of investing in SE at a relatively lower cost. In comparison, lower SES students can draw on less resources and show lower aspirations on average. The status maintenance motive is crucial in educational decision-making, and might also play a decisive role in the choice of SE. The higher the parental SES, the more individuals are anxious to achieve a similar status as their parents through investment in education (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997).

SE describes strategies through which families may articulate their status maintenance intentions by promising to help students accumulate human capital of different sort. At school, SE promises to improve academic performance (i. e., GPA and achievement in national high stakes examinations such as the SAT) and through this increase the students' chances of entrance to high ranking, prestigious high schools and colleges. At college, SE consists of

2 Contrasting to other high-impact SE practices, study abroad has drawn more attention of scholars due to its rapid and continuous expansion over the last decades (1991/1992: 71,154; 2000/2001: 154,168; 2016/2017: 332,727; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; NCES, 2018).

several very promising educational activities which ought to have a high impact on academic success and future job opportunities as well (S. R. Johnson & Stage, 2018). Particularly internships, study abroad, and research projects are deemed highly effective for future job prospects.

The general increase in SE use in the United States indicates a growing interest in this type of human capital (S. R. Johnson & Stage, 2018; Park et al., 2016). This can be partly attributed to globalization, increasing demands on the labor market for future generations of workers, and higher insecurity due to increasing unemployment rates and more precarious, low wage work. At the same time, educational expansion at the upper secondary and tertiary education levels led to increased competition for attractive positions on the (international) labor market in almost all societies. In highly industrialized, 'schooled societies' such as the United States, the majority of children have access to the highest formal education (Baker, 2014).

According to effectively maintained inequality theory (EMI; Lucas, 2001), under these circumstances, "socioeconomically advantaged actors secure for themselves and their children some degree of advantage wherever advantages are commonly possible" (Lucas, 2001, p. 1652). This implies that investments are not limited to the vertical education level of children (e. g., highest degree attained), but include investment that seeks to enhance the quality of the total educational attainment of a student. The latter investment spectrum consists of a multitude of opportunities through which horizontal differences in educational attainment can be enhanced, such as attending higher ranking high schools and universities (Andrew, 2017), or choosing study programs that promise higher returns (Reimer & Pollak, 2010).

In addition, SE of different sort ought to contribute to quality differences in educational outcomes by directly leading to wider competencies and skills or through its effects on vertical and horizontal education level. Especially high-impact SE activities at the school level were found to significantly affect both these educational outcomes (Buchmann et al., 2010; Entrich, 2018). In contrast, SE at college is also believed to provide students with marketable skills (S. R. Johnson & Stage, 2018; Schmidt & Pardo, 2017), which then ought to increase high SES families' chances of maintaining a high status for their children.

Based on the above arguments, we expect to find socioeconomic disparities in SE use at college.

Hypothesis 1. The higher the SES of students, the higher the likelihood of students to participate in SE at college.

Furthermore, the aforementioned theories suggest that high SES families not only invest more in SE on average compared to lower SES families, but focus particularly on those types of SE promising higher educational returns and better labor market outcomes (Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun, 2014; Entrich, 2018, 2019; Netz & Finger, 2016). Accordingly, we expect considerable differences in the effects of SES on SE at college by type of SE. Research highlights that study abroad and internships are particularly helpful to secure more attractive jobs and higher income (Knouse & Fontenot, 2008; Partlo & Ampaw, 2018; Waibel et al., 2017). Less is known about the concrete impact of other less acknowledged types of SE at college on labor market outcomes. In the AAC&U outline of high-impact educational practices, Kuh (2008) ascribed all types of SE significant practical knowledge and marketable skills gains. But it is clear neither how far significant these types of SE enhance the student's labor market outcomes nor whether high or low SES students make more use of them.

Hypothesis 2. The higher the SES of students, the higher the likelihood of students to concentrate on more promising types of SE, i. e. study abroad and internships, instead of less acknowledged types of SE.

Social Inequality in Labor Market Outcomes

In the same way that SE points to mechanisms of social reproduction during secondary school (Byun & Park, 2012; Entrich, 2018; Park et al., 2016), it indicates such mechanisms in the university setting, given that its participation is affected by SES and yields concrete benefits for status attainment. Signal and screening theories (Arrow, 1973; Spence, 1973) suggest that additional educational qualifications and competences are crucial to succeed in the competition for jobs. Extended human capital represented through SE enables applicants to signal their productivity potential beyond formal educational credentials. Similarly, such additional qualifications help employers in the hiring process, as these information enable them to identify the attributes they value in their workers and rank their applicants accordingly (Thurow, 1976).

As the number of applicants with the same formal education increases due to educational expansion, the vertical education level of these applicants (that is, their highest formal education) loses value. Research indicates that while the absolute value of education remains decisive for social positioning, i. e. labor market entry and income, the relative value of education is becoming increasingly important in schooled societies such as the United States (Bol, 2015; Olneck & Kim, 1989; Shavit & Park, 2016; Sørensen, 1979). Consequently, additional qualifications must serve as selection criteria for employers. Nowadays, students not only have to consider staying on in college for a Masters or Doctorate to increase their chances of entering better paid jobs in the future.

Besides the highest formal education degree attained, the level of their later income is also measured by horizontal educational attainment and competencies and skills gained from involvement in extended education. In particular the selectivity of the attended institution, the chosen major, their GPA and other visible factors (signals) that characterize college life affect employment prospects and income (Partlo & Ampaw, 2018; Schmidt & Pardo, 2017). These factors should explicitly include extended education investments. It remains doubtful whether extra- and co-curricular educational activities (e. g., involvement in clubs and fraternities/sororities, in sports, etc., but also work experience/work-study) impact labor market outcomes.

However, we highly suspect that those SE activities declared by the AAC&U as 'high-impact educational practices' (esp. internships, research projects, study abroad, capstone or senior projects; S. R. Johnson & Stage, 2018; Riehle & Weiner, 2013) serve as additional signals and thus selection criteria of employers and exert a positive significant impact on employment and income. Through involvement in SE, job applicants can spice up their resume by signaling that they possess wider competences and qualifications beyond conservative vertical and horizontal formal education. In sum, we expect students to invest in a combination of vertical, horizontal and supplemental education to increase their chances of entrance to attractive jobs and related higher income.

Hypothesis 3. A higher amount of SE at college is positively associated with a higher possibility of being employed and a higher income upon college graduation.

Research further suggests differential effects of SE according to type (Buchmann et al., 2010; Frick & Maihaus, 2016; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015). In line with signal and screening theories, different types of SE ought to signal different productivity potential of job applicants. Given the same formal educational credentials, it depends on the kind of skills associated with the type of SE the applicant participated in. Hence, we expect different labor market outcomes of SE depending on its type.

Hypothesis 4. More promising types of SE, i. e. study abroad and internships, are more positively associated with a higher possibility of being employed and a higher income upon college graduation compared to less acknowledged types of SE.

Based on social reproduction, rational choice and EMI theories we expected high SES students to invest more in those types of SE which signal concrete marketable skills, indicating higher productivity potential. Hence, we expect high SES graduates to gain higher labor market returns from their investments in SE at college compared to lower SES graduates.

Hypothesis 5. SE at college leads to a higher likelihood of employment and higher income for high SES graduates compared to low SES graduates.

Method

Data and Sample

To test our hypotheses, we used data from ELS:2002 conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics in the United States. ELS:2002 collected information on a nationally representative sample of high school sophomores in the United States as they transitioned through high school into postsecondary education and/or employment (Lauff, Ingels, & Christopher, 2014). Specifically, in 2002, the base year of the study, a national probability sample of approximately 15,000 tenth-graders across about 800 public, Catholic, and private schools were surveyed. In addition to the student respondents, their parents, teachers, and principals completed the questionnaires. The first follow-up survey was conducted in 2004 when the majority of the sampled respondents were in 12th grade. The second follow-up survey was conducted in 2006 when many sample members had either enrolled in college or begun their careers. Finally, the third follow-up survey was conducted a decade later (i. e., 2012), when the former high school students were about 26 years old and most of those who had enrolled in college had graduated and started their careers (Lauff et al., 2014). For the current study, we restricted our analyses to approximately 8,000 respondents who participated in the base-year and all follow-up surveys and who ever enrolled in and completed their postsecondary education as of the third follow-up survey.

Measures

Outcome variables

We examined two labor market outcomes: employment status and earnings. Employment was measured by a dichotomous variable indicating whether a respondent who completed college was either employed (including both part-time and full-time) (= 1) or unemployed (= 0) as of the third follow-up interview. Earnings were measured by respondents' report on their earnings during the 2011 calendar year. In the regression analysis, we used the log of annual earnings as dependent variable.

Supplementary education

SE was measured by the number of high-impact educational activities in which the respondent reported participating as part of their postsecondary enrollment: (a) internship, co-op, field experience, student teaching, or clinical assignment; (b) research project with a faculty member outside of course or program requirements; (c) study abroad; (d) community-based project as part of a regular course; (e) culminating senior experience, such as a capstone course, senior project or thesis, or comprehensive exam; (f) a program in which the respondent was mentored. Note that this variable served as a dependent variable when examining the determinants of SE. Then, it served as the major explanatory variable when studying the effect of SE on employment and earnings.

Family SES

Family SES is a standardized composite score composed of five variables: (a) father's/guardian's education, (b) mother's/guardian's education, (c) annual family income, (d) father's/guardian's occupation, and (e) mother's/guardian's occupation.

Controls

Past research has found a number of factors that are associated with SE as well as employment status and earnings, including socio-demographics, pre-college (e. g., SE at high school) and college variables (e. g., levels and selectivity of postsecondary institutions) (e. g., Hout, 2012; Knouse & Fontenot, 2008; Lingo, 2019; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Partlo & Ampaw, 2018; Schmidt & Pardo, 2017). Accordingly, in order to achieve undistorted effects of SE at college, we controlled for these variables, and provide a detailed description of these controls in Appendix A.

Analytic Strategies

First, we performed descriptive statistics for the variables included in our analyses. Second, we estimated a series of logistic regression models to more systematically examine socio-economic differences in SE. To be specific, we first included family SES only (Model 1). We then included socio-demographic variables (Model 2), pre-college variables (Model 3), and college variables (Model 4) sequentially. Estimating these models help us understand the way in which family SES matters to SE.

Third, we estimated two logistic regression models to examine the effect of SE on employment. The first model included SE, family SES, and other controls to examine whether SE was significantly related to the likelihood of employment, controlling for other variables. The second model additionally included the interaction term between SE and family SES to examine who benefited more from SE in terms of family SES.

Fourth, we estimated three ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models to examine the effect of SE on earnings. The first model included SE, family SES, and other controls to examine whether SE was significantly related to earnings, controlling for other variables. The second model additionally introduced employment and occupation as additional controls. The final model additionally included the interaction term between SE and family SES to examine who benefited more from SE. Finally, we replicated these analyses for each type of SE.

For missing data (see Table 1 for the percentage of imputed data), we used multiple imputations. Specifically, following recommendations set forth by D. R. Johnson and Young (2011), we included all of the independent and dependent variables in the imputed model. While some research indicates that accurate results can be obtained from two to 10 imputations (Rubin, 1987; von Hippel, 2005), we generated 25 imputed datasets for each cycle in order to increase the precision and minimize the bias, using the Stata ICE module (Acock, 2012). In each imputed data set, missing values were replaced with a plausible random value drawn on observed values of all variables (von Hippel, 2005). We then conducted analyses with each of the 25 imputed data sets and averaged estimates across the 25 imputed data sets, using Rubin's (1987) rule. To produce unbiased estimates of population parameters, we used the panel weight for all sample members who responded in the third follow-up and responded in the base year.

Results

Descriptive Findings

Table 1. Unweighted Descriptive Statistics for the Variables Included in Analyses

Variable	M	SE	% of missing
Employment status	0.87	–	0.0
Early career earnings	10.00	1.00	8.6
Supplementary education at college	1.26	1.42	12.0
Family SES	0.16	0.74	0.0
Race			0.0
White	0.62	–	
Asian	0.09	–	
African American	0.11	–	
Hispanic	0.12	–	
Other	0.05	–	
Female	0.54	–	

Variable	M	SE	% of missing
Academic performance at high school	52.77	9.41	0.0
Supplementary education at high school	2.32	1.85	7.1
Highest education attained			0.0
Less than bachelor	0.51	–	
Bachelor degree	0.37	–	
Masters or higher	0.12	–	
Selectivity of college attained			1.3
Less than 4-year college	0.28	–	
Non-selective 4-year	0.16	–	
Selective 4-year	0.30	–	
Highly selective 4-year	0.26	–	
GPA at college	2.69	0.89	10.9
Occupation			2.6
Managers	0.12	–	
Professionals A/B	0.24	–	
Clerical	0.16	–	
Service	0.17	–	
Operative	0.05	–	
Sales	0.05	–	
School teacher	0.04	–	
Technical	0.07	–	
Other	0.10	–	
N	7,857		

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the variables included in the analyses. To briefly describe the characteristics of our sample, out of 7,857 high school graduates who completed their college education, 87% were employed in 2011, and their average earnings were approximately 22,000 US dollars (i.e., $e^{10.0} = 22{,}004$). While the average number of students involved with SE was 1.26, 44.9% participated in internship, 10.6% in study abroad, 12.9% in research projects, 17.4% in community-based projects, 27.2% in culminating experiences, and 16.0% in mentoring programs (see Appendix B).

The average SES was .16, suggesting that those high school graduates included in our analyses came from relatively higher SES families, compared to all high school students who participated in ELS. In terms of race, 62% were white, 9% Asian, 11% African American, 12% Hispanic, and 5% others. When it came to gender, 54% were female.

The average of mathematics and reading standardized scores was approximately 53, which is slightly higher than the national mean (i.e., 50). Students participated on average in more than two types of SE at high school (i.e. 2.32 supplementary courses). For educational attainment, 51% had an associate's degree or other, 37% a bachelor's degree, and 12% an advanced degree. In terms of the selectivity of college, 28% enrolled in a less than 4-year college, 16% in a non-selective college, 30% in a selective 4-year college, and 26% in a highly selective college. The average college GPA was 2.69. Finally, 12% had managerial jobs, 24% professional jobs, and 17% service jobs.

Determinants of Supplementary Education

Table 2 shows results from the OLS regression models that predict SE at college. Model 1, including only family SES, showed significant socioeconomic disparities in the number of high-impact supplementary activities the students involved in at college. That is, respondents from high SES families were involved in a significantly higher number of SE practices, compared to students from low SES families. These socioeconomic disparities remained significant, even after controlling for race and gender (Model 2).

In Model 3, where we additionally controlled for school performance and SE at high school, the size of the coefficient of family SES reduced from .40 to .22 (45 % reduction). Yet, the coefficient of family SES remained statistically significant. In Model 4, where we additionally took college variables into account, the size of the coefficient of family SES further reduced from .22 to .06 (73 % reduction), but remained statistically significant.

Before we examine the effect of SE on labor market outcomes, we briefly describe significant predictors of SE other than family SES, focusing on Model 4. African American and female respondents engaged in a significantly higher number of supplementary learning activities at college, compared to their white and male counterparts, respectively, when other variables were taken into account. The higher the number of SE used at high school, the higher the number of SE used at college. Respondents, who attained a bachelor's degree or higher and attended more selective college, were involved in a significantly higher number of supplementary learning activities at college, compared to their counterparts who attained an associate's degree and attended less than four-year college, respectively. Finally, college GPA significantly predicted the number of supplementary learning activities at college, even after controlling for other variables.

Table 2. Determinants of Supplementary Education at College

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Variable	B		SE	B		SE	B		SE	B		SE
Family SES	0.41	***	0.03	0.40	***	0.03	0.22	***	0.03	0.06	*	0.03
Race												
White (Reference)												
Asian				0.12		0.06	0.12		0.06	-0.07		0.06
African American				-0.10		0.06	0.10		0.06	0.17	**	0.06
Hispanic				-0.14	*	0.06	0.05		0.06	0.05		0.06
Other				-0.14		0.09	-0.06		0.09	0.00		0.09
Female				0.35	***	0.04	0.28	***	0.04	0.16	***	0.04
Academic performance at high school							0.02	***	0.00	0.00		0.00
Supplementary education at high school							0.16	***	0.01	0.10	***	0.01
Highest education attained												
Less than bachelor (reference)												
Bachelor's degree										0.63	***	0.06
Masters or higher										0.91	***	0.09
Selectivity of college attained												
Less than four-year college (reference)												
Non-selective four-year college										0.05		0.05
Selective four-year college										0.13	*	0.06
Highly selective four-year college										0.38	***	0.07
GPA at college										0.26	***	0.02
Constant	1.12		0.02	0.97	***	0.03	-0.58	***	0.12	-0.20		0.12
R^{2a}	0.045			0.062			0.136			0.256		
N	7,857											

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

Effects of Supplementary Education on Labor Market Outcomes

Employment

Table 3. The Effects of Supplementary Education at College on the Likelihood of Employment

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variable	B		SE	OR	B		SE	OR
Supplementary education at college	0.04		0.04	1.04	0.04		0.04	1.04
Family SES	0.04		0.07	1.04	0.07		0.09	1.07
Supplementary education at college X family SES					-0.03	**	0.05	0.97
Controls								
Race								
White (Reference)								
Asian	-0.22		0.14	0.80	-0.22	***	0.14	0.80
African American	-0.03		0.13	0.97	-0.03		0.13	0.97
Hispanic	-0.25	*	0.12	0.78	-0.25	*	0.12	0.78
Other	-0.33		0.19	0.72	-0.34	*	0.19	0.72
Female	-0.80	***	0.09	0.45	-0.80	***	0.09	0.45
Academic performance at high school	0.02	*	0.01	1.02	0.02	*	0.01	1.02
Supplementary education at high school	0.04		0.03	1.04	0.04		0.03	1.04
Highest education attained								
Less than bachelor (reference)								
Bachelor's degree	0.56	***	0.14	1.76	0.56	***	0.14	1.76
Masters or higher	0.48	*	0.20	1.62	0.49	***	0.20	1.64
Selectivity of college attained								
Less than four-year college (reference)								
Non-selective four-year college	-0.09		0.12	0.91	-0.09		0.12	0.91
Selective four-year college	0.20		0.14	1.23	0.20		0.14	1.22
Highly selective four-year college	0.26		0.17	1.30	0.27		0.17	1.31
GPA at college	0.13	*	0.06	1.13	0.13		0.06	1.14
Constant	0.88	***	0.29	–	0.88	***	0.29	–
Log likelihood[a]	-689956.67				689903.32			
Pseudo R^{2a}	0.069				0.069			
N	7,857							

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3 shows results from the logistic regression models that estimate the effect of SE on the likelihood of employment. In Model 1, where we included all variables, we found that neither

SE nor family SES were significantly related to the likelihood of employment. However, in Model 2, where we additionally introduced the interaction term between SE and family SES, we found that there was a significant interaction effect of SE and family SES favoring respondents from low SES families. In other words, results showed that respondents from low SES families tended to benefit more from their participation in SE in terms of an increased likelihood of employment, compared to respondents from high SES families.

Before we turn to results for the effect of SE on earnings, we briefly summarize significant predictors of employment other than SE and family SES, focusing on Model 1. Respondents with Hispanic background were less likely than their white counterparts to be employed, controlling for other variables. Being female was associated with the decreased likelihood of employment. Academic performance at both high school and college had a positive effect on the likelihood of employment, even after controlling for other variables. Attaining a bachelor's or higher degree was associated with the increased likelihood of employment.

Table 4. The Effect of Supplementary Education at College on Earnings

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Supplementary education at college	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Family SES	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03
Supplementary education at college X family SES					0.00	0.01
Controls						
Race						
White (Reference)						
Asian	-0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05
African American	-0.15 **	0.05	-0.14 **	0.05	-0.14 **	0.05
Hispanic	-0.05	0.05	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.04
Other	-0.15 *	0.07	-0.11 *	0.06	-0.11	0.06
Female	-0.33 ***	0.03	-0.18 ***	0.03	-0.18 ***	0.03
Academic performance at high school	0.01 ***	0.00	0.01 **	0.00	0.01 **	0.00
Supplementary education at high school	0.04 ***	0.01	0.03 ***	0.01	0.03 ***	0.01
Highest education attained						
Less than bachelor (reference)						
Bachelor's degree	0.26 ***	0.04	0.17 ***	0.04	0.17 ***	0.04
Masters or higher	0.02	0.06	-0.09	0.06	-0.09	0.06
Selectivity of college attained						
Less than four-year college (reference)						
Non-selective four-year college	-0.09	0.05	-0.09	0.05	-0.09	0.05
Selective four-year college	-0.05	0.05	-0.08	0.05	-0.08	0.05
Highly selective four-year college	-0.01	0.06	-0.05	0.05	-0.05	0.05
GPA at college	0.11 ***	0.02	0.09 ***	0.02	0.09 ***	0.02
Employed			0.76 ***	0.06	0.76 ***	0.06
Occupation						
Managers			0.49 ***	0.05	0.49 ***	0.05

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
Variable	B		SE	B		SE	B		SE
Professionals A/B				0.43	***	0.05	0.44	***	0.05
Clerical				0.23	***	0.05	0.23	***	0.05
Service (reference)									
Operative				0.30	**	0.07	0.30	**	0.07
Sales				0.25	***	0.07	0.25	***	0.07
School teacher				0.30	***	0.07	0.30	***	0.07
Technical				0.42	***	0.06	0.42	***	0.06
Other				0.36	***	0.05	0.36	***	0.05
Constant	9.30	***	0.10	8.54	***	0.11	8.54	***	0.11
R^{2a}	0.111			0.210			0.210		
N	7,857								

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

Earnings

Table 4 shows results from the OLS regression models that estimate the effect of SE on earnings. In Model 1, where we included all variables, we found no significant effect of SE on earnings. In Model 2, where we additionally controlled for employment status and occupation, results remained the same. In Model 3, where we additionally introduced the interaction term between SE and family SES, we did not find a significant interaction effect either.

Before we discuss results from supplement analyses for each type of SE, we briefly describe other significant predictors of earnings, focusing on Model 2. Black respondents earned significantly less, compared to their white counterparts, controlling for other variables. Female respondents also earned significantly less, compared to their male counterparts. Both academic performance and SE at high school significantly predicted earnings, even after controlling for other variables. Attaining a bachelor's or higher degree was associated with an increase in earnings. College GPA was positively associated with earnings. Being employed was associated with higher earnings. Respondents having service occupations showed the lowest earnings.

Determinants and Effects of SE by Type

Thus far, we focused on the (total) number of high-impact SE activities that students were engaged in at college. Although this measure is useful, it might obscure potential heterogeneity in the determinants and effects of SE across different types. To address this issue, we conducted a series of supplementary analyses to examine how socioeconomic disparities in

Table 5. Predictors of Supplementary Education at College by Type

	Internship				Study abroad				Research project			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Family SES	0.40 ***	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.87 ***	0.08	0.34 ***	0.09	0.35 ***	0.07	0.12	0.08
Controls	No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes	
Pseudo R^{2a}	0.014		0.117		0.051		0.163		0.008		0.053	
N	7,857											

	Community-based project				Culminating senior experience				Mentoring program			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2		Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Family SES	0.36 ***	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.60 ***	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.23 ***	0.06	0.01	0.06
Controls	No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes	
Pseudo R^{2a}	0.011		0.087		0.028		0.183		0.003		0.046	
N	7,857											

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

Table 6. The Effects of Supplementary Education at College on the Likelihood of Employment by Type

	Internship			
	Model 1		Model 2	
Variable	B	SE	B	SE
Internship	0.13	0.11	0.13	0.11
Study abroad	-0.21	0.18	-0.20	0.19
Research project	-0.14	0.16	-0.14	0.16
Community-based project	-0.06	0.15	-0.06	0.15
Culminating senior experience	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.15
Mentoring program	0.04	0.14	0.03	0.14
Family SES	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.09
Internship X family SES			0.08	0.15
Study abroad X family SES			-0.01	0.24
Research project X family SES			-0.07	0.20
Community-based project X family SES			-0.06	0.19
Culminating senior experience X family SES			-0.13	0.20
Mentoring program X family SES			-0.01	0.21
Controls	Yes		Yes	
Pseudo R^{2a}	0.069		0.070	
N	7,857			

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

SE and its effects on employment and earnings differed by type. We present these results in Table 5, 6, and 7.

To briefly summarize, we found significant socioeconomic disparities in all types of SE before taking into account other variables (Table 5, Model 1). However, we found significant socioeconomic disparities only in participation in study abroad and research projects after taking into account other variables (Table 5, Model 2). In terms of the effects on employment, we found that none of the forms of SE at college were significantly related to the likelihood of employment (Table 6, Model 1). When it came to the interaction effect of SE and family SES, we also did not find any significant interaction effect for either type of SE (Table 6, Model 2).

Finally, for the effects on earnings, we found that only participation in internship was positively related to earnings, controlling for other variables (Table 7, Model 1). Once we additionally controlled for employment status and occupation, participation in internship remained significant (Table 7, Model 2). Yet, we did not find significant interaction effects of SE and family SES for any type of supplementary activity at college (Table 7, Model 3).

Table 7. The Effects of Supplementary Education at College on Earnings by Type

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Variable	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Internship	0.08	* 0.03	0.06	* 0.03	0.06	* 0.03
Study abroad	-0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.05	-0.03	0.05
Research project	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05
Community-based project	-0.04	0.04	-0.05	0.04	-0.05	0.04
Culminating senior experience	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Mentoring program	0.01	0.04	-0.02	0.04	-0.02	0.04
Family SES	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03
Internship X family SES			-0.01	0.04	-0.01	0.04
Study abroad X family SES			0.00	0.06	0.00	0.06
Research project X family SES			0.01	0.06	0.01	0.06
Community-based project X family SES			0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05
Culminating senior experience X family SES			-0.06	0.05	-0.06	0.05
Mentoring program X family SES			0.10	0.05	0.10	0.05
Controls	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Employment status and occupation	No		Yes		Yes	
R^{2a}	0.112		0.211		0.212	
N	7,857					

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002
a. R^2 is based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05 (two-tailed tests)

Discussion

Using data from ELS:2002, we found significant socioeconomic differences in SE at college. This finding is consistent with literature that documents socioeconomic disparities in shadow education at the levels of primary and secondary education in general (Baker, Akiba, LeTendre, & Wiseman, 2001; Byun et al., 2018; Entrich, 2018; Stevenson & Baker, 1992) and for the United States in particular (Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun & Park, 2012). The finding extends our knowledge by demonstrating that family SES continues to matter for SE participation beyond secondary education (confirming hypothesis 1). Additionally, we found that the size of socioeconomic disparities in SE at college varied, depending on its type. For example, our differentiated analyses showed that while there were significant socioeconomic differences in SE regardless of its type, the socioeconomic gap was more evident for study abroad (the only type of high-impact supplementary education at college for which such

disparities were investigated and reported in prior research; Lingo, 2019; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2015; Netz et al., 2019) than for other types of SE (partly confirming hypothesis 2).

Furthermore, our study showed the way in which family SES affects SE at college. For example, our analyses showed that much of the effect of family SES on SE at college was explained by respondents' pre- and college experiences. This finding suggests that family SES not only directly affects children's SE at college, but also indirectly affects it through children's various pre- and college experiences. An interesting finding is that SE at high school significantly predicted SE at college even after controlling for other variables. This finding suggests that reliance on SE at the lower levels of education may continue at the upper level of education.

With respect to the effect of SE on labor outcomes, we did not find significant effects for both employment and earnings (contrasting to hypothesis 3). However, we did find significant interaction effects of SE and family SES on employment, suggesting that respondents from low SES families tended to benefit more in terms of the increased likelihood of employment, compared to their counterparts from high SES families (contrasting to hypothesis 5). These findings suggest that although students from low SES families have fewer opportunities for SE at college, they tend to benefit more from their participation in SE. These results are in line with findings from Entrich (2018), reporting stronger effects of SE at high school on the transition to college for low SES students in Japan. Similarly, SE at college indicates a compensatory effect for low SES graduates, who may use SE to overcome their status disadvantages and secure a more advantageous employment. The additionally found effects of SE at high school on SE at college imply that low SES students may be more inclined to use SE at college if they have experience with this kind of extra-curricular involvement and thus appreciate the value of such an additional investment.

Yet, our differential analyses showed a somewhat different picture. That is, while we found significant main effects on earnings only for internship (partly confirming hypothesis 4), we did not find significant interaction effects for all types of SE considered in the study. Although more research is needed to understand these contradictory findings, these results suggest complexities in the nature and effect of SE by type. In this regard, our findings are in line with past findings on SE at school, which found heterogeneity in the effect of shadow education on academic achievement and access to higher ranking educational institutions, depending on its type (Buchmann et al., 2010; Byun, 2014; Entrich, 2018; Stevenson & Baker, 1992).

The present study has several limitations that need to be addressed in future research. First, while the results of our study raise doubts about AAC&U's officially postulated highly effective nature of SE at college, it remains to be answered under what conditions certain types of SE actually benefit students. Future studies should investigate the conditions under which SE investments can become effective, i. e. when which type of SE may benefit the students' labor market outcomes, by focusing on differences in occupations, study majors and the like. Also, different measures of labor market outcomes should be considered. Our focus on employment and annual income is well-suited to show how well college graduates fare in their early careers overall. But there may exist considerable differences in the wage levels of graduates. Second, the current study focused on those ELS high school graduates who enrolled in and completed postsecondary education and their earlier labor market outcomes at the age of 26. Therefore, their employment status and earnings could be subject to change, rather than being fixed and permanent. In addition, we found that many of ELS high school

graduates (about 20 %) were still in college at the age of 26. Accordingly, our findings should be interpreted with caution.

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Appendix A. Description of Variables Included in Analyses

Variable	Description
Employment status	Respondent's employment status in 2012, i.e. third follow-up interview in terms of the number and type (full-time v. part-time) of job(s) they were working (0 = not working, 1 = working)
Early career earnings	Respondent's income from employment during the 2011 calendar year
Supplementary education at college	Sum score indicating the number of high-impact educational activities in which the respondent reported participating as a part of their postsecondary enrollment: (a) Internship, co-op, field experience, student teaching, or clinical assignment; (b) research project with a faculty member outside of course or program requirements; (c) study abroad; (d) community-based project as part of a regular course; (e) culminating senior experience, such as a capstone course, senior project or thesis, or comprehensive exam; (f) a program in which the respondent was mentored
Family SES	A standardized composite score composed of five variables: (a) father's education, (b) mother's education, (c) annual family income, (d) father's occupation, and (e) mother's occupation
Race	Respondent's indicated race (white, Asian, African American, Hispanic, and others)
Gender	Respondent's indicated gender (0 = male, 1 = female)
Academic performance at high school	Respondent's test score in 10th grade on mathematics and reading, which is scaled to a national mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10.
Supplementary education at high school	Sum score indicating the number of the respondent's involvement in SAT and/or ACT preparation courses based on the following items:

Variable	Description
	(a) SAT/ACT course at high school; (b) course offered by a commercial test preparation service; (c) private one-to-one tutoring; (d) test preparation books; (e) test preparation video tape; (f) test preparation computer program
Highest education attained	Ordinal variable based upon the respondent's highest achieved level of education as of 2012 (1 = less than bachelor, 2 = bachelor's degree, 3 = master's degree or higher
Selectivity of college	Indicates the highest level of admissions selectivity among all postsecondary institutions attended by the respondent, based on the Carnegie Classification 2010 (Undergraduate Profile): "highly selective" 4-year institutions refer to those whose first-year students' test scores places them in roughly the top fifth of baccalaureate institutions; "moderately selective" 4-year institutions refer to those whose first-year students' test scores places them in roughly the middle two-fifths of baccalaureate institutions; "inclusive" 4-year institutions either did not report test score data, or their scores indicate that they extend educational opportunity to a wide range of students with respect to academic preparation and achievement
GPA	Respondent's known grade-point average (GPA) at all known postsecondary institutions attended as of June 2013
Occupation	SEI-based code for respondent's current/most recent job (1 = Managers, 2 = Professionals A/B, 3 = Clerical, 4= Service, 5 = Operative, 6 = Sales, 7 = School teacher, 8 = Technical, 9 = others (e.g., Craftsperson, Laborer, Military, Protective Service)

Appendix B. Percentage of Supplementary Education at College by Type

Variable	%
Internship	44.9
Study abroad	10.6
Research project	12.9
Community-based project	17.4
Culminating senior experience	27.2
Mentoring program	16.0
N	7,857

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets. Numbers do not add up to 100% because students could participate in multiple supplementary learning activities.
Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002

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

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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

1 Jae-Eun Jon acknowledges that this work was supported by the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Research Fund and that the data collection was supported by the Higher Education Policy Research Institute, Korea University.

2 Soo-yong Byun acknowledges support from the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2020S1 A3 A2 A02091529) and from 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 agencies.

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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, Héliot, & 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 (Moores & 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?

Background

Theoretical Framework

Allport (1954) proposed the contact hypothesis, which suggests that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice under the four conditions of equal status, common goals, cooperation, and authority support for contact (Pettigrew, 2016; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Numerous studies have tested the contact hypothesis, finding evidence that intergroup contact can generally reduce prejudice (Paluck, Green, & Green, 2019; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Although the extent to which previous studies have met Allport's four conditions for optimal contact in examining its impact is debatable, Pettigrew and colleagues advanced the contact hypothesis by suggesting that cross-group friendship can satisfy the conditions required for a positive contact effect (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Paluck et al., 2019; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

With regard to international students' social relations, Bochner, McLeod, and Lin (1977) proposed a functional model of international students' friendship patterns, which consists of three types of social networks. The first and most prominent of these is formed with students who are from the same country or have a similar cultural background for the purpose of sharing and expressing their own culture. The second is formed with local students for an instrumental function, such as supporting academic and practical needs. The third and least salient type of social network is formed with other international students for recreational purposes (Bochner et al., 1977).

International higher education scholars have applied these theoretical models to explain international students' intercultural interactions and the relationship with study abroad outcomes. For example, Fry, Paige, Jon, Dillow, and Nam (2009) highlighted the importance of the contact hypothesis for understanding the impact of study abroad experiences. Specifically, international students' interactions with local people can contribute to these students' social adjustment and positive attitudes toward local people (Cao et al., 2018; Geeraert et al., 2014). The current study builds on and extends the literature testing the contact hypothesis by examining whether Korean international students' intercultural interactions with different friendship networks are related to these students' study abroad outcomes.

Prior Research on International Students' Intercultural Interactions

Previous work has revealed that various types of curricular and extracurricular activities can facilitate international students' intercultural interactions (Hendrickson, 2018; Rienties, Alcott, & Jindal-Snape, 2014; Woods et al., 2013). For example, Hendrickson (2018) found that international students' satisfaction with a tutoring program increased their interactions with local students. Similarly, Woods et al. (2013) reported that international students' participation in a mentoring program increased their intercultural interactions with people from different ethnic backgrounds. In addition, Vande Berg, Connor-Linton, and Paige (2009) found that international students who participated in a mentoring program showed a higher level of intercultural competence compared with non-participants.

Extracurricular activities, such as participation in cultural clubs, sports, and group activities in a dormitory, also promote interaction between local and international students

(Hendrickson, 2018; Luo & Jamieson-Drake, 2013; Nesdale & Todd, 2000). By contrast, international students' difficulties in joining social or leisure activities hinder their relationships with local students (Glass et al., 2014). International students' interactions with different groups of students, along with in-class activities, increase their intercultural interactions (Rienties et al., 2014). The random assignment of students into cross-cultural groups and well-structured classes have been found to be particularly effective for students' intercultural interactions and learning outcomes (Rienties et al., 2014; Rienties & Nolan, 2014).

Existing work in this area has largely focused on international students' interactions with local students, with few studies examining international students' interactions with co-national and other international students. It thus remains to be seen what determines international students' interactions with co-national or other international students. In this study, we addressed these limitations of the prior research by including a comprehensive set of factors, such as study abroad program characteristics (e. g., duration and location) and participants' personal characteristics, which may be associated with international students' intercultural interactions.

Prior Research on Study Abroad Outcomes

Intercultural competence, including intercultural sensitivity, respect for different cultures, and reduced stereotypes, has often been considered as an expected outcome of studying abroad (Twombly, Salisbury, Tumanut, & Klute, 2012). Numerous studies have documented that study abroad experiences help develop students' intercultural competence (e. g., Fry et al., 2009; Jones, Rowan-Kenyon, Ireland, Niehaus, & Skendall, 2012; Terzuolo, 2018; Twombly et al., 2012). In recent years, scholars have emphasized the importance of program interventions such as providing a cultural mentor in facilitating intercultural competence through study abroad (Vande Berg et al., 2009; Vande Berg, Paige, & Lou, 2012). However, more research is needed about the specific conditions under which studying abroad helps to increase intercultural competence (Salisbury, An, & Pascarella, 2013; Twombly et al., 2012).

Another line of work suggests that study abroad experiences lead to increases in independence, confidence, tolerance, and self-formation (Fry et al., 2009; Degraaf, Slagter, Larsen, & Ditta, 2013; Jones et al., 2012; Marginson, 2014; Moores & Popadiuk, 2011). For example, Fry and colleagues (2009) showed that study abroad participants gain confidence, independence, and survival skills by navigating and living in different cultures on their own. International experiences can also promote self-formation, helping individuals to become "reflexive and self-determining" by addressing disequilibrium between their own country and the host country (Marginson, 2014, p.11). However, previous studies in this area have mainly used qualitative methods. Few studies have used quantitative approaches to examine the relationship between study abroad and personal development. One notable exception is a study conducted by Luo and Jamieson-Drake (2014) that demonstrated that study abroad increases college students' understanding of moral and ethical issues.

A growing volume of research shows a relationship between study abroad participation and career development. For example, study abroad participants tend to pursue international careers by working abroad or working for multinational companies in their home countries and performing internationally oriented tasks (Di Pietro, 2012; Norris & Gillespie, 2009; Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). Students who participate in study abroad programs also gain em-

ployability skills and career prospects, including foreign language ability, interpersonal and communication skills, and adaptability (Franklin, 2010; Potts, 2015; Trooboff, Vande Berg, & Rayman, 2007). Importantly, recent studies have showed that study abroad programs also affect participants' motivations and passions regarding career direction and identity (Jon, Shin, & Fry, 2020; Potts, 2015). Such career-related psychological development helps to explain not only how study abroad participants choose internationally oriented careers but also how they come to decide upon other career paths, such as graduate studies, international service, or jobs for the public good (Jon et al., 2020). However, previous quantitative work has mostly focused on the pursuit of international careers. In this study, we addressed the limitations of prior research by using quantitative data to analyze the relationships of study abroad with various dimensions of career development.

Methods

Data and Sample

We collected data from 482 Korea University undergraduate students who had participated in international student exchange programs from fall 2010 to spring 2013. Korea University is one of the most selective private universities located in Seoul, Republic of Korea. For the data collection, Korea University's Office of International Affairs contacted all students who had studied abroad during this particular period of time. The international exchange programs lasted one semester or one year. The survey instrument was developed on the basis of a literature review on study abroad outcomes and qualitative interviews with Korean study abroad participants. This instrument was then reviewed by study abroad practitioners, educational measurement experts, and Korean study abroad participants (Jon, Lee, & Seo, 2014). Data were collected using an online survey (response rate = 31.3%, 482 out of 1,542).

Measures

Study Abroad Outcomes

The examined study abroad outcomes were (1) intercultural competence, (2) personal development, and (3) career development. Intercultural competence was assessed by averaging 10 items measured on six-point scales of disagreement–agreement with the following statements: (a) "I feel comfortable interacting with people who have different cultural backgrounds"; (b) "I listen carefully and patiently to others from different cultures"; (c) "I think I can learn a lot from other cultures"; (d) "I can be close friends with people from different cultures, nationalities, and backgrounds"; (e) "I keep up with international news and events through the media"; (f) "I think Korean culture can flourish by having more immigrants in Korean society"; (g) "I can understand the difficulties and positions of foreigners living in Korea"; (h) "I can behave appropriately when I am in a culturally different society"; (i) "I like working with international students on team projects"; and (j) "I can help international students around me who experience difficulties" (α = .91). Personal development was as-

sessed by averaging nine items measured on six-point scales of disagreement–agreement with the statement that after study abroad participants had changed in terms of the following characteristics: (a) "broader perspectives toward the world," (b) "not worrying about what others think of me," (c) "open-mindedness," (d) "self-confidence," (e) "self-directedness," (f) "independence," (g) "self-reflection," (h) "survival skills in an unfamiliar place," and (i) "change in core values about life" ($\alpha = .90$). Finally, career development was assessed by averaging four items measured on six-point scales of disagreement–agreement with the following statements: (a) "I experienced change in the criteria for choosing a job," (b) "I further developed the career plan I initially had," (c) "I would like to pursue a career abroad," and (d) "I welcome new challenges in my career journey" ($\alpha = .75$).

Intercultural Interaction

Intercultural interaction was measured by assessing three different types of interaction on the basis of students' answers to the question "How often do you interact with the following students?: (a) Korean students, (b) local students, and (c) other international students." For each item, responses ranged from 1 (*not at all*) and 6 (*very frequently*).

Explanatory Variables

On the basis of past work, we considered gender, major, previous international experiences, received tutoring, received mentoring, participated in extracurricular activities (e. g., social and cultural events), participated in off-campus activities, type of study abroad classes taken, (i) destination country, and (j) duration of stay as potential factors associated with students' intercultural interactions and study abroad outcomes. Gender and major were based on respondents' reports of their sex (0 = male, 1 = female) and college major (arts and humanities, social sciences, or sciences). Previous international experiences were included as a dichotomous variable indicating whether respondents had any previous international experiences. Tutoring and mentoring were included as dichotomous variables indicating whether respondents received any tutoring or mentoring while studying abroad. Extracurricular activities and off-campus activities were included as dichotomous variables indicating whether respondents participated in social events and off-campus activities while studying abroad. Type of classes attended was a categorical variable indicating whether respondents took a regular class for local undergraduate students, a class for international exchange students, or a language class for international exchange students. Destination country was the country where respondents went to study aboard, categorized as the United States, Canada, European countries, China, Japan, or other. Finally, duration of stay was included as a dichotomous variable indicating whether respondents stayed for a semester or for a year.

Analytic Strategy

First, we calculated descriptive statistics for the variables included in the analyses. Second, to examine the predictors of intercultural interaction, we conducted ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses for each type of intercultural interaction. Third, to examine the association between intercultural interaction and study abroad outcomes, we conducted OLS regression analyses controlling for other variables. To handle missing data on the independent variables,

we used multiple imputation (see Table 1 for the percentages of imputed data). Although the literature suggests that accurate results can typically be obtained using two to 10 imputations (Rubin, 1987; von Hippel, 2005), we generated 25 imputed datasets to improve the stability of the estimates using. Specifically, following the recommendations of Johnson and Young (2011), we included all the dependent and independent variables in the imputed model to predict the missing values. We then pooled estimates from the 25 imputed datasets using Rubin's (1987) rule.

Results

Descriptive Findings

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Independent Variables Included in the Analyses

	Total		
Variable	*M*	*SD*	% of imputed data
Study abroad outcomes			
Intercultural competence	4.52	0.88	0.0
Personal development	4.74	0.83	0.0
Career development	4.29	1.05	0.0
Intercultural interaction			
With Korean students	4.40	1.55	0.5
With local students	4.58	1.22	1.5
With other international students	4.91	1.20	2.8
Individual characteristics			
Female	0.73	–	0.0
Major			0.0
Arts and Humanities	0.39	–	
Social sciences	0.40	–	
Sciences	0.21	–	
Previous international experiences	0.74	–	0.0
Tutoring	0.44	–	0.0
Mentoring	0.66	–	0.0
Extracurricular activities	0.89	–	0.0
Off-campus activities	0.53	–	0.0
Type of class			1.3
Regular class for local undergraduate students	0.76	–	
Class for international exchange students	0.13	–	
Language class for international exchange students	0.11	–	
Destination country			0.0
United States	0.22	–	
Canada	0.14	–	
European countries	0.33	–	

	Total		
Variable	*M*	*SD*	% of imputed data
China	0.10	–	
Japan	0.07	–	
Other	0.15	–	
1-year duration of stay	0.41	–	0.3
N	399		

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets using Rubin's (1987) rule.

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the variables included in the analyses. In brief, the students included in our analyses showed relatively high levels of intercultural competence ($M = 4.52$, $SD = .88$), personal development ($M = 4.74$, $SD = .83$), and career development ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.05$). They also showed relatively high levels of intercultural interactions with Korean ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.55$), local ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.22$), and other international ($M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.20$) students. Women made up 73% of the participants. Arts and humanities majors accounted for 49% of the sample, 40% were social science majors, and 21% were science majors. Most (74%) had previous international experiences. Tutoring and mentoring services were used by 44% and 66%, respectively, while studying abroad. The majority of the participants had participated in extracurricular and off-campus activities (89% and 53%, respectively) while studying abroad. Most participants (76%) took a regular class designed for local undergraduate students, 13% took a class for international exchange students, and 11% took a language class for international exchange students. Regarding the destination country, 22% went to the United States, 14% to Canada, 33% to European countries, 10% to China, and 7% to Japan. The percentages studying abroad for a year and for a semester were 41% and 59%, respectively.

Predictors of Intercultural Interaction

Table 2 presents the OLS regression results for the predictors of different types of intercultural interaction. For intercultural interaction with Korean students, there was a positive association with previous international experiences ($\beta = .35$, $p < .05$) and a negative association with receiving tutoring ($\beta = -.42$, $p < .05$), controlling for other variables. Participation in off-campus activities was also negatively associated with interaction with Korean students ($\beta = -.45$, $p < .01$). For intercultural interaction with local students, in contrast, there was a positive association with participation in off-campus activities ($\beta = .29$, $p < .05$), showing that students who participated in off-campus activities interacted more frequently with local students, compared with those who did not participate in off-campus activities. In addition, students who studied abroad for a year interacted more frequently with local students ($\beta = .28$, $p < .05$) than did those who studied abroad for a semester, even after controlling for other variables. Finally, students with social science majors more frequently interacted with other international students ($\beta = .33$, $p < .05$), compared with students majoring in arts and humanities, after controlling for the other variables. Participation in extracurricular activities ($\beta = .57$, $p < .01$)

Table 2. Predictors of Different Types of Intercultural Interaction

	Intercultural interaction					
	With Korean students		With local students		With other international students	
Variable	*B*	SE	*B*	SE	*B*	SE
Female	0.34	0.18	-0.22	0.14	0.11	0.14
Major						
Arts and Humanities (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Social sciences	0.30	0.18	0.08	0.14	0.33 *	0.14
Sciences	0.16	0.22	0.03	0.17	0.22	0.17
Previous international experiences	0.35 *	0.17	-0.17	0.14	0.13	0.14
Tutoring	-0.42 *	0.16	0.20	0.13	0.12	0.13
Mentoring	0.14	0.17	-0.16	0.14	-0.03	0.14
Extracurricular activities	-0.18	0.26	-0.27	0.21	0.57 **	0.20
Off-campus activities	-0.45 **	0.16	0.29 *	0.13	0.29 *	0.13
Type of class						
Regular class for local undergraduate students (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Class for international exchange students	-0.01	0.26	-0.15	0.21	0.13	0.20
Language class for international exchange students	0.21	0.29	-0.29	0.23	0.08	0.22
Destination country						
United States (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Canada	-0.01	0.26	-0.22	0.21	0.21	0.21
European countries	-0.02	0.22	-0.22	0.18	0.34	0.17
China	-0.06	0.36	-0.04	0.28	0.38	0.28
Japan	-0.44	0.35	0.15	0.28	-0.07	0.28
Other	0.30	0.26	0.21	0.20	-0.16	0.20
1-year duration of stay	-0.33	0.17	0.28 *	0.14	-0.23	0.13
Constant	4.35 ***	0.38	4.94 ***	0.31	3.78 ***	0.30

	Intercultural interaction					
	With Korean students		With local students		With other international students	
Variable	*B*	SE	*B*	SE	*B*	SE
Adjusted *R*-squared[a]	0.08		0.06		0.04	
N	399					

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets using Rubin's (1987) rule.
[a]Estimates were based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. (two-tailed tests)

and participation in off-campus activities ($\beta = .29$, $p < .05$) were positively related to intercultural interaction with other international students.

Relationships Between Intercultural Interaction and Study Abroad Outcomes

Table 3 presents the OLS regression results for the predictors of the examined study abroad outcomes. The results showed that intercultural interaction with both local and international students was important for predicting all three study abroad outcomes, even after controlling for other variables. In other words, students who more frequently interacted with local and international students while studying abroad showed higher levels of intercultural competence, personal development, and career development. There were some significant gender differences in study abroad outcomes, with women showing significantly lower levels of intercultural competence and career development compared with men. Students who took a class for international exchange students showed a lower level of intercultural competence ($\beta = -.30$, $p < .05$) compared with those who took a class for local students. After controlling for the other variables, students who participated in off-campus activities showed a higher level of personal development ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$) than did their counterparts who did not participate in these activities. Finally, students who studied in Japan tended to show a lower level of personal development ($\beta = -.47$, $p < .05$) compared with those who studied in the United States, controlling for other factors.

Discussion

This study examined the determinants of Korean international students' interactions with different friendship networks and the relationships of these interactions with three study abroad outcomes. To summarize the key findings, first, we found that those who actively engaged in extracurricular activities were more likely to interact with other international students, controlling for other variables. This result is consistent with previous research finding that extracurricular activities could help to build social networks (Neri & Ville, 2008). However, engagement in extracurricular activities was not significantly related to interaction with local students, controlling for other factors. Second, we found that participation in off-campus activities promoted friendship with local students and with other international students but significantly reduced interaction with co-national students, controlling for other variables. This finding suggests that off-campus activities, such as part-time jobs, internships, and community service, can provide a venue where Korean international students are able to engage in local contacts beyond those that are available on campus.

Third, in contrast to the previous literature (Hendrickson, 2018; Woods et al., 2013), we found that international students' participation in tutoring and mentoring did not significantly promote interaction with local or international students, after controlling for other variables. This may be partly because of the diversity of the study abroad locations included in the sample and possibly the variation across different programs. Fourth, we found that international students majoring in social sciences tended to interact more frequently with international students than did their counterparts majoring in arts and humanities. Presumably, academic programs for social science majors may host more international students compared

Table 3. Predictors of Study Abroad Outcomes

	Study abroad outcomes					
	Intercultural competence		Personal development		Career development	
Variable	*B*	SE	*B*	SE	*B*	SE
Intercultural interaction						
With Korean students	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03	-0.01	0.03
With local students	0.15 ***	0.04	0.11 **	0.03	0.13 **	0.04
With international students	0.14 ***	0.04	0.15 ***	0.04	0.15 ***	0.04
Female	-0.25 *	0.10	-0.03	0.09	-0.40 **	0.12
Major						
Arts and Humanities (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Social sciences	-0.04	0.10	-0.10	0.09	-0.02	0.12
Sciences	-0.06	0.12	-0.17	0.12	-0.07	0.15
Previous international experiences	0.12	0.10	-0.04	0.09	-0.04	0.12
Tutoring	0.14	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.01	0.11
Mentoring	0.13	0.10	-0.07	0.09	-0.04	0.12
Extracurricular activities	0.01	0.15	0.08	0.14	-0.06	0.18
Off-campus activities	0.10	0.09	0.22 *	0.09	0.18	0.11
Type of class						
Regular class for local undergraduate students (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Class for international exchange students	-0.30 *	0.15	-0.07	0.14	-0.33	0.17
Language class for international exchange students	-0.28	0.16	-0.03	0.15	-0.15	0.19
Destination country						
United States (reference)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Canada	0.08	0.15	-0.05	0.14	0.14	0.18
European countries	0.12	0.12	-0.05	0.12	0.11	0.15
China	0.26	0.20	0.01	0.19	0.29	0.24
Japan	-0.18	0.19	-0.47 *	0.18	0.14	0.24
Other	0.05	0.14	-0.21	0.14	0.17	0.17
1-year duration of stay	0.03	0.10	-0.02	0.09	0.03	0.12

	Study abroad outcomes					
	Intercultural competence		Personal development		Career development	
Variable	*B*	SE	*B*	SE	*B*	SE
Constant	2.92 ***	0.33	3.52 ***	0.31	3.28 ***	0.40
Adjusted *R*-squared[a]	0.12		0.10		0.08	
N	399					

Note. The estimates are an average of the results across 25 imputed datasets using Rubin's (1987) rule.
[a]Estimates were based on one complete and imputed dataset.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. (two-tailed tests)

with other programs, such as business. Additionally, we found that international students with a longer study abroad duration were more likely to interact with local students. This finding suggests that a longer stay can provide more opportunities to interact and form relationships with local students. However, we found that participants with previous international experiences were more likely to interact with co-national students. Students with previous international experiences may be less motivated to interact with students from other countries probably because they already have such experiences. More research is needed to better understand the roles played by academic major and previous experiences in determining interactions with different friendship networks.

Regarding the relationships between students' interactions with different friendship networks and the examined study abroad outcomes, we found that participants' intercultural interaction was positively associated with their intercultural competence. This finding supports the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) and confirms prior findings on the positive role of intercultural interaction for international students (Cao et al., 2018; Geeraert et al., 2014). In addition, we found that participants with frequent interaction with other international students showed slightly higher levels of personal and career development. This finding suggests that international students' educational experiences can benefit from intercultural interaction with other international students. Previous work has predominantly emphasized the importance of international students' interaction with local students, as well as the issue of little interaction between these two groups (Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Schartner, 2015; Smith & Khawaja, 2011). However, our finding that frequent interactions with other international students were positively related to personal and career development highlights the significance of the international student community in providing a supportive learning environment and emotional support for international students (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009). This result suggests that, to improve educational outcomes, institutions should promote international students' interaction not only with local students, but also with other international students.

Finally, we found that students who took classes exclusively for international students showed a lower level of intercultural competence compared with their peers who took regular classes for local students, even after controlling for other variables. This finding suggests that international students show a higher level of international competence when they take regular classes with local students than when they take classes only with other international students. This finding is consistent with previous studies suggesting that students who share classrooms with the local students experience more host conformity pressure because they need to learn the language of the host country and acquire behaviors exhibited by local students (Hendrickson, 2018). Given that a classroom is an important setting that offers opportunities for intercultural interaction and for the development of various competences, international students' taking classes with local students can provide an environment conducive to broadening their intercultural competence.

Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

The current study has several limitations that need to be addressed in future research. First, we used cross-sectional data to examine factors associated with study abroad outcomes. Thus, we cannot make causal claims about the relationships among the examined variables, and our results should be interpreted with caution. Second, our study focused on a single Korean

university and its students who had studied abroad. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether our findings are generalizable to other college students in Korea and elsewhere. Third, although we examined a number of variables, there may be other variables associated with international students' interactions with different types of students and with their study abroad outcomes. Therefore, future research should use longitudinal survey data that include a more comprehensive set of variables to examine the predictors and effects of international students' friendship networks.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the current study demonstrates that international students' intercultural interaction can be promoted by study abroad participation as a form of extended education in college, offering learning contexts and opportunities outside regular classroom teaching. Extended education, as a rich source of educational experiences that are not covered by school curriculum-based learning, provides an opportunity for students to accumulate cultural capital in a broader sense (Stecher, 2018). In terms of its theoretical contribution, this study supports the contact hypothesis, and the findings provide evidence for the need to go beyond the deficit model of international students, which depicts them as in need of help (Heng, 2018; Marginson, 2014; Montgomery & McDowell, 2009).

This study also has the potential to inform colleges and universities hosting international students of the need to design study abroad programs carefully. Staying in the host country for a short duration, for example, may limit international students' chances to interact with local students or other international students. Students themselves need to make efforts to interact with diverse networks of students, but, to achieve positive educational outcomes, institutions also need to support them to facilitate meaningful contacts with other students by, for example, running a carefully designed mentoring program. To enrich their intercultural experiences and help them form friendships with different groups of students, international education practitioners need to create opportunities for international students to participate in various types of curricular and extracurricular programs. Furthermore, these practitioners also need to encourage international students' enrollment in regular classes for local students, guide faculty in designing classes in a way that facilitates interactions among different groups of students and help local students to participate in educational activities with international students. The internationalization of higher education needs to be inclusive, involving various of groups of students, both mobile and non-mobile (de Wit & Jones, 2018).

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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

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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

International Journal for Research on Extended Education, Vol. 8, Issue 2/2020, 156–172
https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v8i2.05

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.

Data and Sources of Information

This paper employs a combination of datasets, given the limitations of a continuous and detailed data set related to socio-economic origins of students and other vital statistics in HE (Mathews, 2010). To present HE development and show trends in participation of students from the SEDGs, the paper uses Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) calculated for 18–23 years of age-group provided by the All-India Survey of Higher Education carried out by the Ministry of Human Resource Development.

To present the extent of access to private supplementary tutoring in India across social groups, the paper draws from available studies and presents most recent statistics in terms of percentage of students taking private coaching at the higher education level. The percentage are calculated from the 75th Round of the National Sample Survey, pertaining to the period July 2017-June 2018, that provide household information whether the respondents between 3 and 35 years currently attending education were taking/taken private coaching. From this information, the study focuses on those attending higher education (typically 18–23 years, inclusive).

Additionally, the CPRHE large-scale mixed-methods studies (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016; Malish & Sabharwal, 2015), using a multi-institutional case-study approach, are empirical basis of developing some of the arguments. Case studies of multiple institutions were spread across States in India which represented different regions of the country (north, west, south and east). These studies helped in providing a holistic understanding on academic challenges facing students from the SEDGs in HEIs, including their experiences and views on supplementary academic support offered by their HEIs[1].

In both the studies quantitative and qualitative research instruments were used to collect the data. The data was analysed using inferential statistics and thematic analysis. The CPRHE study one by Sabharwal and Malish (2016) was carried out in twelve HEIs located in six States across India. Sources of information included a survey of 3200 students studying in their second year, 70 focus group discussions with students, 50 student diaries and 200 interviews with faculty members and institutional leaders. Students studying in their second year were selected, as this is the year when students are well positioned to offer a fair assessment of their academic and college experiences (Zaitseva et al., 2013).

The CPRHE study two by Malish and Sabharwal (2015) was carried out in ten HEIs which were receiving grants from the federal funds for implementation of supplementary support programme. Sources of information included a survey questionnaire administered to all students enrolled in the supplementary classes-403 students responded to the survey questionnaire. The qualitative tools included 7 focus group discussions which were held with a sub-group of students who had also responded to the survey. Further, 28 semi-structured interviews were conducted with faculty members/instructors involved in teaching in supplementary classes, and faculty coordinators and institutional leaders involved in the management of the programme.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Next section presents recent developments in HE in India, with a focus on equity promoting measures for the disadvantaged socio-economic

1 The CPRHE study one (Sabharwal and Malish, 2016) was carried out in HEIs located in six states of India (Bihar, Delhi, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh). The CPRHE study two by Malish and Sabharwal, 2015 was carried out in ten states across India. The 10 selected HEIs were spread across 10 states in India (Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Kerala, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Punjab, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal).

groups in India. Section 3 presents existing academic challenges faced by SEDGs in HE in India, including access inequalities in private investment on supplementary support. Informed by existing literature on the importance and effectiveness of supplementary academic support programmes for students from the SEDGs, in section 4, the paper explores the disaggregated characteristics of participating students in supplementary instruction classes provided by HEIs, its teaching-learning features, and the nature of challenges students face as they navigate their access to supplementary classes. The paper concludes with policy recommendations.

Recent Developments in Higher Education in India and Equity Promoting Measures

HE sector in India has seen an unprecedented expansion over the last few decades. Between 1960 and 2019, the Gross Enrolment Ratio in India (GER) shifted from an elite stage (1.5%) to a stage of massification (26.3%); the student enrolment increased from 0.6 million to 37.4 million students and is the second largest system in the world after China (Varghese, 2015; Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD], 2019). An important feature of massification of HE in India has been an increase in diversity in the student body. Trends on enrolment in higher education shows that while inter-group inequalities in access to HE persists, there has been an improvement in enrolment of the SEDGs over the years. For example, between 2009–10 and 2018–19, the GER for the scheduled castes social group increased from 11.1% to 23% (MHRD, 2010, 2019). The SEDGs today constitutes 57% of student enrolment in HE in India (MHRD, 2019).

The goal of Education for All (EFA) helped in strengthening the school system and bringing a larger cohort of secondary school graduates from deprived groups to pursue higher studies. Importantly Constitutionally mandated affirmative action measures have been significant equity measures to promote access of students from the SEDGs to HE. Students from the SEDGs in India belong to socially excluded groups, such as, the scheduled castes (SCs: former 'untouchables'), other backward classes (OBCs: lower in the caste hierarchy, but not 'untouchables') and scheduled tribes (STs: indigenous groups) who have been historically denied access to educational rights (Ambedkar, 1936). These groups are also more likely to be economically disadvantaged groups as compared to the rest (Thorat & Newman, 2010).

Constitutionally mandated affirmative action (AA) policies in admission in the form of reservation of seats in higher education institutions, financial support including free-ships and scholarships, and relaxation in the admission criteria have been important equity initiatives to address barriers of entry (Thorat, 2016), and improve enrolment of students from the disadvantaged social groups in higher education. The combination of policies (EFA and AA), however, has not had the desired equity effect in HE. Even when students from the SEDGs in India have gained access, their persistence and successful graduation from college remains a major challenge facing the HE system in India.

Challenges Facing Students from the SEDGs in India in HE

Existing research shows students from the SEDGs are more likely to perform poorly vis-à-vis their privileged peers in HE classrooms (Sabharwal, 2020). A relatively higher proportion of students from the SEDGs have lower grades (Henry & Ferry, 2017) and pending uncleared back-papers from previous semester that increases their odds of dropping out from institutions of HE (Sivasankaran, 2004; Sabharwal, Thorat, Balasubramanyam, & Diwakar, 2014). Among the dropouts, these studies further show that a larger share of students are from the disadvantaged social groups.

The degree attainment gaps in HE is a combination of disadvantages and challenges faced by students from the SEDGs which have a cumulative negative effect on the level of academic integration required to successfully graduate from college. Evidence from the CPRHE study one (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016) suggests that barriers facing students from SEDGs stems from inequitable conditions of academic preparation in preceding levels of education. Additionally, an unsupportive nature of academic environment for learning in regular HE classrooms hindered students' chances of moving out of a low academic performance trap (Sabharwal, 2020).

Barriers to Academic Preparation for College

Results from the CPRHE study one (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016) show that in their journey to HEIs, students from the SEDGs experience multiple barriers related to their family background and their schooling that influence their ability to be academically prepared for college. Students from SEDGs are more likely to reside in rural locations and from disadvantaged educational pathways that would have exposed them to under-resourced schools, out-dated high school curriculum and medium of instruction in regional language (that makes transition to English in HE difficult).

These students enter college with a stigmatised ethnic family identity, low educational levels of parents and experiences of poverty. These characteristics limit their possession of parental social and cultural capital known to be linked in providing privileges and advantages for academically preparing students with knowledge and skills to succeed in college (Perna & Thomas, 2008). Students' preparation for college begin early in the education process through additional academic private support outside regular classrooms, which SEDGs are less likely to access vis-à-vis their privileged peers.

In the light of available evidence, it is increasingly being argued that private supplementary tutoring supported by parental investment plays a (re)production role of sustaining and exacerbating social inequalities (Entrich, 2020). It is widely recognised that supplementary tutoring in India which has become an increasing and a widespread phenomenon (Azam, 2016; Bhorkar & Bray, 2018) is employed by high SES families that invest strategically in privately organised supplementary lessons in academically oriented subjects generally outside regular school hours. The main purpose of parental investment is to improve test-scores of their children-particularly at the high school level to qualify competitive tests for admissions to selective higher education institutions offering science and engineering subjects (Sujatha, 2014; Ørberg, 2018; Ghosh & Bray, 2020).

A growing body of literature using macro level data sets in India suggests a socio-economic gap in access to private supplementary learning opportunities across educational levels, and particularly at the high school level. Students from high SES families, with better educated parents, living in urban areas and men are more likely to attend private tutoring and spend more vis-à-vis those from low SES backgrounds, from rural areas and women (Azam, 2016; Mitra & Sarkar, 2019).

Observers have noted that social inequalities in the extent of access to private supplementary tutoring in India at the school level imply under-representation of students from the SEDGs in high value academic subjects (such as STEM), and highly selective elite public universities (Agarwal, 2009; Ørberg, 2018). Similarly, international research suggests that high SES families (where parents are highly educated, have high income and high occupational status) are more likely to invest in greater quantities and better qualities of supplementary instruction to provide competitive advantages to their children over their peers for educational attainment and educational placement (Bray, Kwo, & Jokic, 2015; Entrich, 2020).

Moreover, at the HE level, estimates from large scale data sets such as the National Sample Survey Organisation (2017) show that opportunities to access private supplementary education follows the 'graded nature of the social order' (Ambedkar, 1936, p. 47) in the caste system where the groups are placed in a graded order one above the other in social status (higher castes/SCs/STs). Opportunities to access private supplementary tutoring follow a similar graded pattern with increased access among groups of higher social status and privilege.

Students from the higher caste families (which include non-SC/ST/OBC) had a greater likelihood of accessing private supplementary tutoring (21%) vis-à-vis students from families considered disadvantaged caste (SCs-13%) and ethnicity (STs-10%). Social inequalities in access to supplementary learning opportunities that are designed to boost academic performance and improve students' chances to succeed in higher education implies that if access to these avenues are limited to privileged socio-economic groups, it can become a mechanism that reproduces social inequalities in post-secondary academic performance.

Unsupportive Learning Environments in Regular Classrooms in HEIs

Furthermore, in large and diverse HE systems, in terms of both socio-economic background and diversity in learning needs, available empirical evidence indicates unsupportive teaching-learning processes in regular classrooms as barriers to academic integration and increasing academic risks of students from the SEDGs to remain in a low performance trap. The CPRHE study one (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016) provides evidence of unsupportive teaching-learning processes.

The study shows that teaching-learning in regular classrooms took the form of lecture-based method, being the dominant form of transaction with minimal participation by students; absence of group work that restricted chances of collective learning; absence of informal interactions with faculty members and a deficit-perspective towards students from the SEDGs. It was not uncommon for faculty members highlighting students' deficiencies and considering presence of students from the SEDGs as a result of policy of reservation and not merit as the reason for lowering the average academic quality in their classrooms. In addition, barriers to academic integration also related to large class-sizes which are considered to present high risk

to students as these constrain teachers to engage with students, and limits both quantity and quality of curriculum coverage (Martin & Arendale, 1992).

Furthermore, the study points out that the consequences of negative attitude of teachers combined with large-class sizes and non-interactive teaching-learning methods resulted in students to hesitate to ask questions and clarify their academic doubts in their classrooms, and compelled students from the disadvantaged groups to seek support from peers more often outside their college. Such forms of coping mechanisms of seeking academic support indicate not only limited access to interactions in regular classrooms that foster academic integration, it points towards a fractured sense of belonging of students in HE campuses that can result in a feeling of marginality, low self-esteem and undermine academic performance (Strayhorn, 2012).

Availability of Supplementary Instructions on Campuses for More Social Equality in Academic Performance

Multiple studies show that availability of academic support programmes, such as supplementary instruction classes offered on campus for students from the disadvantaged groups is especially critical (Tinto, 2012; Grillo & Liest, 2013). As noted earlier, these students begin college academically under-prepared and have lower odds of graduating. Existing research affirms that campus-based efforts to provide academic support have positive benefits on their academic performance. Particularly also because families of these student groups are less likely in a position to invest their own resources in supplementary learning activities to augment academic credentials of their children as compared to high SES families.

Through supplementary instructions, students' academic requirements are supported outside of regular classroom, leading to greater academic integration of students from SEDGs and improving their social relationships with other students, in turn positively impacting their academic performance (Tinto, 2012). More specifically, existing international research on the use of tutoring and supplemental instructions in higher education show that it improves the average academic performance of students, and improves retention to graduation (Congos, 2003; Grillo & Liest, 2013). Grillo and Liest (2013) also found a positive association between quantity of hours spent in supplementary classes and students' mean GPA-more tutoring hours led to higher GPAs which then led to a higher likelihood of graduating.

Results from existing international research suggests that academically at-risk students (students whose high school ranks were lower than the average for the college entering class or those scoring 0–25th percentile range on university admission test) who had access to additional academic assistance showed significant gains in their test-scores and were more likely to persist in college compared to those who did not use these services (Hodges & White Jr., 2001; Grace-Odeleye, 2020). Similarly, a study by Entrich and Byun (2020) on involvement in supplementary learning activities at college found that access to additional learning opportunities had a compensatory effect, because students from lower SES families tended to benefit more from their participation in supplementary learning activities in terms of increased likelihood of employment.

On-Campus Supplementary Academic Support Programme with a Compensatory Agenda in India: Insights on the Purpose of the Programme, Its Features, and Characteristics of Students that it Serves

In India, policy efforts to promote equity in HE has recognised the underlying socio-economic obstacles of students from SEDGs that place them at risk of not meeting the academic demands of higher education. Federally funded on-campus academic support programmes have been initiated for students from the SEDGs (UGC, n.d.). Universities and colleges which have at least 100 students belonging to SEDGs are eligible to receive additional financial grants under this programme, mainly to organise course-specific special (supplementary) classes. Financial assistance is provided to purchase equipment's, books, journals and honorarium to coordinators, teachers and post-graduate student instructors involved in teaching and conduct of classes, including provisions of additional expenses towards the cost of part-time support staff.

The main aim of the programme is to extend additional support in academic subjects to students from the SEDGs to catch up with their peers, boosts their academic performance and reduce their failure and dropout rates. While the term 'remedial' is used in the wording of the programme, strategies adopted to provide additional academic support does not include courses taught within postsecondary education that cover content below the college level which is the widely recognised approach to remedial education (Radford, Pearson, Ho, Chambers, & Ferlazzo, 2012). The programme guidelines define remedial coaching broadly as a strategy that offers support in the form of supplementary classes connected to courses that should enable students to apply that support to the tasks required by the course (UGC, n.d.).

The academic support strategy of the programme is more aligned with the Supplemental Instruction approach (Martin & Arndale, 1992) that provides academic support in the form of study groups connected to specific courses. The broad purpose of the programme is thus to ensure that once students from the SEDGs are in the institutions of higher education, they are offered and receive appropriate learning and teaching support to successfully complete their academic courses.

Participants as Beneficiaries and Self-Referral Dimension of the Programme

Importantly, participation in the programme is voluntary, and those students who participate in the programme are considered its beneficiaries. Participation in the programme is acknowledged in the literature to form the core component of the academic support intervention, since it is only when students participate in the programme that there are chances of achieving better results (Tinto, 2012).

The results from the CPRHE study two (Malish & Sabharwal, 2015) indicate that the main source of information on the availability of classes were there teachers (71%), followed by circulars displayed on notice boards (22%), and in some cases from their friends (7%). However, the role of faculty member was limited to providing information on the availability of supplementary classes, with students self-referring themselves for seeking additional academic assistance, as opposed to being referred by their teachers. For example, students themselves identified that they need to join supplementary classes for additional academic support (71%) was a more common reason vis-à-vis teachers recommending students to join these classes (64%). The self-referral dimension of seeking additional academic support

determined characteristics of students that went beyond their socio-economic status and were serving students who experienced multiple disadvantages.

Who are the Beneficiaries of the Programme Amongst the Most Disadvantaged Groups?

While the target and grants' intent was to boost performance in courses through providing appropriate additional academic support to students from SEDGs, most students who were self-referring themselves for supplementary classes were members of more than one disadvantaged group. Students opting for the supplementary classes were those who along with their disadvantaged socio-economic background (82%), were first-generation HE learners (81%), from rural background (78%) who lacked avenues & resources in schools that aid in college preparation, and women (64%).

The extension of supplementary on-campus academic support was found to address urban-rural disparities in access to provisions of educational resources. Students opting for additional avenues of opportunities of learning and participating in the supplementary classes were more likely to be from disadvantaged geographies such as from rural locations. Importantly, students opting for supplementary classes had experienced inequitable pre-college conditions of study who had studied in under-resourced government schools (97%), transacted out-dated syllabus (close to 90%), and studied in regional language (56%), which negatively influenced their abilities of transition to English as a medium of instruction in higher education.

Women in general and specifically from the scheduled caste group were more likely than the rest to opt for supplementary classes. For example, women were more likely to attend classes (64%) vis-à-vis men (36%), and especially women from the SC (76%) and OBC (69%) groups. Under-representation of men amongst student group suggests the reluctance of male students from the disadvantaged social groups to seek additional academic support. Similar findings have also been reported in the wider literature.

Existing research suggest that while students at risk are among those who are least likely to request for help (Martin & Arndale, 1992), and caste stigma attached to supplementary classes pose further challenge for active participation (Sabharwal, 2020), men from the disadvantaged racial groups (such as African American men) are more likely to be reluctant to seek support for academic issues (Palmer, Davis, & Hilton, 2009). Hooks (2004) explains that male sense of pride stems from a façade of confidence and masculinity that impedes their abilities to access campus resources, such as supplementary tutoring services.

Preponderance of Final Year Students and Those in High-Risk Programmes and Subjects

Supplementary tutoring was being sought mainly by students from the final year at the undergraduate levels predominantly to improve their chances to improve their exam marks and to clear their back-papers to successfully complete their higher education degree. For example, those attending supplementary classes, majority of the students (86%) were studying at the under-graduate (UG) level and the rest at the post-graduate levels. Further, 81% of the UG level students were in their 3rd year (final year), 11% in the 1st year and rest in the 2nd year (8%). Most students reported that they had one un-cleared back-paper (69%) followed by having less than 3 back papers (21%) and close to 7% reported to have more than 5 back

papers. The study further shows that most students (72%) with at least one un-cleared back-paper were studying in their final year, followed by students in 2nd year (17%).

Further, majority of students attending supplementary classes were enrolled in Bachelor of Arts (BA) programme (40%) offering social sciences and humanities subjects that most often have large class sizes that provide students with little opportunity for interaction with the professor or the other students. Economics and English were the two main subjects that students were seeking additional academic support followed by history, political science and geography-as these were the subjects offered in the BA programme.

On average, students in supplementary classes were also seeking additional academic assistance in traditionally difficult programmes and subjects (Bachelor of Science-29%; Bachelor in Technology & Bachelor in Computer Application: 20%, and Bachelor of Commerce-10%) that presents high-risk to students of failing or achieving barely passing grade. In the literature, common high-risk courses include science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) subjects (Dawson, van der Meer, Skalicky, & Cowley, 2014). Likewise, students reported to be seeking additional academic support in STEM subjects, such as, physics, chemistry, mathematics, statistics, computer programming and computer applications.

Academic Enhancement Expectations from Supplementary Classes

Similar to academic enhancement reasons of high SES families for investing in additional instructions for their children as noted earlier, students from SEDGs expected these classes which were offered by their HEIs to enhance their academic skills and improve marks in exams in the subjects (91%). Students also expected that these classes will improve their knowledge in core subjects, spoken English and communication skills, writing skills, study skills & time management skills. In addition, students expected to improve their social skills, in particular by enhancing their group discussion skills.

These findings indicate that students were aware of their academic needs, were taking steps for their improvement and relied on supplementary classes as a form of additional academic as well as social support. Majority of students (86%) attending supplementary classes were not seeking private supplementary tutoring in any of the subjects that they were studying at college. In other words, for students from the SEDGs, supplementary classes offered by their HEIs are the only source of avenue to enhance their knowledge in core subjects and clear their academic doubts. In its absence students noted *'we would not have been able to continue if supplementary instructions were not available',* implying that their persistence rested on the availability and additional learning provided in the supplementary classes.

Supportive Features of Supplementary Classes: Small Groups/Class-Size, Discussion Method and Bi-Lingual Instructions

Existing literature shows that an important feature of supplementary instruction classes is its small class size that promote high levels of student interaction and supports student learnings (Tinto, 1993; Martin & Arndale, 1992). Research consistently points out that opportunities of personal interactions and feedback from teachers offered by small study groups of students is

associated with creating a sense of belonging (instead of marginalisation) and positively influence student retention, especially of at-risk students (Tinto, 1993).

In the context of India, three important dimensions of supplementary classes emerged to be most supportive of students learning and were often mentioned by participating students. These dimensions included small class size, interactive-discussion based pedagogy and bi-lingual medium of instruction. The class-size, teaching method and language of instruction in supplementary classes were also found to be in sharp contrast to regular classes, that were large in size, followed lecture-based method and used English as a medium of instruction (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016).

Small class size of supplementary classes (on average it was less than 25 students) enabled opportunities for students of greater engagement with regular teachers who were also teaching in the supplementary classes. Beyond facilitating additional personal interaction with teachers, advantages to students of small class size included teachers encouraging discussion and following a bi-lingual medium of instruction, which helped in creating a collaborative classroom learning environment and promoted greater peer-group interaction. The pedagogical style of the discussion method in supplementary classes coupled with comfort in the medium of instruction created an interactive academic environment in the classroom and increased confidence of students to ask questions and clear their doubts.

Importantly, classes being free of cost (84%) and study notes being provided (80%) were major supportive elements mentioned by participating students. In addition, classes being based on learning needs of students with a focus on students' individual problems and difficulties provided supportive and safe spaces that facilitated sharing of common problems and a feeling of connectedness. Group learning in homogenous academic peer groups in a diverse environment has been acknowledged in the literature to improve students' self-confidence, increase social connections of students to their HEIs and improve academic performance (Webb, 1989), in turn impacting their retention.

Attendance Barriers Faced by Students

As a result of supportive dimensions of teaching-learning processes being followed in supplementary classes and classes being free of cost, the CPRHE study two (Malish & Sabharwal, 2015) shows majority of students from the SEDGs who volunteered to participate in this programme were attending their classes regularly (70%). However, the CPRHE studies show that some challenges persisted that posed as barriers to their attendance. Barriers that students navigated to attend their supplementary classes related to students' disadvantaged family background; inconvenient timings of the classes; inefficient implementation in the form of lack of information on classes, classes not held regularly and delay in provision of supplementary classes to end of academic term.

Irregularity in Attendance and Poverty

A major reason for students not able to attend supplementary classes regularly (especially, those that were held after college hours) was because they were engaged in part-time jobs after college to supplement household income or helping in household chores. Working in jobs

took away time from students' studies and made it difficult in managing the workload of both regular and supplementary classes.

Timings of the Classes

Since majority of students attending supplementary classes were from the rural areas, distance of their college from their place of residence and class timings posed as a major challenge to students. Challenges of distance and timing of the classes resulted due to lack of transport facilities early in the morning and late in the evening, and, concerns of safety, since many of the students were travelling from far away and remote areas. Irregular supply of electricity posed as an additional barrier in efficient use of supplementary classes, especially if the classes were held during evening time.

Irregularity in Attendance and Caste Stigma

The student survey also revealed that students felt a fear of social stigma in attending supplementary classes, especially as participation stigmatised students of particular social groups with a remedial status. Spearman correlation revealed significant inverse association between regularity in attendance and feeling that the classes were attached with a caste stigma (r=-.11). In other words, the more the feeling of stigma attached to attending remedial classes, less likely was the regularity of attendance to these classes. These results are similar to findings in the literature that have found students feeling a social stigma (caste-in case of India) and shame attached to attendance in supplementary classes (Martin & Arndale, 1992; Mori, 2013; Sabharwal, 2020).

Inefficient Implementation of Student Support Mechanisms by HEIs Influencing Participation

It is noted in the literature that those students who volunteer to participate are students who are motivated to learn, which is considered critical to academic success (Tinto, 1993). The results from the CPRHE studies suggest that while traits such as motivation and perseverance could influence students taking advantage of the supplementary classes, an inefficient implementation of student support mechanisms by HEIs emerged as another important barrier to participation in the supplementary classes. This took the form of lack of information from HEIs on availability of classes, supplementary classes not being held regularly, and delay in organisation of classes.

Lack of Information from HEIs on Availability of Classes

The results from the CPRHE study one (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016) suggests that participation is influenced by possessing knowledge of availability of provisions of support services. The results from this study show that a large majority of students (60 %) were not aware that their HEIs were extending supplementary academic support. Since students did not have information, the uptake of the programme was accordingly lower in the case-study HEIs. For example, 59 % of students from the SC group did not participate and avail benefits of the supplementary academic support provided at their HEIs (Sabharwal & Malish, 2016).

Supplementary Classes are not Held Regularly

While the majority of the students (65%) who attended supplementary classes reported that their classes were held regularly, 35% of the students indicated otherwise (Malish & Sabharwal, 2015). Reasons of classes not being held regularly most often mentioned by the programme coordinators included: limited availability of teachers after college hours or on holidays to teach in supplementary classes; low remuneration provided to the teachers for their additional efforts with many teachers not interested in taking these classes, and delay in payment to teachers who taught in supplementary instruction classes.

Delay in Organisation of Classes During the Academic Session

An important challenge that students faced was that the provision of academic support which must happen in the early period of academic year was being delayed and shifted to end of the academic term. The findings from the CPRHE study (Malish & Sabharwal, 2015) indicate that the classes were mainly organised after the results of the middle of the semester for courses with high failure rates in mid-semester exam or being held two-three times weeks before the end-semester exam. The organisation of the supplementary classes being delayed to the end of the academic year, created a situation of completing all classes in a short period of time, increasing vulnerabilities of students, and placing them at risk of academic failure.

Concluding Observations

This paper attempted to shed light on the nature of academic challenges faced by students from the SEDGs in India and argued that on-campus state supported academic support programmes are important mechanisms of creating conditions of re-distributing opportunities of learnings and advancing equity in higher education. Provisions of state supported on-campus academic support programmes are especially relevant since existing literature indicates in abilities of low SES families to spend on private tutoring to provide additional academic support and augment academic credentials of their children. Inequality in such forms of human capital investments means that students from high SES families have greater opportunities of acquiring knowledge and skills that increases their likelihood of gaining access to better career opportunities and access to subsequent economic opportunities, which in turn contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities in a society.

This paper demonstrates the important role state-supported supplementary instruction classes were performing in providing equal opportunity to students from low SES families, female students and those residing in rural areas, to seek additional academic support. Like students from high SES families, students whose parents are unable to invest and support their academic efforts had access to additional academic support through supplementary classes provided by their HEIs. Further, the teaching-learning dimensions followed in supplementary classes were more supportive to their learning vis-à-vis the environment of their regular classes.

The findings in the paper further revealed that students recognised the importance of accessing on-campus academic support for augmenting their academic credentials and were

self-referring themselves for seeking supplementary instructions. Unfortunately, their institutions were not informing them and delaying providing academic support, often too late in the course of their programme and their semester. This delay placed students from SEDGs at a considerable disadvantage – from a poorer academic starting point, they were having to catch up with their peers within a significantly reduced time frame.

It is important that institutions (1) shift their perspective of providing academic support programme from a reactive to a proactive mode and consider the delivery of supplementary instruction services from the first day of classes, (2) disseminate the information on availability of classes more widely and through multiple channels, (3) identify and attach supplementary instructions with high-risk courses and programmes with large-class sizes, (4) include course related study skills instructions (for example, encouraging reading of additional articles in the reference lists, or instructions on how to make notes) integrated with the content of academic disciplines, and (5) encourage participation of all students in supplementary classes irrespective of their socio-economic background so that students from SEDGs are able to participate without fear of stigma.

In conclusion, there is more research needed to examine the impact of participation in HE supplementary classes on academic performance and compare it with non-users of academic support. The analysis suggests that early intervention and pro-active support by HEIs will provide more equal and inclusive conditions for students from the disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds to improve their academic performance, enhance retention and promote academic success. Future research should consider similar analyses of supplementary instruction programmes at colleges, globally, where HE systems have significantly diverse socio-economic student cohorts with learning needs that remain unmet in regular classrooms.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses her gratitude to Professor N. V. Varghese, Professor Entrich and members of the research advisory group of the CPRHE studies for their comments.

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

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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.

https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v8i2.06

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, Nordänger, & 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

the hybrid′s professional life ("liminal space"), since negative and "perverse" experiences in the liminal space risks perpetuating identity conflict and prevent identity transition, which would undermine their potential strength as hybrids. On the other hand, if the negative experience is temporary and transitional, or manageable, professional hybrids are able to improve potential strength as hybrids and retain influence across multiple organizational areas. Heggen (2008) points out that qualification for a professional practice is about identifying with a professional field and a profession; and to identify as a professional in this field. Based on a distinction between professional identity on an individual level and at the collective level, the work of creating and maintaining a professional identity takes place on two fronts: towards other members of the profession and towards different groups outside the profession. The teachers in the study must construct their professional identity through identification with, and against, different professional identities. Days, Kington, Stobart, & Simmons (2006) highlights the importance of social agency in the creation of teachers' professional identity: the relationship between individual agency and social structures (power and status). Individual agency is not just based on the influence teachers have, their personal biography is also an important factor in the creation of professional identity.

The theory of *policy enactment* (Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins, 2011) is used to explore how the teachers in the study perceive their expected role and teaching practice in relation to the syllabus of visual art (NAE, 2019, pp. 26–32) and what resources are given to them to reach the course objectives. Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins (2011) point out the importance of understanding how teachers creatively work to interpret policy texts and translate these into practices, in real material conditions and with varying resources. It also means that the implementation of these policies depends on the right conditions and resources for achieving the goals. Since the teachers in the study work in two different educational activities, their policy work also involves the goals for the educare centre (NAE, 2019, pp. 22–25).

Previous Research

Andersson (2013) has studied how SAE-teachers′ professional orientation has developed in different contexts. The new teacher education enables a re-professionalization, or reshaping, of the profession. Decisive factors for the outcome are the organization of educational practice and the teachers′ working conditions. The members of this new professional category thus find themselves in what Andersson calls "the field of tension between traditions and the new policy intentions". In this field of tension they are not only expected to find a balance across the boundaries between two different assignments, they are also expected to construct autonomous teacher identities. Hansen (1999) examined primary school teachers' and SAE-teachers conceptions of their professional identities from an ethnographic approach. Her results show teachers dependence on the tradition where they belong. Whereas the primary school teachers' professional culture is described as a culture with a relatively strong classification and framing, the SAE-teachers' culture is described as a culture with weaker classifications and framing.

In 2014 Ackesjö, Nordänger, & Lindqvist (2016, 2018) started a longitudinal research project where they followed students' professional development during their first five years in the labor market, after they graduated in the new SAE-teacher program of 2011. The results show that the teachers after a few years in the profession experienced an ambiguity in their professional role, as if they both belonged everywhere and nowhere in the tension field that is created between school and the educare centre. Results also show how students orient themselves in different directions. While the majority express a bounded identity disposition, identifying themselves with a traditional profession in the educare centre and distancing themselves from teaching the practical/aesthetical subject they have studied before graduation, some students assumed a dual and split professional identity. They had a self-perception that contained both SAE-teacher and schoolteacher, or that they struggled to identify themselves as a new kind of hybrid profession. For these cross-boundary groups working life also becomes a struggle. They often find themselves in a two-front war, with a sense of not belonging entirely either to school teachers or teachers in the educare centre, constantly fighting for legitimacy. Berglund, Lager, Lundquist, & Gustafsson Nyckel (2019) highlight the opportunities that dual competence can provide to strengthen primary education through an innovative perspective. Through focus group interviews, they examined students' self-perception before graduating in SAE-teacher education of 2011. They distinguished three different positions in relation to the dual competence requirement: Re-creators, Co-Creators and Innovators. While the Re-creators actively choose to become either a teacher in the school-age educare *or* his subject, the Co-creators adapts to the education's implementation, producing parallel skills. The Innovators displays a productive creative competence in which the students use their practical aesthetic subject knowledge in the school-age educare activities, and their school-age educare skills in the teaching of the practical aesthetic subject.

Chapman, Wright, & Pascoe (2017) has studied policy enactment in primary arts education in Western Australia. They emphasize access to learning opportunities, quality support from school leadership personnel and development of arts resources, both physical and material as important factors to minimize disruption and make enactment effective in student learning. A negative factor they found in their study on policy enactment was lack of value for the arts as a learning area from the school management.

Method and Context

As a starting point, a questionnaire was sent to principals in three Swedish municipalities in order to find informants. The principals were asked if they had any SAEC-teachers graduated after 2011 teaching visual art at their school. If this was not the case, they had to clarify what kind of teacher did have this assignment. Even though not all of the principals answered the questionnaire (the response rate was 54 %), the responses gave a clear indication that relatively few certified SAE-teachers (graduated after 2011) taught visual art. Furthermore, the questionnaire showed that teachers that were not certified to teach art made up about half of those who taught visual art.[3] *Municipality A* (133 schools) had six SAE-teachers graduated after 2011 with a certification in visual art, *Municipality B* (38 schools) had four, and *Municipality*

3 The questionnaire was sent through mail in February 2019.

C (16 schools) had two teachers. Of these twelve teachers, nine accepted to participate in the study. Contact with the informants was made through their principals. They will be referred to as *Teachers 1–9.* The distribution is as follows: *Municipality A: Teachers 1, 2, 3, 4*; *Municipality B: Teachers 5, 6, 7; Municipality C: 8, 9.*

The study is based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). In addition, observations were used as a data collection tool. Visual art lectures and the physical and material environment, such as school premises and art material, were observed in order to study the resources for reaching the goals in the policy text (Wragg, 2011). The informants taught visual art with different grades 1–6 and to a varying degree of their assignment as SAE-teachers (10–49 %).[4] Observations were made of one or two visual art lessons with each teacher. The lessons involved school years 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. The analysis of the data from interviews and observations has been carried out using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Regarding the findings in this study there needs to be a note of caution. There are limitations to the study. The sample in the study limits transferability, since it was sampled from only nine SAE-teachers teaching visual art in three municipalities. From a qualitative approach, the intent is, however, to reach a wider and deeper understanding of the teachers' description of their school practice and their professional identity, as well as their interpretation and translation of the policy texts. This has been done through carefully conducted interviews that gave the informants time to reflect, as well as a close reading of the interviews, together with observations of the physical and material environment.

The data material in the study was collected in accordance with the Swedish Research Council's (2011) ethical principles for research concerning information, consent, confidentiality and use. Teachers and pupils' caregivers were provided with written information, after which they gave their approval for participation. Participants are guaranteed confidentiality, and the description of lessons and school environments is carried out so that no one can be identified. The presentation of the result is used solely for research purposes.

Results

Interviews and observations provides insights into what it means to work as a SAEC-teacher teaching visual art in primary schools, working 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. The table below displays relevant background data for each teacher who participated in the study:

4 Interviews and observations were conducted in February-April 2019. The interviews took place in the local school context, in a group-room or the classroom when the pupils where not there. The transcription from the recordings has been adapted to written language codes, using punctuation, etc. The interviews ranged in duration from 35 to 90 min, they were recorded on a portable mini-disc recorder.

Table 1

	Graduated	Employed at this school	Teaching visual art	Years	Other assign-ments	Teaching premise	Group size
Teacher 1	2014	2015	49 %	Year 4, 5, 6	Educare-centre year 2, 3	Art class room	Full class Half class
Teacher 2	2015	2015	10 %	Year 2	Educare centre year 1, 2 Assist-ing in school	Class room	Half class
Teacher 3	2017	2017	49 %	Year 3, 4, 5, 6	Educare centre year 1 – 2	Art class room	Half class
Teacher 4	2016	2018	49 %	Year 3, 4, 5, 6	Educare centre year 4	Art class room	Full class
Teacher 5	2016	2016	25 %	Year 2, 3	Educare centre year 2, 3 Assist-ing in school	Art class room	Full class
Teacher 6	2016	2016	25 %	Year 1 – 6	Educare centre year F-4 Assisting in school	Art class room	Full class
Teacher 7	2014	2014	25 %	Year 4, 5, 6	Educare centre year 2, 3 Assisting in school	Art class room	Half class
Teacher 8	2017	2018	10 %	Year 2, 3	Educare centre year 2, 3 Assisting in school	Class room	Full class
Teacher 9	2014	2014	10 %	Year 2, 3	Educare centre year F, 1 Assisting in school	Class room	Full class

The results of the interviews and observations are presented through five themes that emerged in the analysis of the data:

– Negotiation and compromise
– Sufficient/ insufficient resources
– Holistic perspective on visual art

– A difficult work situation
– A conflicted professional identity

Negotiation and Compromise

When teachers describe their experiences of teaching visual art, a clear pattern emerges of teachers forced to be active subjects who have to negotiate and compromise in order to get acceptable work conditions. "Negotiation and compromise" appears as the first theme in the study. Seven of the teachers made an active choice to teach visual art during their teacher education (*Teachers 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, & 9*). They also express a clear personal interest in visual art. Significant is that three had a previous education in visual design (*Teachers 1, 4, & 8*). After graduation, the desire to teach visual art remained. But to get this assignment, all but one had to position themselves as active subjects. This meant that they clearly had to articulate their desire to teach visual art towards the school management. Five teachers had to clearly state that they wanted to teach visual art while they were on their job interview. They made it a requirement (*Teachers 1, 4, 6, 7, & 8*). As job seekers, these teachers had to work actively to be able to teach visual art since they became employed as SAE-teachers. For three of them, it required a great deal of effort since they had been denied teaching visual art at their previous workplace (*Teachers 1, 4, & 8*). *Teacher 8* demonstrates this:

> To be able to teach visual art was one of the reasons why I switched schools, I was denied that at my previous school. At the job interview, I was promised to teach visual art, and that was one of my criteria for taking this assignment. It was something that I actively sought.

Two of the teachers had not actively chosen to teach visual art during their education, and they express no personal interest in the subject (*Teachers 2, & 3*). However, they express that after they initially felt uncertain about their competence, they have developed with the task.

All of the informants have an assignment as SAE-teachers. The educare-centre is their main educational mission. In addition to working in the educare-centre and teaching visual art, they assist class teachers in school as well as look after pupils on school breaks. The informants also describe that they often have to substitute for absent schoolteachers. This is not formulated in the assignment, but it is expected of them. Decisions around the schedule and the structure of the assignment are constructed in an assignment dialogue between the principal and the SAE-teacher. There are no detailed rules. The assignment can be changed from one school year to another, just like their work schedule, school premises and other resources. In addition, the teachers describe regulations regarding their schedule and the structure of their assignment as unclear on many points, where school management also lacks knowledge of the application. As shown in Table 1, the informants' assignment as visual art teachers varies from 10 to 49 %, where three of them teach visual art for 49 % of their assignment. The percentage of time they teach visual art (if they, for example, would teach 49 %) corresponds between the informants, since the scheduling time is broadly consistent and none of them has scheduled time for grading and teacher meetings. The SAE-teachers get their assignment regulated by where they have their main task. If they would have worked more than 50 % as visual art teachers, they should be offered an employment with a holiday leave. Since all of the informants have an assignment as SAE-teachers, it means that if they work less than 50 % as a

visual art teacher, they work on school holidays. Two of the informants claim that if they had been hired as visual art teachers instead of SAE-teachers, they would have had a higher pay (*Teacher 1, & 4*). *Teacher 4* considers study to get a certification in a theoretical school subject in order to get a full time assignment as teacher.

When decisions around the schedule and the structure of the assignment are constructed in an assignment dialogue between the teacher and the principal, teachers that have a strong desire to teach visual art are put in a vulnerable position. It is largely on the principal's responsibility to recognize the teacher's specific competence and to provide good working conditions. The fact that teachers have to negotiate to get acceptable working conditions highlights how teachers risk being at a disadvantage in the process that governs their terms of employment. These structural problems force these teachers to be active subjects who negotiate and compromise.

Sufficient/ Insufficient Resources

When it comes to the resources that are provided to the teachers to be able to conduct their visual art education, which is a prerequisite to achieve the course objectives in the syllabus for visual art, the data shows that they are to some extent sufficient, although the shortcomings are predominant. Based on this, "Sufficient/ insufficient resources" is distinguished as the second theme in the study.

Six teachers taught in a classroom that was adapted for visual arts education. However, observations showed that two of them shared the classroom with other school subjects (*Teachers 4, & 6*). Three teachers taught visual art in the pupils′ classroom. Observations showed that these teachers were forced to carry visual art material to the classroom. Another thing that emerged in the observations were problems with storing pupils' work (*Teachers 2, 5, 8, & 9*). This aspect was never brought up in the interviews.

Teachers are predominantly satisfied with the availability of materials. However, *Teachers 2, & 3* express that the budget restrictions prevents them from purchasing some of the visual art material they would like to use. Lack of access to computers is another problem that is mentioned by three teachers (*Teachers 2, 6, &* 8). Problems with resources such as facilities, equipment and supplies affects the design of the visual art classes. *Teacher 3* describes this:

> We had no money when I started working here; I only had oil pastel crayons and bottle color. I barely had any paper. (…) Then I had to make film. We had no choice. We worked with fundamental values, images, film and ICT.

When it comes to time resources, all of the teachers describe the planning time for lessons they have in their schedule as broadly sufficient for the basic needs. However, the problem is that they often have to substitute for other schoolteachers on their planning time. The time that the informants get for planning is broadly consistent. They describe that the planning time is 50 % of the teaching time, which means that ten hours of teaching gives five hours of planning time. According to the informants, schools seem to respect their need for planning time, but they often have to replace an absent colleague.

What is most noticeable in the interviews is the lack of time resources when it comes to school scheduling, scheduled time for grading and reviewing pupils and time to attend staff

meetings. Five teachers describe problems with the school schedule as they only have short lessons of about 40 minutes (*Teachers 2, 4, 5, 8, & 9*). This means that lessons are too short for pupils to complete their tasks, and also that teachers spend too much of the lesson time producing and removing material. The schedule is adapted to other school education and it has been difficult to get a change. Observations confirmed that short time frame for lessons added stress to the work situation, both for the teacher and the pupils. The observed lessons also showed that different group sizes affects the sound level in the classroom. It also affects teachers' opportunities to instruct and help pupils. Inevitably, it has significance onthe design of the lesson. Six of the lessons were completed in full class, while three were completed in half class. For the majority of the informants, this means that the execution of the lesson places great demands on them.

What is remarkable is that none of the informants has scheduled time for grading and reviewing pupils. They also lack opportunity to attend teacher meetings and full day staff meetings, which causes considerable problems:

I can never attend any full day staff meetings. Then I have to work at the leisure-time centre.[5] It's such an opportunity that I would have needed to attend, because I don't have any other chances to gather with the other teachers. For example, I know nothing about some of the pupils who come here and things can turn out completely wrong. Therefore, you get to figure out later that this pupil has a problem. I never get any time to find out about these things or to discuss arrangements with other teachers. (*Teacher 4*)

The quote above is characteristic of what teachers describe in the interviews. It clearly indicates problems with time resources that has an effect on the teachers' ability to achieve the course objectives for all pupils. Not being able to attend staff meetings limits the teachers' ability to make individual adjustments for pupils with special needs. Not having the opportunity to meet the teacher staff limits the possibility to integrate visual art with other school subjects. Furthermore, it can also negatively affect the teachers' ability to become part of the teacher team.

When it comes to educational resources, four teachers describe deficiencies in the teacher education in terms of basic practical skills (*Teachers 1, 2, 4, & 7*).Five teachers claim that they experience lack of knowledge in grading pupils (*Teachers 1, 2, 4, 7, & 9*). This can have negative effects when it comes to a fair assessment of pupils′ knowledge. None of the teachers has been given the opportunity to receive continuing education, such as courses or study days with other visual art teachers. It forces them to seek knowledge on their own through various channels, often on the internet. This is described by *Teacher 6:*

Competence development is what I miss the most. YouTube is my friend sometimes if I don′t know how to make an art assignment, since I never meet any other visual art teachers. I never get to go on any network meeting for visual art teachers, or courses, so I always try to find new things to do with the resources I have.

The quote shows shortcomings in educational resources. It also indicates that the teacher is forced to be entrepreneurial when it comes to seeking knowledge in order to reach the course objectives. The need to be an active subject, and to use existing resources in a creative way, is also characteristic of the challenges that teachers face when they need to conduct lessons in a short time frame and/or with full classes of pupils. This also applies when teachers need to teach in the pupils' classroom and need to carry material to each lesson. Other challenges are the lack of time resources, not having scheduled enough time for grading and reviewing pupils′ assessments and being denied the possibility to attend full day staff meetings. The lack

5 Informants use the term "leisure-time centre", which is used in everyday practice.

of resources not only affects the teachers′ work situation, it also affects their possibilities to achieve the course objectives in the syllabus of visual art (NAE, 2019, pp. 26–32). The study shows that even if there are some resources for teaching visual art that are sufficient, the limitations are more prominent. The lack of resources for teaching visual art is a structural problem that is added to the problems that teachers experience in the process when their terms of assignment are to be determined.

Holistic Perspective on Visual Art

When teachers describe their practice of teaching visual art, and how they perceive the subject, a holistic perspective emerges which is clearly linked to their dual competence. "Holistic perspective on visual art" emerges as a third theme in study. All teachers describe the syllabus as open to different interpretations, where it is often demanding and difficult to achieve all of the course objectives. When teachers describe their teaching and their lesson plans for a longer period, it becomes clear that they closely follow the syllabus for visual art (NAE, 2019, pp. 26–32) with an aim to reach the course objectives. It is nothing remarkable because it lies in their teaching assignment to reach these course objectives. Based on this, they grade and review their pupils. What is interesting, however, is that when they describe their view on the subject, all of them express an integrated view of visual art in relation to other school subjects. Significant is that they highlight a holistic perspective on visual art in relation to pupils′ learning and development which extends beyond the subject itself. Visual art is seen as an opportunity to enhance pupils′ learning, but also self-confidence and motor skills. In what is formulated by the teachers, there are major similarities with the learning objectives for school-age educare not just in terms of aesthetic creativity, but also the overall view on pupils′ learning and development. These learning objectives regard aesthetics as optional activities. From a holistic perspective on the pupil, these activities promote an informal learning (NAE, 2019, pp. 22–25). The holistic perspective emerges clearly when six teachers promote an integrated view of pupils′ learning where visual art can be used as a resource in school education as a whole (*Teachers 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, & 8*). However, their experience is that the potential of visual art is not fully used in school. The following quotes from the interviews illustrates this theme:

> I think that many children need the practicality of visual art. It could be much more interwoven with the theoretical subjects. It is a very small part of school education, but many children would need more. They have a longing when they come in to the visual art class and it is fun to see their development while working with them. The curiosity they have, I think it's great fun. (*Teacher 8*)

> Unfortunately, I think visual art is a bit tucked away. (…) I think it is wrong to believe that you conduct visual art education on the lessons just because you draw a little. Moreover, it is a problem that you do not see that it is new knowledge that can be used for more than when you just sit and draw. One of the most important things is that you see competencies of the pupils that you may not see in other subjects. Someone who does not feel secure in theoretical subjects may have an easier time mastering visual art, may have easier to sit still. (*Teacher 2*)

These quotes not only just show a holistic perspective on pupils′ learning and development where the teachers have a specific dual competence, but also experiences of visual art having a low status in school, together with lack of knowledge about the subject and its potential for

pupils′ learning. This raises questions about whether deficiencies in using visual art as a resource in school education is linked to aspects such as the subject′s status and knowledge of it.

The lessons observed clearly showed that the teachers work towards the course objectives for visual art. The teachers that had lessons in year 4–6 presented the course objectives for the pupils.Seven of the teachers use self-made prototypes for the assignment, where the course objectives were attached (*Teachers 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, & 9*).The prototypes were described as a tried-and-tested method that clarifies the assignment for the pupil. Instead of a prototype, *Teacher 4* made a simple sketch on the white-board, while *Teacher 5* used a film to instruct. They both described prototypes as too controlling and limiting for creativity and that there were risks of comparison with the teachers images. *Teachers 6, & 7* used reflection papers where the pupil answers questions about the assignment afterward. The purpose was to increase the pupils' ability to reflect on their own learning process.

What appears in the observation material shows, just as in the teachers′ descriptions of their teaching and their lesson plans, that they work clearly towards the course objectives. It is also, what is expected of them in their teaching assignment. In addition, pupils are assessed against these course objectives. What is not as obvious, however, is that in their description of visual art, they express a holistic view that is consistent with the learning objectives for school-age educare. Prominence here is their view on visual creativity and its opportunities to strengthen the pupils′ learning and development from a holistic perspective that complies with the learning objectives for the educare centre. Furthermore, the holistic perspective is also visible in the integrated view on education that is expressed by six teachers, where visual art is seen as a resource for pupils learning and development in school education. The "Holistic perspective on visual art" that appears as a third theme in the data thus encompasses several factors that have a development factor in education. The ability to use the dual competence in the development of school education is an example of competent hybridization.

A Difficult Work Situation

All teachers describe negative effects of working in two different educational activities, but to varying degrees. They all describe their work situation as stressful and conflicting and that there is too little planning time for the activities in the educare centre. Furthermore, they feel that school education has the highest priority, which also means substituting for absent teachers. Overall, the teachers experience a lot of frustration and stress. "A difficult work situation" appears as a fourth theme in the study. Variation in negative experiences is related to the amount of time the SAE-teacher teaches visual art. As presented in Table 1, this varies from 10 to 49% among the informants, where three of them teach visual art 49% of their assignment. The percentage they teach visual art (if they, for example, would teach 49%) corresponds between the informants. The more the informants teach visual art the more stressful and conflicting they experience their work situation. This is also related to requirements to grade pupils in year 6, which is the case of five teachers who also have a lot of teaching (*Teachers 1, 3, 4, 6, & 7*). Important factors are also if they experience problems with pupils′ school schedule and if they have other assignments during the school day. After school

ends, they work in the educare centre. In addition to taking care of large groups of children, they are also expected to offer educational activities. These activities are voluntary and based on the educational goals of the educare centre (NAE, 2019, pp. 22–25). The informants have about 50 % of their assignment in the educare centre, where the selection of children varies from year 1 to year 4. The following two quotes are representative for the teachers′ description of their work situation as a whole:

A bit stressful. Or very stressful at times. Because you have to teach visual art and you have to grade, you have to develop pupils, and then you have to work in the leisure-time centre, which requires something completely different from you. You get very tired. I had wanted to focus on one thing, I think. That is how I look at it. It may sound very negative. However, it is a little bit negative when I think about it. It is actually so. *(Teacher 3)*

I have a so-called combi-assignment. It's fun to teach visual art during school hours. You get the overall perspective on the children. But it's intense. Sometimes you feel very insufficient. During school time, we are many teachers who work around the children, and then when the school ends it is the same number of children, but then we are fewer teachers. Then you should be enough for the children, it′s their afternoon. When they are tired. (*Teacher 9)*

The quotes show how teachers experience stress and conflict when working in two different educational activities where they to a high degree are alienated from the process that determines the process of their work conditions when having dual roles. Expectations and demands from pupils, schoolteachers and school management create a conflicted work situation. Informants describe support from the school′s management and support from colleagues in the educare centre as important factors to cope with their work situation. Here there are differences between teachers in how they experience the degree of support. When it comes to support from the school management, it is highly dependent on these people′s knowledge of the education in the educare center and SAE-teachers competencies. As mentioned before, the teachers describe regulations regarding their schedule and the structure of their assignment as unclear on many points, where school management also lack knowledge of the application. Together, what is described here indicates the need for SAE-teachers teaching visual art to be active subjects who have the ability to demand support from management and colleagues. It also indicates that resources intended for the educare centre are used to support school education. Following quote illustrates this:

Right now, I'm working with a fantastic team in the leisure-time centre. Wouldn't it be for these girls, I don't think I would manage to work so much and in this way. I have a lot of support there. They know that some days it's better to let me be outdoors with the kids, instead of letting me take care of an activity. Some days, teaching visual art is very demanding. (…) During a regular week, it works well, but when it is time to grade the pupils it gets tougher. Then I have very good support from my team in the leisure-time centre. They make sure that I sometimes have the opportunity to go away and work with grading.
(*Teacher 1*)

The quote shows that resources intended for the educare centre are used when *Teacher 1* goes away to grade after the school day is ended. Other teachers also bring this up. Finishing up after visual art lessons is another example of this that is mentioned in the interviews. These structural problems raise questions about what happens with the quality of the education in educare centre when resources are used to support school education. It also raises questions about what happens with teachers that don′t work with a supportive team in the educare centre. *Teacher 7* describes this:

You work throughout the whole school day, and then you go to the leisure-time centre, and you are pretty tired. Because you work so intensely during the days and then you try to keep up with planning for the leisure-time centre

and we don't have much planning time for these activities. There are far fewer hours compared to school. Even if I work 50 % in the leisure-time centre and 25 % with visual art, I have less planning time for the leisure-time centre. The visual art classes are no problem to get together, but the activities in the leisure-time centre is a much bigger problem. I am also the only educated person in my team. So then, you have to fight extra because of this. I'm the team leader at the leisure-time centre.

Like the other informants, *Teacher 7* highlights the problem of being drained of energy when the school day is over. Furthermore, she describes the problem of being the only educated person in the team where she is forced to take on a leadership role. Overall, a pattern emerges in the study of teachers experiencing a difficult work situation. Dual educational roles creates pressure and stress, which is reinforced by the fact that these teachers to a high degree are alienated from the process that determines their work conditions. It also takes resources from the educare center. Together with the fact that teachers experience themselves as being drained of energy, this risks having a negative impact on achieving the goals for the educare centre in the curriculum. Consequently, the structural problems highlighted by the informants risk having negative consequences not only on the possibilities of achieving the course objectives for visual art, but also the opportunities to achieve the goals for the educare centre.

A Conflicted Professional Identity

All informants describe their primary professional identity as "SAE-teacher". This is what they have studied to become, and what they are employed as. They also describe themselves as part of a teaching team in the educare centre. They feel connected with their colleagues here, even if they have different tasks during the school day. There is a well-functioning collaboration where you are expected to help each other. They do not feel that they are fully part of the schoolteachers' team in the same way. The majority of the teachers experience conflicts with having two different educational roles. Overall, they express difficulties in combining their dual competence in the professional identity. One teacher is the exception as described below. "A conflicted professional identity" emerges as the fifth theme in the study. Teachers describes themselves as being "torn between" different roles and different educational activities, as if they are difficult to combine. It does not only affect how they view their work situation, but also how they perceive their professional identity since they are interwoven. The following quotes illustrates this:

It's children coming throughout the day, back and forth, and you are very much torn between it. It's a bit complex, I think. And you are not only torn between groups of children, but you are also torn between two very different activities. It's partly personal, but also because of the children's view of you. When am I a teacher, and when am I a leisure-time teacher?[6] Because it's two different roles. *(Teacher 4)*

Then I would say that I'm a leisure-time pedagogue. That's what I've been all the time I worked here. I can still react when the children say 'there goes my visual art teacher'. That's right, I'm a visual art teacher, but I feel most like a leisure-time pedagogue. *(Teacher 5)*

One teacher expresses how she ends up in-between two educational roles:

6 Informants use the term "leisure-time teacher" or "leisure-time pedagogue", which is used in everyday practice.

The thing is that after this teacher education you end up somewhere 'between the chairs' (neither here nor there). For one cannot work at the leisure-time centre as a whole because you are grading pupils, and it is an important part of everyday work life. At the same time, you are not a real teacher either. *(Teacher 1)*

The statement from *Teacher 1* about not being a "real teacher" and at the same time experience difficulties in fully participating in the activities of the educare centre is a clear expression of a conflicted professional identity.

In the interview material, one teacher stands out as an exception. Despite describing her primary professional identity as SAE-teacher, she does not express conflicts with having two educational roles:

I thought about it the other day. Who am I? I have different roles. When I'm in the leisure-time centre then I'm a leisure-time pedagogue. When I'm in the visual arts class room, I'm not a leisure-time pedagogue. I am a visual art teacher. I have not only one identity in this school I have many. *(Teacher 6)*

Teacher 6 states that she can move between different roles. Unlike the other informants, she does not express a conflicted professional identity. It can be interpreted as she, as a participant in the study, answers what she is expected in accordance with the school's policy. However, after observing lessons and the school environment, it becomes obvious that her professional self-perception is related to the school context. She works in a very small rural school where different school years are mixed in the classroom, which requires collaboration between teachers. Furthermore, there are no strong institutional boundaries between school and educare center. The schoolteachers and the principal have knowledge about what is happening in the educare centre and its activities. In this school context, the SAEC-teacher is not as alienated from the process that determines the work conditions, compared to the other informants in the study. *Teacher 6* teaches visual art 25 % of her assignment. Besides her, it is the teachers who teach visual art 25–49 % of their assignment that express the strongest statements about a conflicted professional identity. The more they teach visual art, and especially if they also have to grade pupils, the more difficult they experience their dual mission. The study highlights how different structural problems affects how teachers experience their work situation, which ultimately also affects how they perceive their professional identity.

Discussion

The starting point for the study was to increase the understanding of the educational practice of teaching visual art among a small group of SAE-teachers who received their degrees after 2011, considering a holistic perspective on their overall work situation and their professional identity. The study shows how shortcomings in resources for teaching visual art not only affects the work situation of the teachers when they teach visual art, it also risks having negative effects on the possibilities of achieving the course objectives. Furthermore, the structural problems that teachers experience also risks producing negative effects on the conditions for achieving the goals for the educare centre. Teachers experience themselves feeling drained of energy after the school day ends, and some of them also describe that resources are taken from the educare center when they have to go away to grade or finish up after lessons. It illustrates how the implementation of the policy documents depends on the right conditions and resources for achieving the goals (Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins,

2011). The study highlights how the informants position themselves in relation to the syllabus for visual art in their lesson planning and their assessment of pupils′ knowledge. Significant, however, in the informants view on visual art is a holistic perspective on pupils′ learning and development where visual art can be used as a resource from a broader perspective on education, which to a high degree is consistent with the goals in the curriculum for the school educare regarding aesthetic activities. This indicates a broadened application of visual art that opens up new learning opportunities for the pupil. The holistic perspective on pupils′ learning that is prominent in the study not only shows a creative implementation of policy texts (Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins, 2011), it also highlights an innovative, broader perspective on education, a dual competence made possible by the new teacher education of 2011 (Berglund, Lager, Lundquist, & Gustafsson Nyckel, 2019). Another aspect of this is whether the teachers are given the opportunity to use their dual competence and develop a hybrid professional identity (Croft, Currie, & Locket, 2015). It seems that the most problematic aspect of the new teacher education reform is that SAEC-teachers to a high degree are alienated from the process that determines their work conditions.

While the teachers in my study describe their work in the educare centre as their primary professional identity, they have problems identifying themselves as schoolteachers. As Heggen (2008) points out, qualification for a professional practice is about identifying with a professional field and a profession; and to identify as a professional in this field towards other members of the profession and towards different groups outside the profession. The teachers in the study are employed as SAE-teachers; an identity they have been socialized into during their teacher education. Furthermore, they are part of a teacher group at the educare centre where this identity is shared, influenced by a different culture and traditions than the school (Hansen 1999; Andersson, 2013). Since professional identity is formed in the interaction between social structure and individual agency (Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006), the structural obstacles described by the informants such as uncertain conditions for assignment and inability to participate in staff meetings for teachers' stands out as a decisive negative influence. Consequently, positive factors as personal interest and active choice to teach visual art become less important in the construction of their professional identity. The experience of the work situation interacts with the teachers' self-perception of their professional identity. To be able to develop a hybrid professional identity, the right structural conditions are required. Croft, Currie, & Locket (2015) stresses the importance of a positive initial stage in the hybrid′s professional life to prevent risks of continuing identity conflict and prevent identity transition, which would undermine their potential strength as hybrids. Since teachers in my study struggle with poor conditions for employment and limited time resources, and in addition have to fight to be able to teach visual art, this creates continuing identity conflicts and prevent identity transition. This counteract the opportunities given by a dual competence to improve potential strength as hybrids and retain influence in the school education. If teachers won't have the chance to attend staff meetings how can they improve their influence? In addition, the school education runs the risk of losing the knowledge that teachers with dual competence possess. Another aspect is how their dual competence is used in the educare centre considering the stressful and conflicting work situation described by the teachers. The fact that resources are taken from the educare centre to support school education has been noted by researchers (see Andersson, 2013). As we see in the study, teachers depend on their colleagues in the educare centre to cope with their dual mission when some of them are grading pupils and finishing lessons after the end of the school day. Nevertheless, com-

petencies also runs the risk of being unused when these teachers are too tired to work with educational activities.

To be able to become a new type of teacher with dual competence that enhances education, the SAE-teacher must be able to move between institutional borders, between school and educare centre. As Andersson (2013) points out, they are not just forced to find a balance across the boundaries between two different assignments; they must also be able to construct autonomous teacher identities. The assignments are in turn linked to two different cultures and traditions. Hansen (1999) describes the primary school teachers' professional culture as a culture with a relatively strong classification and framing, whereas the SAE-teachers' culture has weaker classifications and framing. It is in line with *Teacher 1:*s statement about not seeing herself as a "real teacher". She also expresses that she ends up in-between two educational roles. It highlights the great challenges that teachers with dual assignments experience when they need to move between institutional borders and try to construct an autonomous teacher identity. Ackesjö, Nordänger & Lindqvists (2016, 2018) longitude survey of students who graduated in the new SAE-teacher program of 2011 displays these problems. Those who, like the teachers in my study, already during their education wanted to work both as SAE-teacher and schoolteacher, a cross-boundary group, got a difficult work situation where they had to fight for legitimacy. My study sheds light on how this is linked to structural factors such as employment conditions but also the availability of resources, especially time resources and educational resources.

The holistic view on pupils′ learning that is expressed by the teachers in the study, together with an integrated view on visual art in relation to other school subjects, has a potential to develop visual art education as well as the whole school education. However, teachers describe that the use of visual art as a resource in other school education is a low priority. This raises questions as to whether the dual competence made possible by hybrid professionals is fully utilized in school. Chapman, Wright, & Pascoe (2017) recognized in their study a lack of value for the arts as a learning area from the school management. Whether this also applies to Sweden is difficult to know without a study, but the experiences described by the teachers in my study raises questions. Researchers who advocate that visual art should be used as a resource in school education to a higher degree (see Lindström, 2012; Bamford, 2006) highlight the need for a multimodal, holistic perspective. Lindström (2012) concludes from his research that aesthetic learning has many dimensions and emphasizes the fact that visual art enhances learning outside the visual art subject itself: "teaching and learning about, in, with and through the arts" (p. 13). Other researchers who want to highlight the importance of teaching *through* the arts, not only *in,* to enhance pupils′ learning (see Bamford, 2006) have presented similar results. Another aspect of this is the need for pupils′ to develop and master visual literacy in an information society (Kress, 2003). The competence to understand and use visual images is an informal knowledge that requires a lot of training on a wider basis in the educational system, not just on visual art lessons.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Study

Through a small, qualitative study with nine teachers, I have been able to increase the understanding of the everyday educational practice: what it means to work as a SAE-teacher teaching visual art in primary schools. They struggle with difficult work conditions and limited resources. In addition, as professional hybrids they have to fight for legitimacy as a cross-border group. Nevertheless, they are also dedicated to teach visual art. Moreover, they have a dual competence that can reframe school education as a whole, not only on visual art lessons, if only given the right conditions. It would be interesting to study SAE-teachers certified in teaching visual art from the perspective of their dual competence, both in their school practice and in the educare centre. This could be done through a qualitative study, using interviews and observations as methods. Another aspect that would be important to study is the school managements′ knowledge of this group of teachers and the competences they possess. In addition, it would be important to study how they reason about terms of assignment. The result of the questionnaire with principals in three municipalities showed that there were relatively few SAE-teachers certified to teach visual art who actually taught the subject. Knowledge of SAE-teachers′ competencies and terms of employment is important, not only to strengthen the quality of school education as a whole, but also to support this group of hybrid professionals in their fight for legitimacy.

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Concepts and Challenges of Afterschool Program Quality in Japan

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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, Matrundola, & 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

https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v8i2.07

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 afterschool 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 afterschool 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.

The popularity of such international comparative studies suggests that the issue of APQ and quality assurance of after-school programs is a common issue in each country.

There are some points to keep in mind when making international comparisons of national policies regarding APQ and the quality assurance system of after-school programs. First, the planning and implementation of after-school programs are not directly conducted by national administrations but are often left to local governments such as provincial governments, prefectures, and municipalities. In other words, the quality assurance efforts of afterschool programs may differ depending on the region within a country. Therefore, in the international comparative analysis of national policies regarding APQ, it is necessary to comprehensively summarize national efforts in consideration of regional differences, and, at the same time, it is necessary to clarify the scope of analysis. The second point to note is that if the administrations in charge of the afterschool program differ even within the same country, the approach to quality assurance of the after-school program may differ, and it is necessary to elucidate the actual conditions of each country as a prerequisite for international comparative studies. Thus, while this literature helps to put the current study into context, it is important to remember that nationally based studies are inherently varied. This study adds to the available literature by providing an overview of Japan's APQ; as the field develops, the results will be useful for scholars in other countries to have a comparison point based in Japan.

The Quality Benchmark Rating System: A Tool for Appraising APQ Based on Japanese Guidelines

Using a systematic review of assorted investigations, Huang et al. (2014) developed the Quality Benchmark Rating System (QBRS) to analyze APQ. Regarding their study's background, Huang et al. said: "There is a need for less complex tools [in] afterschool programs that lack access to internal or external assessments, with a background in afterschool program evaluation. They need an easy-to-use tool that focuses on benchmarking, so that programs can begin the process of ongoing self-improvement" (p. 21). The process of elaborating the QBRS unfolded as follows:

> First, searches were conducted of multiple library databases using CSA Illumina (ERIC, Education: A Sage Full-Text Collection, NITS, and PsycINFO) by employing variants of the term 'afterschool program' as a keyword or descriptor. Second, searches were made for afterschool program studies and reports on the websites of the Afterschool Alliance, the Afterschool Corporation, the Harvard Family Research Project, the RAND Corporation, and public/private ventures. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were then established to determine which studies and reports should be further reviewed. Studies eligible for inclusion (a) were published or written between 1985 and 2007; (b) were written in English; (c) referred to programs for K-12 students; and (d) either concluded with, or commented on, quality indicators of afterschool programs. Further, to cover a broad range of relevant literature, studies could be either empirical investigations that identified characteristics of effective afterschool programs, or reviews of literature that summarized quality indicators based on existing literature and/or the author's own experience and knowledge (Huang et al. 2014, p. 22).

The QBRS was formed based on 54 studies in the final sample: "Each study was coded for the presence of quality indicators…centered on the three broad categories of program organization, program environment, and instructional features." Among the 54 articles, "14 benchmarks with substantial overlapping consistencies emerged. Each of the benchmarks received support from at least one-quarter of the sources" (Huang et al. 2014, p. 23). Details of

a total of 14 benchmarks and 56 indicators over three areas of QBRS, which were used in this paper for analyzing Japanese guidelines, are shown in Tables 1 to 3.

In the content analysis, the author of this article theorizes that QBRS could be used to judge APQ in practice, as well concepts of quality for afterschool programs. First, the QBRS aggregates findings from a huge amount of related research, and reveals key components of APQ. Second, the QBRS is geared toward students ranging in age from kindergarten to high school. Third, the benchmarks and indicators presented are easy to understand and considered necessary to ensure quality, despite cultural differences. Fourth, in Japan, no tool comparable to the QBRS has been created to measure APQ. For these reasons, I employed the QBRS in content analysis to scrutinize Japan's national guidelines for afterschool programs, thus establishing the potential of the QBRS for use in other cultures; the findings offer suggestions to improve the QBRS.

Literature Review on APQ in Japan

Several studies have empirically probed APQ in Japan. In looking at central government initiatives concerning investigations on afterschool programs' impact on children and youth, MEXT revealed positive behavior modifications and children's transformed perceptions through commissioned research (SRDI, 2008a, 2008b). At the same time, since there is a strong demand for scholastic reform to promote education through the cooperation between schools and local communities (CCE, 2015; MEXT, 2016), an investigation has been launched to build a portfolio to appraise the quality of practice, including in afterschool programs (Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting, 2020).

Other empirical studies regarding APQ have explored its effects on children's social and emotional development (Kanefuji, 2015); teachers' positive relationships with students (Kanefuji & Iwasaki, 2013); and teachers' recognition of their work (Kanefuji, 2017). However, research on the country's APQ is still lacking, both theoretically and empirically.

The Current Conditions of Instructional Features in Japan

Before delving into the status of the instructional features of Japan's afterschool programs, it is worth reviewing recent movements regarding teachers and the instruction they provide in such programs. Overworked teachers have become a grave social problem. According to the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) carried out by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Japanese teachers work the most hours in afterschool programs and extracurricular activities compared to teachers in other nations (OECD, 2014, 2018).

To mitigate this issue, Japan's Central Council for Education (CCE) published a report in January 2019 (CCE, 2019) seeking to reform teachers' work style. The report defines afterschool (including sports and cultural) activities as one type of school activity; however, the report asserts that they should not necessarily be run by teachers. The basic idea of the report is that exhausted, overworked teachers will not benefit students. Because of the CCE's findings, MEXT is being pressured to not require full-time teachers to do too much work as supporters and instructors of afterschool activities. Thus, both MHLW and MEXT increasingly need to

hire different staff members, rather than asking regular teachers to instruct afterschool programs.

Social Capital Theory as an Analytical Perspective for Examining Instructional Features and Approaches to Improve APQ Conducted by MHLW and MEXT

The concept of "social capital" has received considerable attention recently among sociologists, economists, and political scientists (Arrow, 2000). Social capital theory was also examined in educational studies, and it was revealed that it has a high utilization potential regarding social educational research in Japan (Ogino, 2013). Afterschool policies of national and local governments in the Ministry of Education are implemented through social education or lifelong learning-related bureaus in Japan. Therefore, based on the high applicability of social capital theory in the field of social education research, and on the fact that the related administrative bureau plays a central role in Japan's afterschool policy, I considered that social capital theory can be used as an analytical perspective for examining instructional features and approaches to improve APQ in Japan.

The definitions of social capital are quite diverse, ranging from a narrow (Putnam, 2000) to a broader definition (Coleman, 1988; Serageldin & Grootaert, 2000). In this article, I regard social capital using a broad definition, considering it to include social and political environments such as governments, political systems, and the rule of law. More specifically, I focus on social networks in social capital theory and examine the differences in human resource development systems for afterschool programs conducted by MHLW and MEXT. Furthermore, research on the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital types is used to provide an analytical perspective (Granovetter, 1973, 1985, 2000). The human resource development systems of each government ministry are examined based on the characteristics of the bonding and bridging types. This analogy with the two types of social capital will clarify the differences between the two systems.

Methods and Data

The Target of this Research

The afterschool programs under study are primarily held at public schools and consist of AS clubs or AS classes (mentioned earlier).

Data and Methods

First, I scrutinized concepts of quality for Japanese afterschool programs based on a document analysis of the government guidelines mentioned earlier. I explored the newest ones provided by MHLW (2015) and MEXT (2017) using the QBRS, grounded in the three categories discussed earlier—(1) program organization; (2) program environment; and (3) instructional features—as well as 14 benchmarks and 56 indicators. I also extracted descriptions that do not fall under these norms but that involve enhancing program quality.

Second, I inspected current staff conditions and structures related to APQ (as pedagogical features) using nationwide surveys conducted in 2018 by MHLW (2018b) and MEXT (2018a). These surveys aimed to examine the current conditions of afterschool support. I reused the results of these surveys to compare the afterschool human resource development systems of both governments.

Third, the project of the Japan Research Institute (JRI, 2018)—commissioned by MHLW—regarding municipal administrative efforts to boost APQ will be used in this study. These data were collected by JRI to clarify the conditions of afterschool programs. I examined the JRI project's data (from 983 [57.2%] of Japan's municipalities) as secondary data and considered the characteristics of municipalities' measures to enhance the quality of afterschool programs.[1]

Research Questions

I sought to answer the following:

(1) What types of descriptions do the national guidelines contain? Are there any differences in concepts of quality between AS clubs and AS classes?
(2) What differences emerge in terms of instructional features and systematic organization to ensure APQ between AS clubs and AS classes?
(3) What steps have municipal administrations taken to increase APQ?

Results

Content Analysis of the MHLW and MEXT Guidelines

Tables 1 to 3 display the findings of the content analysis of the MHLW and MEXT guidelines, specifically the types of descriptions in relation to the three classifications created by Huang et al. (2014) (particularly the 14 benchmarks and 56 indicators). The two lines to the right of each table present the outcomes of verification. A cell is marked when a description concerning an indicator is identified in the guidelines; a blank and shaded cell signals no corresponding description. If neither program has a description for a particular indicator, the explanatory texts of the benchmarks and indicators are also shaded. Although the two programs' guidelines are written differently, I found that they encompass many items from the 14 benchmarks and 56 indicators; however, some benchmarks and indicators are not included.

Regarding program organization (Table 1), the MHLW and MEXT guidelines contain descriptions from 17 of the 24 benchmarks. However, there are no descriptions about securing/planning the budget for the program or for staff salaries. Neither set of guidelines remarks on methods with which to evaluate staff, program activities, or student engagement. In terms of the program environment (Table 2), among the total 19 benchmarks, MHLW's guidelines do not touch upon staff serving as role models for positive adult relationships. MEXT's guidelines do not allude to the two benchmarks of nutritious snacks and the student-

1 At the time of the research (March 2018), there were 1,724 municipalities nationwide. The author participated in the JRI project as a member of the research committee.

staff ratio. For instructional features (Table 3), neither set of guidelines comments on instruction offered in various core academic areas, nor on athletic programs (which should include both competitive and non-competitive team sports). Later, I consider why neither set of guidelines describes a budget, evaluations, or academic activities.

Some highlighted descriptions in both guidelines should be taken into account when conducting afterschool programs, even though the benchmarks and indicators of the QBRS do not encompass them. These include (1) considering, and responding to, children and youth with disabilities and special needs; and (2) complying with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and related laws. Further, MEXT's guidelines incorporate many descriptions on methods and procedures for how to build a community cooperation network for learning and education (CCNLE). These items are critical elements and should be examined to strengthen APQ in Japan.

Staff Conditions and Training for MHLW's AS Clubs

For MHLW's AS clubs, the government sets staff qualification requirements. According to legal regulations, afterschool instructors must meet one of nine qualifications. They must be (1) a childcare worker, (2) a social worker, (3) a high school graduate with more than two years' experience in child welfare work, (4) a person with elementary school, junior high school, or high school teaching qualifications, (5) a person with a university degree in social welfare, psychology, education, sociology, art, or physical education, (6) a person who has been admitted to a graduate school because of excellent undergraduate grades in social welfare, psychology, education, sociology, art, or physical education, (7) a person with a graduate degree in social welfare, psychology, education, sociology, art, or physical education (or an equivalent field), (8) a person with a foreign university degree in social welfare, psychology, education, sociology, art, or physical education (or an equivalent field), or (9) a high school graduate with more than two years' experience in afterschool childcare and approved by the mayor as an appropriate instructor. In other words, MHLW has been seeking to maintain a certain standard by clarifying qualification requirements for instructors.

According to government statistics, 90,769 staff (MHLW, 2018b) meet the above-mentioned criteria for MHLW's AS clubs. However, since hiring staff is a huge challenge for local public organizations, the National Governors' Association and the Municipal Presidency[2] called for relaxing qualification standards; MHLW revised the ministerial ordinance in March of 2018, and the central government made a Cabinet-level decision to ease them in December of 2018 (MHLW, 2018d). They expanded the qualification criteria for AS club staff, and added "a person with more than five years of experience in afterschool childcare and approved by the mayor as an appropriate instructor" as a tenth requirement. Because of a lack of HR, personnel specifications have been altered to respond to current conditions. This means that a person who is only a junior high school graduate can be a staff member of an AS club if he or she has more than 5 years of experience in afterschool childcare and is approved by the mayor. There has been a divergence between MHLW's philosophy and practice for enhancing APQ. In other words, the qualification criteria have been deemed inconsistent with

2 These are national organizations. The National Governors' Association comprises all governors of prefectures, while the Municipal Presidency includes all mayors of cities, towns, and villages.

practice and have been modified to make it more manageable. However, such regulatory changes could dilute APQ.

MHLW legally requires all staff to participate in on-the-job training. In terms of MHLW's programs, local governments must provide training consisting of 16 subjects for a total of 24 hours. All staff must complete the training by 2020; as of the end of 2018, 58.5 % of personnel had finished it (MHLW, 2018b). That is, although MHLW sets strict training regulations, its implementation rate is not necessarily high.

Staff Conditions and Training for MEXT's AS Classes

MEXT uses different strategies to manage and promote its AS classes; 23,931 staff serve as coordinators (MEXT, 2018a). In addition, as mentioned earlier, MEXT established CCNLEs to foster collaboration between schools and communities.

A municipal board of education assigns coordinators and supporters, but there are no specific qualification requirements. In MEXT's AS classes, encouraging education through cooperation between schools and local communities is a key concept (Kanefuji, 2019). Various HR (e. g., local residents, parents, and staff from both non-profit and for-profit groups) participate as stakeholders in AS classes. Hence, government statistics do not report the precise number of instructors in AS classes. Training for coordinators and instructors is entirely left to prefectural and municipal boards of education, and the government does not make decisions regarding any particular training program or regulation. Thus far, the systematization of training for AS classes by prefectural and municipal boards of education has not been developed.

Instructional Features: A Comparison of Both Programs

Table 4 compares MHLW and MEXT regarding (1) staff qualifications and the state of their training programs; (2) staff diversity; (3) current conditions coupled with a lack of HR; (4) the provision of training decided upon by the government; and (5) staff attendance at training events.

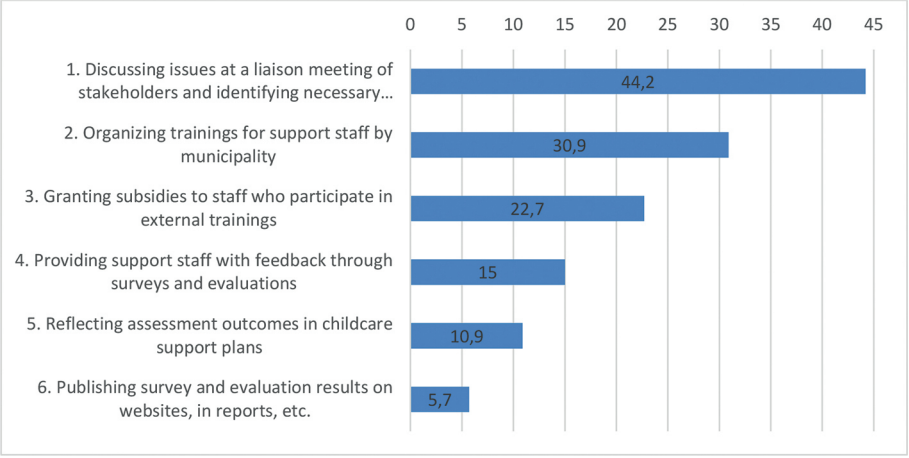
MHLW's program seeks to ensure the quality of its staff by imposing strict standards and training programs created by the government, thus aiming to boost program quality. However, MEXT's program does not stipulate strict qualification criteria for staff or enforce nationally established trainings but grants discretion to prefectures and municipalities and encourages various HR to participate. MEXT has tried to reinforce its APQ by adopting such an approach. Thus, MEXT's program may have more staff diversity than MHLW's. However, as mentioned above, it is very difficult for both programs to hire HR personnel.

Municipal Administrative Efforts to Improve APQ

Figure 1 presents the findings on municipal administrative actions to increase APQ, showing the top six. The most common technique, stated by 44.2 % of the 983 municipalities that took part, is "discussing issues at a liaison meeting of stakeholders and identifying necessary countermeasures." The second and third efforts relate to policies linked to boosting APQ;

these include "organizing trainings for support staff by municipality" (30.9%) and "granting subsidies to staff who participate in external trainings" (22.7%). Between 20% and 30% of municipalities implement such human development activities. In contrast, few municipal governments have "providing support staff with feedback through surveys and evaluations" (15.0%), "reflecting assessment outcomes in childcare support plans" (10.9%), or "publishing survey and evaluation results on websites, in reports, etc." (5.7%).

Figure 1. Municipal administrative actions to improve APQ.[3]

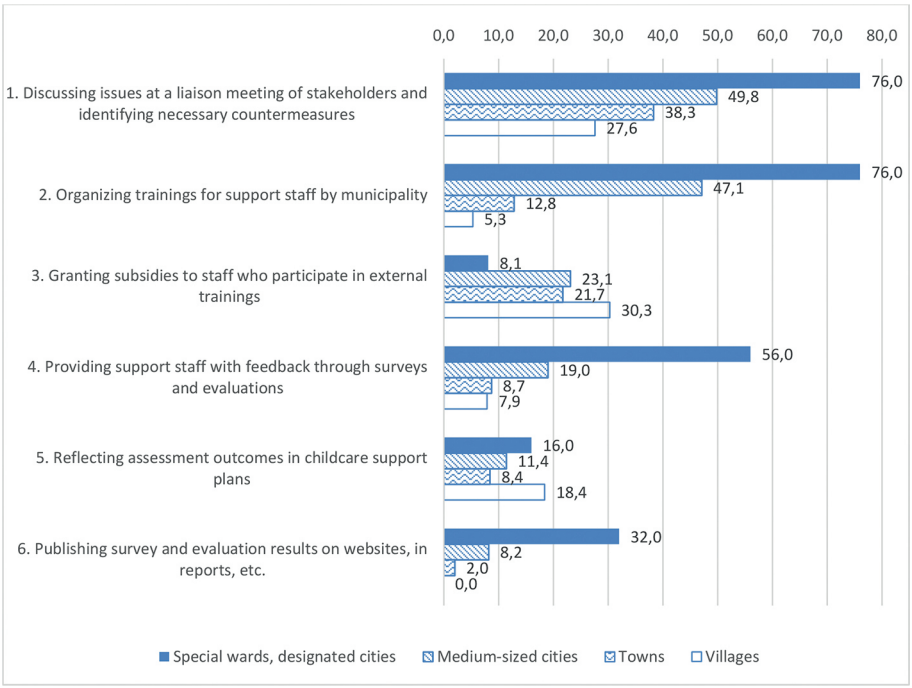


I also discovered a relationship between a municipality's population size and its rate of taking steps to enhance APQ. Figure 2 demonstrates the connection between these measures and city scale. The number of efforts carried out increases along with city size. Thus, staff hired by large cities have more opportunities to attend trainings than staff in small cities.

Notwithstanding, "granting subsidies to staff who participate in external trainings" resulted in higher implementation rates as city size shrunk. Between 20% and 30% of relatively small municipalities are working to strengthen the quality of personnel by granting subsidies to staff that attend external trainings. The overall implementation rate is not as high in small cities, towns, or villages. In particular, implementation rates for evaluation items (nos. 4, 5, 6) are relatively low.

3 The author created Figures 1 and 2 based on data from the JRI project (2018, p. 93).

Figure 2. The connection between municipal administrative actions and city scale



Discussion

Concepts of Quality in the MHLW and MEXT Guidelines

The content analysis of the guidelines revealed that some benchmarks and indicators are not described for either program. Regarding program organization and instructional features, there are no descriptions on securing a budget for the program or for staff salaries; assessment techniques for staff, students, and activities; or methods for student participation in the evaluation process (Table 1). For instructional features, neither set of guidelines mentions instruction offered in certain academic areas or types of enrichment (Table 3). In contrast, in terms of the program environment, differences emerged in terms of which benchmarks and indicators were not commented upon (Table 2).

One reason why the guidelines do not address securing a budget for the program or for staff salaries is that these tasks are not carried out based on the discretion of the afterschool program's site but rather by municipal administrative entities (such as boards of education). The absence of such a statement has likely led to staff being paid low wages. Similarly, the dearth of remarks on program activities, developing evaluations for staff, and student par-

ticipation in assessment might cause major practice issues, such as the non-development of proper appraisal methods and tools.

Both guidelines fail to mention instruction in specific academic spheres. At the elementary school level in particular, they do not have academic improvement as a goal, but rather aim to provide comfortable spaces and diverse experiences for children's playtime to foster social and emotional development. However, various types of support for strengthening academic abilities are needed not only in secondary education but also in primary education. Because of inadequate learning support, children from high-income households wishing to enhance their academic abilities tend to go to private cram schools rather than to school-based afterschool programs. Such learning support could further reinforce regular classroom education. In the future, the guidelines should be revised to include descriptions of instruction offered in specific academic fields or connections to regular classrooms.

I also stress some highlighted descriptions that both guidelines should take into account, even though they are not found in Huang et al.'s (2014) benchmarks and indicators. Both MHLW and MEXT review considerations for, and responses to, students with disabilities and special needs, as well as compliance with the UNCRC and related laws. These statements are deemed to be contained within the guidelines, since compliance with pertinent regulations forms the basis of quality assurance for afterschool programs. Consideration of children with disabilities and those who require special assistance, as well as compliance with child rights laws, are among the items that might need to be included in future improvements to the QBRS.

Instructional Features and Approaches to Improve APQ

As shown in Table 4, the instructional features and human resource development systems of the afterschool programs run by MHLW and MEXT are very different. By using social capital theory and investigating the distinctions between the two systems using an analogy with the two types of social capital, I found the characteristics of each human resource development system to be as follows:

In order to guarantee APQ, MHLW seems to be trying to build a bonding type of human resource development system, because it specifies the necessary qualifications of staff and attempts to create a relatively homogeneous staff organization. MHLW's staff training emphasizes that its national training programs are for qualified personnel only. The approach to training for human resource development in the MHLW system is extremely formal. Therefore, trust among the constituent staff members is substantial and the members are connected to each other with strong ties. In addition, MHLW's staff network only includes employees with appropriate qualifications, excluding others; therefore, the network can be understood as internal. All of these features match the characteristics of the bonding type identified by social capital research (Granovetter, 1973,1985)

On the other hand, MEXT seems to be trying to build a bridging type of human resource development system in order to guarantee APQ. Because MEXT's system does not specify staff qualifications in a clear manner, it tries to create an afterschool support organization with diverse human resources. Staff training is entirely entrusted to local governments, and participation in training is not compulsory for all instructors. In other words, MEXT is attempting to form an organization which strongly emphasizes connecting diverse human resources with different characteristics. In MEXT afterschool support, pupils do not always work with the

same instructors, and various people often participate as part-time workers. Therefore, trust between the instructional members cannot be said to be as strong as that in the MHLW system; it can be predicted that they are connected by loose and weak ties. The MEXT staff network is diverse and has a strong external orientation. These features also match the characteristics of the bridging type. The results of this analysis show that MHLW and MEXT have a completely different approach for organizing human resource development systems to secure APQ. However, unfortunately, the shortage of human resources remains a serious problem that cannot be solved by either approach, as shown in Table 4.

Comprehensive Municipal Administrative Measures to Improve APQ

Municipalities are taking different steps to strengthen APQ. However, as demonstrated by their administrative efforts (Figures 1 and 2), the rates of assessments carried out by municipalities (as a comprehensive action to advance afterschool programs) are very low. The guidelines' lack of a description of evaluation is one of the critical factors that reduces its rate in practice. As the SSC's Special Committee on Afterschool Children's Measures released a report involving information disclosure, staff self-evaluation and publication, and third-party assessments, it is highly expected that these elements will be carried out in practice (MHLW, 2018a).

This study's elucidation of the link between city size and efforts to enhance APQ has vital implications for future policies. The underlying reasoning is that the larger a city's population, the higher the proportion of the kinds of measures being implemented. In contrast, municipalities with a small population have a low rate of completing steps to increase APQ overall. Medium and small-sized cities, towns, and villages might not be able to afford to develop their own training programs due to a shortage in the total budget. Simultaneously, small cities have less administrative manpower than large cities, so it might be difficult to conduct evaluations and to create assessment techniques.

I have proven that local governments' population and budget substantially influence whether APQ is guaranteed. To maintain future APQ, the level national government support should correspond to these aspects.

Conclusion

Using qualitative and quantitative methods, I have analyzed concepts of quality related to afterschool programs described in MHLW's and MEXT's guidelines. I also found what was missing from the guideline descriptions that would preserve APQ, and which features of APQ are not shown in the analytical framework. Items not described in the guidelines include crucial issues that need to be considered to improve Japan's afterschool programs.

Based on the examination of government statistics and the government-commissioned JRI project, I have explained the current challenges facing Japan's afterschool programs. I have also revealed that MHLW and MEXT have been developing unique approaches to building a system to ensure APQ. To boost APQ, would it be better to have HR development/training using a bonding type system and strong network ties through legal development/

regulations, as MHLW does? Or, like MEXT, would HR development/training using a bridging type system and loose and weak network ties be more desirable? To answer this question, it is necessary to closely inspect Japan's future efforts and carry out a deeper quantitative and qualitative analysis as to which approach leads to higher quality. Japan's case could serve as a model to compare the differences between each approach.

Finally, it is necessary to address remaining issues. Alone, I investigated the content of the guidelines using the QBRS. To verify the validity of the results, scholars and practitioners should scrutinize the guidelines' content, as well as the degree of agreement between the outcomes. Data based on national statistical research is a reconsideration using published data, so the data's reliability is high. The interpretation of MHLW's and MEXT's HR development systems, based on those surveys, is my own interpretation; hence, there is room for further research in the future.

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Appendix

Table 1. Huang et al.'s (2014) program organization checklist and findings regarding the MHLW and MEXT guidelines

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Program Management: **Program has a collaborative management system to meet specific goals outlined in the mission statement.** 1 Does the program consider staff input in decision-making?	✔	✔
2 Does the program consider student input in decision-making?	✔	✔
3 Is there a clear mission statement present for the program?	✔	✔
4 Is there day school and afterschool collaboration?	✔	✔
Program Administration: **Program has effective management and plan for long-term sustainability and growth.** 1 Have program policies been developed for student participation and attendance?	✔	✔
2 Is the budget maintained and adjusted to meet resource needs?		
3 Is a long-term financial plan in place for sustaining and fostering program growth?		
Staff Support: **Program staff are given adequate support.** 1 Is the staff well-paid?		
2 Is the staff provided performance feedback?	✔	✔
3 Does staff receive an orientation before working with youth?	✔	✔
Staff Experience and Training: All staff members have adequate training and experience to ensure high-quality instruction. 1 Is there an adequate staff-student ratio?	✔	✔
2 Is the staff competent in core academic areas?		
3 Does the staff participate in professional development?	✔	✔
4 Does the program director participate in professional development?	✔	✔
5 Does the staff reflect the cultural diversity of the community?	✔	✔
Family Involvement: **Program has a clear plan for family involvement.** 1 Does the staff regularly communicate with parents/families?	✔	✔
2 Is there a program plan in place for parent involvement?	✔	✔
3 Are parents provided with opportunities to provide feedback about the programs?	✔	✔

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Community Partnerships: **Program engages in community partnerships.** 1 Are youth encouraged to participate in service projects/programs?	✔	✔
Evaluation: Program has a system in place for evaluation of students, staff, parents, and program activities. 1 Is there a method of evaluation for staff performance?		
2 Is there a method of evaluation for program activities?		
3 Is there a method of evaluation for student engagement?		
4 Is students' academic/social skills' improvement evaluated?		
5 Are evaluation findings used for program improvement?	✔	✔
Total number of checks / Total number of indicators	17/24	17/24

Table 2. Huang et al.'s (2014) program environment checklist and findings regarding the MHLW and MEXT guidelines

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Safe Environment: **Program space is safe, clean, and secure.** 1 Is the program space safe, clean, secure?		✔
2 Is a system in place to keep unauthorized people from taking children from the program?	✔	✔
3 Are youth carefully supervised?	✔	✔
Student Health and Well-being: **Program environment should enhance students' health.** 1 Does the program environment enhance students' health?	✔	✔
2 Are healthy and nutritious snacks provided?	✔	
3 Is the equipment safe for activity play?	✔	✔
Well-equipped/Suitable Physical Space: **Program provides physical space that is appropriately equipped and suitable for afterschool.** 1 Does the program's indoor and outdoor space meet the needs of all program activities?	✔	✔
2 Is the space arranged well for a range of activities?	✔	✔
3 Is the space arranged well for simultaneous activities?	✔	✔
Positive Relationships: **The program develops, nurtures, and maintains positive relationships.**	✔	

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Student-staff relationships 1 Is there a small student-staff ratio?		
2 Does the program have guidelines about staff-student expectations?	✔	✔
3 Does the staff relate to children and youth in positive ways?	✔	✔
4 Does the staff respond appropriately to the individual needs of children and youth?	✔	✔
5 Does the staff encourage children to become more responsible?	✔	✔
6 Does the staff interact with children to help them learn?	✔	✔
Child-Child Relationship 7 Do children interact with one another in positive ways?	✔	✔
Staff-Staff Relationship 8 Does the staff work well together to meet the needs of children?	✔	✔
9 Does the staff communicate with each other while the program is in session?	✔	✔
10 Does the staff provide role models of positive adult relationships?		✔
Total number of checks / Total number of indicators	18 /19	17/ 19

Table 3. Huang et al.'s (2014) instructional features checklist and findings regarding the MHLW and MEXT guidelines

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Quality of Implementation: **Program provides a variety of age-appropriate activities that reflect the goals and philosophy of the program.** 1 Are the activities appropriate (i.e., ages, learning styles, and abilities) for the children in the program?		✔
2 Are the activities in line with the interests of the children in the program?	✔	✔
3 Do the activities reflect the languages and cultures of the families served?	✔	✔
4 Do the activities meet the physical, social, and emotional needs of the students?	✔	✔
5 Does the program use a variety of instructional methods and strategies that reflect current research and policies on teaching and learning?	✔	✔
6 Are children offered multiple opportunities for developing and practicing new skills?	✔	✔
Variety of Activities: **Program provides a balance between academics and enrichment.**	✔	✔

Benchmarks and indicators	MHLW	MEXT
Core Academics 1 Is high-quality academic support offered, such as tutoring and homework help?		
2 Is instruction offered in a variety of core academic areas?		
Enrichment 3 Are there enrichment opportunities in a variety of areas?	✔	✔
4 When provided, do athletic programs include both competitive and non-competitive team sports?		
Socialization 5 Are children provided regular opportunities for socializing?	✔	✔
Activities Support Youth Development: **Activities provide opportunities for development of personal responsibility, self-direction, and leadership.** 1 Does the program promote youth development?	✔	✔
2 Does the program enable participants to develop life skills, resiliency, and self-esteem via activities?	✔	✔
Total number of checks / Total number of indicators	11/13	11/13

Table 4. Instructional features and human resource development systems of MHLW and MEXT

	AS clubs (MHLW)	AS classes (MEXT)
1) Staff qualification requirements and legal provisions	The law sets forth detailed regulations and qualification requirements.	There are legal provisions, but few strict staff qualification criteria.
2) Staff diversity	Staff diversity is relatively low. Only those who meet the qualification requirements are hired.	Diversity is high when the personnel consist of parents, local residents, non-profits, non-governmental organizations, local experts, and people related to the company.
3) Current conditions coupled with a lack of HR	There are challenges to following national regulations in practice, and the government has relaxed qualification requirements.	A diverse range of personnel can be involved, but a staff shortage problem remains.
4) The provision of training programs decided upon by the government	There are training programs and regulations set by the government. Prefectures and municipalities are obliged to provide	The prefectural and municipal boards of education conduct staff trainings. There are no

	AS clubs (MHLW)	AS classes (MEXT)
	programs based on national regulations.	severe regulations for staff trainings created by the government.
5) Staff attendance at trainings	All staff are obliged to go through training, but not all staff have completed it.	Since staff training is entrusted to prefectures and municipalities, the government does not collect certain statistics (e. g., the number of participants). Staff attendance at trainings is unknown.

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 ECTS[1]). 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 appraisement 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 and 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 tho 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.

Despite the different education programmes, leisure educators and teachers are often appointed the same duties in extended education in all-day schools in Austria, like supervising lunch or supervising self-guided / uncommitted free-time, afternoon learning sessions and extra-curricular activities. Unfortunately, there hasn't been much quantitative research on all-day-schools and their staff in Austria as Scheipl at al (2018) state in the biannual Austrian education report and which has also been noted before by Hörl (2013). This paper presents findings of a questionnaire-based survey in 2019 where all-day school staff in Vienna were asked to participate. The staff were asked to assess the importance of fields of duty of all-day schools, in particular teaching, lunch time, time for self-study, uncommitted / self-guided free-time and extra-curricular activities (e. g. science clubs, additional sports activities, creative activities etc.). This paper focuses on three main hypothesis:

- Austrian teachers, leisure educators, principals and coordinators of extended education do not attach the same importance to the various fields of duty of all-day schools.
- The four professional groups perceive the appraisement of these fields of duty by stake-holder groups (parents, students, society) differently.
- Their professional education plays a role in how important they find a field of duty.

So why is this interesting to other countries besides Austria? Researchers like Tillmann & Rollet (2010) urge to involve teachers more in extended education settings of all-day schools and Graßhoff et al. (2019) state that extended education is often only little anchored in school culture. In this paper we will show that the type of professional education makes a difference in how important a professional group regards fields of duty that are more on the informal side of learning. Extended education settings like lunchtime or uncommitted freetime are in no way less important when it comes to the personal development of students.

Richter (2015) highlights the acquisition of social skills, life-long learning skills and democratic skills during extended education in all-day schools. He also emphasizes the importance of pedagogically designed leisure activities like sports or cultural activities. A well-functioning extended education concept needs professionals with a suitable education as well as efficient teams that can master the challenges of all-day schools on eye level. It needs professionals that value all fields of duty of all-day schools highly and who feel that their colleagues do the same. So it is necessary to put more research into professional trainings for extended education settings in all-day schools.

Method

The following hypothesis were researched using quantitative statistical methods:

1. The four professional groups – teachers, leisure educators, principals and coordinators of extended education – do not attach the same importance to the various fields of duty of all-day schools. The attached importance differs significantly.
2. The four professional groups feel significantly different about the importance of fields of duty in their respective schools.
3. All four professional groups can either be tasked with supervising lunch, supervising uncommitted freetime and supervising extra-curricular activities or they can be involved in

planning / conceptualizing these fields of duties. Nevertheless, the professional groups differ significantly in feeling prepared for working in the respective field of duty.
4. When asked to estimate how much importance stake-holder groups ascribe to the various fields of duty, the professional groups differ significantly in their estimation.
5. There is an underlying factor which we call prestige (of a field of duty). This factor can be shown in a factor analysis.
6. We can calculate a numerical value we also call prestige from variables regarding the estimated importance as mentioned in hypothesis 2 and by using the accumulated data of all four professional groups (the calculation will be explained in detail later). This prestige value can be used to rank the fields of duty in all-day schools. We assume it is higher for fields of duty that fit in a more traditional idea of schools. In particular, we postulate that that the prestige value is highest for teaching.
7. There is a significant correlation between participants feeling prepared for a field of duty by their professional education and how important they find the respective field of duty.

494 people working in extended education settings in Viennese all-day-schools took part in the online survey – 161 teachers, 261 leisure educators, 53 principals and 19 coordinators of extended education. According to our hypothesis we did not include other variables like age or gender in the survey but only focused on professional education and occupational group. The population size is an estimated 14.000 teachers, leisure educators, principals and coordinators of extended education. The questionnaire comprised items gathering data about the ascribed importance of fields of duty of all-day schools but also about cooperation between professional groups and about a few characteristics related to extended education in the respective schools. Only a part of the data is discussed in this paper.

The part of the survey focused on in this paper consisted of Likert scale items to determine the importance or the perceived importance of the following fields of duty in all-day schools: supervising lunch, supervising uncommitted / self-guided freetime, supervising self-study, supervising extra-curricular activities (like science clubs, additional sports activities, creative activities, etc.) and teaching. The study participants either had to rate these fields of duty themselves or they had to estimate the rating of different stakeholder groups. Here are some of the statements which had to be rated in the section "supervising lunch" to illustrate the items in the survey:

1. "I consider supervising the lunch in schools important."
2. "The supervision of lunch is considered important in my school."
3. "The supervision of lunch is considered important in society."
4. "The supervision of lunch is considered important by parents."
5. "The supervision of lunch is considered important by children and teenagers."
6. "My professional education prepared my for supervising lunch."

Participants had to rate these statements by choosing between "I fully agree." (assigned value = 3), "I rather agree." (assigned value = 2), "I rather disagree." (assigned value = 1), "I fully disagree" (assigned value = 0). Analogue statements were used for the other fields of duty in all-day schools.

It seems important to mention here that the exact German phrasing which was used in most of the statements was "einen hohen Stellenwert haben" and it involves not only importance but also a high status / prestige.

The following analyses were carried out:

- Kruskal-Wallis Test:
  Due to the gathered data being ordinal but not normally distributed, the data was analysed with a Kruskal-Wallis test to assess significant differences between the four professional groups following Lix et al. (1996) who suggest this kind of analysis for this purpose and this kind of data.
  Following Tomczak & Tomczak (2015, p. 24) the effect size η2 of the Kruskal Wallis Test was calculated: $\eta 2 = (H - k + 1) / (n - k)$
  H – the value obtained in the Kruskal-Wallis test (the Kruskal-Wallis H-test statistic)
  η2 – eta-squared estimate assumes values from 0 to 1 and multiplied by 100 % indicates the percentage of variance in the dependent variable explained by the independent variable
  k – the number of groups
  n – the total number of observations
- Factor Analysis:
  A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of 0.827 and a significant result to Bartlett's Test of sphericity allowed to do a factor analysis with the data sample. The measure of sampling adequacy was also checked for every variable used in the factor analysis and all were confirmed < 0,5. The factor analysis was carried out using Maximum Likelihood and Varimax rotation.
- Calculation of the prestige value:
  Using the four items loading on the factor "prestige" a new variable was calculated by multiplying the respective load by the value of the respective variable (between 0 and 3) and then summating these numbers.
  Example:
  "prestige of supervising lunch" = load of L1 * value of L1 + load of L2 * value of L2 + load of L3 * value of L3 + load of L4 * value of L4
  (for items L1, L2, L3 and L4 see the table in the results section)
  For each prestige value of a field of duty the mean of all collected datasets was calculated and the mean values were ranked.
- Spearman's Rank Correlation:
  A Spearman rho rank correlation test was made to determine if there is a correlation between considering a field of duty important and having been prepared for this field of duty in one's professional education.

Results

Differences between the Professional Groups (Hypothesis 1 to 4)

In most of the items (see Table 1) there was a significant difference between the four professional groups: teachers, leisure educators, headmasters / headmistresses and extended education coordinators. The following table displays the results of the Kruskal-Wallis Test (Sig. = significance; null hypothesis = There is no significant difference between the four professional groups):

Table 1: Item-List

Item	Null hypothesis	Sig.
L1 I consider supervising the lunch in schools important.	reject	0.031
L2 The supervision of lunch is considered important in my school.	reject	0.001
L3 The supervision of lunch is considered important in society.	reject	0.001
L4 The supervision of lunch is considered important by parents.	reject	0.001
L5 The supervision of lunch is considered important by children and teenagers.	reject	0.001
L6 My professional education prepared me for supervising lunch.	reject	0.001
E1 I consider extra-curricular activities in schools important.	reject	0.001
E2 The supervision of extra-curricular activities is considered important in my school.	reject	0.005
E3 The supervision of extra-curricular activities is considered important in society.	reject	0.005
E4 The supervision of extra-curricular activities is considered important by parents.	reject	0.000
E5 The supervision of extra-curricular activities is considered important by children and teenagers.	reject	0.038
E6 My professional education prepared me for supervising extra-curricular activities.	reject	0.001
U1 I consider uncommitted free time in schools important.	reject	0.001
U2 The supervision of uncommitted free time is considered important in my school.	reject	0.001
U3 The supervision of uncommitted free time is considered important in society.	reject	0.001
U4 The supervision of uncommitted free time is considered important by parents.	reject	0.001
U5 The supervision of uncommitted free time is considered important by children and teenagers.	reject	0.001
U6 My professional education prepared me for supervising uncommitted free time.	reject	0.001
S1 I consider self-study time in schools important.	keep	0.078

Item	Null hypo-thesis	Sig.
S2 The supervision of self-study time is considered important in my school.	reject	0.024
S3 The supervision of self-study time is considered important in society.	keep	0.437
S4 The supervision of self-study time is considered important by parents.	keep	0.605
S5 The supervision of self-study time is considered important by children and teenagers.	keep	0.455
S6 My professional education prepared me for supervising self-study time.	reject	0.001
T1 I consider teaching in schools important.	keep	0.142
T2 Teaching is considered important in my school.	keep	0.384
T3 Teaching is considered important in society.	reject	0.001
T4 Teaching is considered important by parents.	reject	0.013
T5 Teaching is considered important by children and teenagers.	reject	0.065
T6 My professional education prepared me for teaching.	reject	0.001

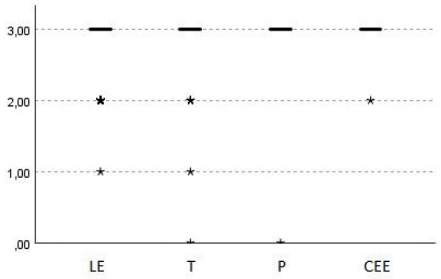
The results clearly show that the four professional groups (teachers T, leisure educators LE, principals P and coordinators of extended education CEE) differ significantly in rating the importance of supervising lunch, uncommitted free-time and extra-curricular activities but not in rating teaching and supervising self-study. This is interesting because the fields where we have to reject the hypothesis are those fields of duty where teachers are in charge and which match a more traditional idea of schools.

We see the same pattern when it comes to how the professional groups feel about the importance of the fields of duty in their respective schools (hypothesis 2) but here the difference is even more striking. While all four groups on average completely agree that teaching and the supervision of self-study are considered important in their respective schools, teachers and leisure educators clearly differ concerning supervising lunch, uncommitted free time and extra-curricular activities. This is illustrated in figures 1 and 2 which contrast the boxplots and means for item T2 (“Teaching is considered important in my school.”) and item U2 (“The supervision of uncommitted free time is considered important in my school”). The mean value was calculated using the previously described assigned values for the Likert scale items with 0 meaning “I fully disagree” and 3 meaning “I fully agree.

The boxplots and also the mean values clearly illustrate the differences between the occupational groups.

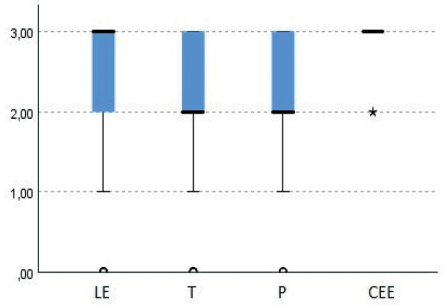
occupational group	mean	SD
leisure educators	2.923	0.281
teachers	2.941	0.330
principals	2.943	0.412
extended education coordinators	2.929	0.267
total	2.931	0.313

Figure 1: "Teaching is Considered Important in my School." – boxplot & mean values



occupational group	mean	SD
leisure educators	2.503	0.769
teachers	2.257	0.873
principals	2.264	0.836
extended education coordinators	2.857	0.363
total	2.409	0.813

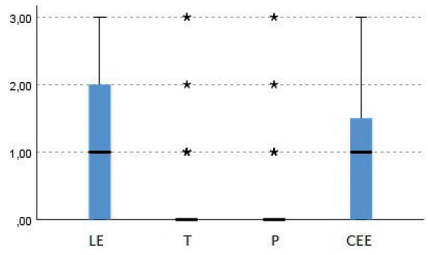
Figure 2: "The Supervision of Uncommitted Free Time is Considered Important in my School" – boxplot & mean values



Looking closer at supervising lunch, uncommitted free time and extra-curricular activities, the data shows that the professional groups (leisure educators LE, teachers T, principals P and coordinators of extended education CEE) also differ significantly in feeling prepared for these duties. In each of these fields, leisure educators show a higher mean of feeling prepared than the other professional groups involved in this field of duty. This difference between the four professional groups is also illustrated in the following boxplot-graphs and the associated means:

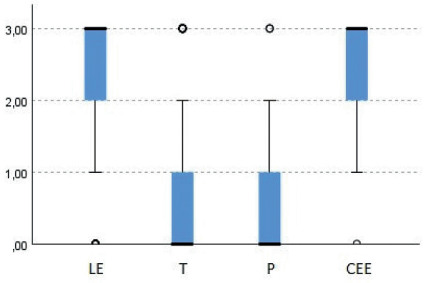
occupational group	mean	SD
leisure educators	1.377	1.131
teachers	0.217	0.597
principals	0.264	0.711
extended education coordinators	0.929	0.917
total	0.872	1.095

Figure 3: “My Professional Education Prepared Me for Supervising Lunch.” – boxplot & mean values



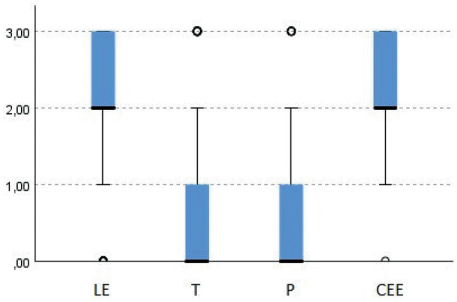
occupational group	mean	SD
leisure educators	2.523	0.788
teachers	0.658	0.957
principals	0.452	0.845
extended education coordinators	2.214	0.975
total	1.693	1.274

Figure 4: “My Professional Education Prepared Me for Supervising Uncommitted Free Fime.” – boxplot & mean values



occupational group	mean	SD
leisure educators	2.242	0.908
teachers	0.750	0.985
principals	0.642	1.040
extended education coordinators	2.071	0.829
total	1.587	1.205

Figure 5: "My Professional Education Prepared Me for Supervising Extra-Curricular Activities." – boxplot & mean values



Principals and extended education coordinators are usually only involved in supervising lunch, uncommitted freetime and extra-curricular activities from a planning perspective. Looking at the two professional groups who are directly tasked with executing these duties, it strikes the eye, how much of a difference there is between the means. On our four point Likert scale, the difference in mean for these three fields of duty is never less than 1.1 points with the leisure educators always scoring higher. Since teachers feel less prepared for these duties (hypothesis 3), it would be interesting to look at curricula of teacher education in Austria to see if these three fields of duty – to which teachers in all-day schools can very well be assigned – are addressed in lectures or seminars.

Although it has nothing to do with the original research questions and hypothesis it catches the eye and has to be noted that the mean value of all professional groups is rather low when it comes to feeling prepared for supervising lunch. Further research into this issues seems advisable to determine if changes in the curricula for Austrian leisure educators are necessary.

Regarding hypothesis 4 the four professional groups have a significantly different perception of what different stakeholder groups consider important in the very same areas as above – supervising lunch, uncommitted free time and extra-curricular activities. It is most noteworthy that the professional groups differ significantly in feeling prepared for supervising these tasks despite their involvement in those tasks. Regarding teaching and supervising self-study, the estimated importance only differs significantly for some stake-holder groups.

The effect sizes $\eta 2$ of the Kruskal Wallis Test were found out to be small for all items except for the ones involving feeling prepared for a field of duty due to the professional education of the participants (L6, E6, U6, S6, T6).

The Prestige of a Field of Duty (Hypothesis 5 & 6)

The factor analysis proved, that for each field of duty of all-day-schools, the items "xxx is considered important in my school", "xxx is considered important in society", "xxx is considered important by parents" and "xxx is considered important by children and teenagers"

load on the same underlying factor which we call "prestige of xxx". Hence, we can confirm hypothesis 5. Concerning uncommitted free time, the four items could have been split into two factors according to the factor analysis, but we chose not to do this since it is not relevant for the following calculation of the prestige value. It has to be noted that the item "I consider xxx important" contributes to the same factor but it makes sense to look at it individually to be able to differentiate between an individual's personal point of view and what they think everybody else's view is.

For each field of duty, the prestige value was calculated as described in the methods section. As proposed in hypothesis 6 the mean of the prestige value is higher for fields of duty related to teaching and learning, or – so to say – related to a more "classical" idea of what is happening in schools. The two fields with the highest prestige are teaching, where only teachers work, and supervising self-study, where leisure educators might support but teachers are in charge. There is a clear numerical gap to the fields of duty in which teachers and leisure educators work.

Table 2: Mean Value of Prestige

Variable	Mean	SD
prestige of teaching	6,8340	0,93768
prestige of supervising self-study	6,8146	1,04698
prestige of supervising lunch	5,9238	1,74178
prestige of supervising extra-curricular activities	5,4129	1,39608
prestige of supervising uncommitted free time	4,8151	1,24634

Professional Education as a Factor (Hypothesis 7)

To see if a person's professional education has an effect on how important they find a field of duty a Spearman Rank Correlation test was made with the items "I consider xxx in schools important." and "My professional education prepared me for xxx." for each field of duty of all-day schools. For every field of duty, a significant correlation between education and rating could be found which confirms hypothesis 7.

Table 3: Significant Correlations between the Feeling Prepared for a Field of Duty and Considering it Important

Field of duty	Item (importance)	Item (education)	PCC	Sig.
Lunch	L1	L6	0,103	0,023
Extra-curricular activities	E1	E6	0,117	0,009
Uncommitted free-time	U1	U6	0,182	0,000
Self-study	S1	S6	0,092	0,041
Teaching	T1	T6	0,144	0,001

Discussion and Conclusion

Prestige and Attached Importance

Looking at the different analyses carried out with the data, the four professional groups attach significantly varying importance to supervising lunch, uncommitted free time and extra-curricular activities (e. g. sports and cultural activities). These are the very same fields of duty with a clearly lower calculated prestige value and these are also areas which might not match a more traditional idea of schools. The findings match with the ones of Fischer (2016), who found that there is a linking-gap between the work of teachers and non-teaching professionals in Germany. Both groups would follow different education goals. Also Börner (2015) found that in all-day schools in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany, professional activities which are closer related with classical teaching and education are considered of higher value by the staff. She found that professional activities which are rather untypical for traditional, non all-day schools rank lowest. So we can sum up that this study and studies from Germany with a similar (but not exactly the same) focus come to the conclusion that there is a difference in prestige and attached importance of professional duties depending on how far they are from a traditional view of teaching and learning.

Kolbe and Reh (2008) also see a correlation between quality and cooperation. While Meister (2010) argues that cooperation withing schools is important, Niehoff et al. (2019) found that there is only little cooperation in all-day schools. A reason for this could be the lack of perceived importance and prestige of especially the professional duties of the leisure educator. So the question arises, if these differences in importance / prestige lead to a difference in quality of these fields of duty in all-day schools. Blackmore (2015) argues that "prestige is shaping values and priorities" (p.171). If uncommitted free time, lunch and extra-curricular activities, which are important learning environments for underprivileged students when it comes to social and communicative skills, have less prestige, will this contribute to perpetuating inequality between social groups?

The lower prestige of the typical duties of leisure educators also raises the question, if staff in all-day schools can work as efficient teams with equal members. Tillmann (2011) found in her study of German all-day schools that non-teaching staff are less involved in

strategic planning and planning of activities. She also emphasizes the findings of Fussangel and Gräsel (2010) that cooperations between teaching staff and other pedagogical staff is often little sophisticated.

Blackmore (2015) brings forward the argument that *"...the prestige that attaches to something demonstrates the advantages that accrue to institutions, groups and individuals who can develop a prestigious position. To be perceived to be prestigious is itself a resource, tending to validate everything that one does.*" (p.52). If leisure educators work in a less prestigious field will this have any influence on how others collaborate with them? Will their expertise be efficiently used in all-day school staff teams? If future studies found any influence here, Goyder's (2009) suggestion of using public relation strategies could be taken into consideration by policy makers and governments to support the position of extended education professionals, e. g. leisure eduacators. Goyder suggests that occupational representation could be actively changed by public relation strategies like advertisements in mass media which stress the level of professionalism.

Professional Education and Attached Importance

Our data shows that the professional education is related to how much importance a professional sees in a field of duty. With this result a new question arises: Does it influence the quality of these constituents of extended education if teachers and principals feel less prepared for working in these fields of duty? There is need for a follow-up research project to determine if the quality of these fields of duty is related to the education of the occupational group entrusted with it. Policy makers might want to reconsider if it is a good idea to have teachers working in the less formal fields of extended education (like supervising lunch, uncommitted free-time and extra-curricular activities), if they do not feel trained for these duties. It might make more sense to entrust leisure educators alone with them.

Another way to change the current situation could be to include the less traditional fields of duty in teacher education curricula. Köpfer and Lemmer (2020) researched the cooperation between teachers and professionals of special needs education and in their conclusion, they call for including knowledge about other fields of duty into teacher education. Also Börner (2015) suggests to include fields of duty which are untypical for traditional, non all-day schools into in-service training of pedagogical staff. Likewise, she suggests in-service "tandem-training" in which all types of pedagogical staff could participate together. Also Hopmann et al. (2019) or te Poel (2019) describe in their research projects the positive effects of shared professional trainings on multi-professional teams in education. These suggested cooperative learning environments for different occupational groups in schools could also be interesting when it comes to teachers and leisure educators. On the one hand, it might help teachers feel better prepared for these duties, on the other hand it might change their attitude towards these fields when it comes to importance and prestige. Börner (2015) also argues that the less traditional fields of duty of all-day should not only be addressed in basic teacher education but also in the professional training of principals which makes sense considering the influence of principals on school culture.

Politicians and education researchers agree that all-day schools play an important role in fostering underprivileged social groups. Especially the less formal part of all-day schools might help children to acquire skills which are necessary to compete in the 21st century job

market. Moreover, these fields are not only relevant to underprivileged children and adolescents. In our fast-changing world, teaching and learning in typical school subjects like maths or languages are still changing slowly. Now it is the turn of the less formal part of all-day schools to step in and contribute in creating new learning environments and development opportunities for children and adolescents.

A professional training like Austria's training of leisure educators might be interesting to other countries in a process of expanding their range of all-day schools. It could be a part of the strategy to anchor extended education within school culture. As described earlier, an interesting approach might be to let future teachers and leisure educators work together through parts of their professional training, like several previously mentioned pilot-projects from closely related pedagogical fields show. This could have an impact on collaboration and efficiency in multi-professional teams in all-day schools. It would be interesting to research the impact of such a change in the education of all-day-school professionals in a long-term study.

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

Andrey Khojeev

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

https://doi.org/10.3224/ijree.v8i2.09

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

teacher and of a private tutor. The combination of these activities has led to the emergence of their dual professional identities: a teacher and a private tutor. In the emergence of these two identities–one professional identity relates to another in a certain way. It is also assumed that the co-existence of dual identities has an influence on their professional activities of a tutor or of a teacher. Although a plethora of studies has focused on teacher identity and its effect on their professional activities (e. g., Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Buchanan, 2015; Franzak, 2002; Sachs, 2005) and some studies on co-existence of teacher identity with other social identities (e. g., Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006; Teng, 2019), there is a gap in academic literature with only few studies (e. g., Kobakhidze, 2018) on mixed teacher-tutor identity and its impact on their professional activities.

The present study is the pioneering attempt to investigate teacher-tutor identity in the context of Uzbekistan. Based on the narratives of six professionals who are engaged both in teaching activities as university lecturers and teaching activities as private tutors, the study aims at: a) finding the type of relationship(s) between teacher and tutor identities, b) revealing the reasons of the existing relationship(s); c) exploring how dual professional identities and the relationship(s) between them impact on their activities as teachers or/and as private tutors. The findings of the present study are anticipated to partially cover the existing gap in the academic literature and to provide some guidance for future research in the field of dual teacher identities and PST in the context of Uzbekistan or elsewhere.

Literature Review

Shadow Education and the Emergence of a New Profession

The PST is a globally fast-growing phenomenon going hand in hand with the mainstream form of schooling (e. g., Aurini, 2013; Kobakhidze, 2014; Silova, 2010; Zhang & Bray, 2016). The metaphoric reference to PST as to "shadow education" has been well established in academic literature since the 90 s of the last century (Yung & Bray, 2017). According to the definition proposed by Bray (1999), shadow education can be characterized within three main dimensions: 1) supplementation–shadow education adds on school curriculum and is delivered outside the regular school hours; 2) privateness–the tutors provide classes for financial reward; 3) academic subjects–the scope of tutoring classes is limited to the subjects taught at mainstream schools (e. g., languages, mathematics, mother tongue and others). PST is found to be widely spread both in economically developed and less developed nations with the diverse socio-economic backgrounds (Silova, 2009).

This phenomenon has received the most attention in Asia Pacific region (*see* Bray, 2013; Bray, Kobakhidze, Zhang, & Liu, 2018; Liu & Bray, 2017; Mahmud & Bray, 2017; Teo & Koh, 2019; Yamato & Zhang, 2017; Zhang, Bray, Wang, Lykins, & Kwo, 2013). There are only a few studies conducted in the post-Soviet discourse and Central Asia (i. e., Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) in particular (e. g., Silova; 2009; Silova; 2010). In post-Soviet states, shadow education has arisen with a number of opportunities and challenges. One of the opportunities is that parents have viewed PST as an effective means to help their children to adapt to the new socio-economic environment (Silova, 2009). While after the collapse of the Soviet Union the school systems experienced downfall not getting promptly reorganized to

meet the demands of the independent states, the PST has provided assistance to students due to its "efficient, flexible and prompt" nature (Silova, 2009, p. 328). At the same time, shadow education in post-socialist states as elsewhere has given rise to the issues of social inequality, corruption, increased students' workload, leakage of taxes and a shift in public school curricula (Silova & Bray, 2006). In her study, Silova (2009) outlines socio-political changes that gave rise to the PST after the collapse of the Soviet Union. These changes include reduction of the funds spent by the state on education, decline in education quality at public schools, increased demand for tertiary education and shifted status of teaching professions. The latter fact is of paramount interest for the present study since together with the external shift of social status, the teachers had to alter their internal identity adopting a new profession of private tutors. The co-existence of both professional identities has not been yet investigated in the context of Central Asia.

The Concept of Teacher and Teacher-Tutor Identities

The concept of identity is a complex multidimensional phenomenon and its investigation varies in methods across different disciplines including psychology, philosophy, sociology, anthropology and sociolinguistics (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). In the educational studies, the concept of teacher identity (TI) is of particular interest since its investigation allows to facilitate productive learning by accommodating both teachers and their students' needs.

There are a number of definitions formulated in the attempt to explore TI from various angles. For example, Gee (2000) describes it as a type of personality in a certain discourse. The discourse may include "the intersection of personal, pedagogical, and political participation and reflection within a larger sociopolitical context" (Hoffman-Kipp, 2008, p. 153). Olsen (2008) defines identity as a "collection of influences and effects from immediate contexts, prior constructs of self, social positioning, and meaning systems" (p. 139). Indeed, there is a wide range of contextual factors that shape the identity of teachers (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), may it be their personal education experience, relationship with their present colleagues, a number of teaching hours, involvement in extracurricular activities or a combination of all. As a result, identity turns out to be a "resource that people use to explain, justify and make sense of themselves in relation to others, and to the world at large" (Mac Lure, 1993, p. 311). In this way, TI is a frame within which they "construct their own ideas of 'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to understand' their work and their place in society" (Sachs, 2005, p. 15). At the same time TI is fluid and changeable throughout teachers' development in personal and professional life (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). The professional experience that characterizes TI is well-investigated through the teachers' personal narratives about their past, present and future that reveal "their own agency …[and] their own strongly held views of themselves as teachers" (Barkhuizen, 2016, p. 7).

The teacher identity is known to co-exist with other professional identities. This co-existence happens "at the given time and context" with other "core identities", which guide teachers' activities (Teng, 2019, p. 84). When teacher identity co-exists with other professional identities, the realization of the former identity depends on individual's values and larger contextual factors. In this way, in order to reveal more comprehensive insights regarding one's professional experience and activities, it is important to explore multiple core

professional identities (Day et al., 2006). In case of the present research, the two professional identities–the teacher and the tutor–can be considered as core identities that will largely direct the activities of the research participants.

The research that focuses on the identities of PST providers remain largely scarce in academic literature with only few studies done on either tutor identity or on correlation of both teacher and tutor identities (Popa, 2007; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung &Yuan, 2018). This phenomenon has received even less attention in post-Soviet discourse. The most in-depth research on mixed teacher-tutor identities has been conducted by Kobakhidze (2018) in the context of Georgia, where as well as in many other post-Soviet states, teachers have to adopt "entrepreneurial identities to survive economically" (p.114). In her work, along with her other findings, Kobakhidze (2018) provides insights on how teachers from mainstream education perceive their role of a tutor, and on how the co-existence of both professional identities affect their professional commitments. Although the teacher identity was perceived separately from the tutor identity, the co-existence of dual professional identities has a "high degree of interdependence", where the identity of a teacher was prioritized over the identity of a tutor due to the latter identity to be "self- imposed" rather than "chosen" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p.115). As the findings suggest, teachers find it difficult to adopt the tutor's role because of their moral values since the former role has more to deal with the teaching for the common good and the latter role is associated with teaching for personal profit making. The contradicting values of the teacher identity versus the tutor identity have been found to be reflected on their professional activities, where teacher-tutors have to "compromise" on their time and energy devoted to each role "in a given time" (Kobakhidze, 2018, p.119).

Theoretical Framework: Intrapersonal Identity Network Approach

There are a number of approaches arisen from various paradigms to analyze the concept of multiple or dual identities. Although the approaches vary greatly depending on the nature of inquiry, the multiple or dual identities have been primarily studied from socio-psychological (e. g., Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005; Hogg & Terry, 2000), microsociological (e. g., Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000), psychodynamic (e. g., Leary & Tangney, 2003; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001), critical (e. g., Alvesson, 2001; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and intersectional (e. g., Acker, 2006; Ferree, 2009) perspectives. The present research adopts an intrapersonal identity network approach as a theoretical framework for investigation. Being proposed by Ramarajan (2014), this novel and comprehensive framework embodies the major assumptions of the mentioned approaches, and thus, allows to investigate the concept of dual professional identities from the multifarious perspectives.

Since an intrapersonal identity network approach is a "broad and flexible framework" to meet different research objectives on identities (Ramarajan, 2014, p. 619), an attempt is made to adjust major of its constituents pertinent to the present inquiry. First, the framework presumes the *nodes* of the network which are represented by various identities. The number of these nodes will depend on "the number of identities relevant to the scholar's research question" (Ramarajan, 2014, p. 621). In other words, our study will consider two identities: teacher and tutor as the nodes of the network. Second, the nodes are assumed to differently relate to each other. The different relationship between the nodes are called *ties.* Third and the most important, intrapersonal identity network approach suggests the ties to be of different

types. The following gives a brief account of the ties or the types of relationships among/between multiple/dual identities from the analysis by Ramarajan (2014, pp. 613–623), thus the one's multiple/dual identity may:

- *Conflict* with one another. This conflict is caused by the "conflicting standards" between or among "work or non-work identities" due to the one's feeling of non-satisfactory performance;
- *Enhance* each other's experience. This enhancement or identity synergy happens if the activities of one identity benefit from the "skills, knowledge …resources" of another identity;
- *Integrate* into one another. The integration or overlap of the identities happens if their interests, values or beliefs belong to the similar "system of meanings";
- Come into *power relationships.* If this type of tie emerges, the one identity is prioritized over another. The prioritization of a certain identity depends on the "status and power" that it denotes in society;
- Come into *temporal ties.* The temporal relationship between the identities happens when an individual progresses through their professional life and intends to shift from one professional identity to another. The identity, which is intended to be shifted, is in the temporal ties with other core identities;
- Come into *multiplex ties.* This complex tie is sought to detonate "many different types of ties between the same two nodes". It is presumed that two and the same identities may simultaneously have different relationships between each other. For example, the nodes can come in conflict for some reasons as much as they can enhance each other for another reasons.

The type of the relationships (ties) between the identities (nodes) have been found to impact profoundly one's professional and non-professional activities (Ramarajan, 2014). With this assumption, the present research also attempts to reveal which of the mentioned ties exist between teacher and tutor identities and how these ties impact their professional activities.

Research Methodology

Research Method and Research Questions

The semi-structured, individual interviews, as a qualitative research method, were adopted in the present study. The use of semi-structured interviews enabled the researcher to attain in-depth descriptive data to characterize the two mentioned domains–the teacher's and the tutor's one. In particular, twelve prepared open-ended interview questions were sought to facilitate the research participants' (RPs') narratives on the implicit and explicit representation of their professional identities, the relationship between identities, the reasons for this relationship and the impact of this relationship on their professional activities. The gathered data was anticipated to contribute to the following research questions:

1. What are the relationship(s) between the teacher and the tutor identities?
2. What are the reasons for the existing relationship(s)?

3. How does the existing relationship(s) between two professional identities impact the teacher and/or the tutor activities?

Before collecting the data, the author has undergone the ethical review process and obtained ethical approval from the independent ethics committee. The interview questions were piloted with two research participants who worked for the same Uzbekistan university as the main participants do. The pilot interviews have informed the present study interviews in the sense that the researcher could formulate more precise follow-up questions. The RPs were invited to sign a consent form online and have been informed about their right to withdraw from the interview any time without any negative consequences. They were also introduced to the aim of the present research. The questions related to the personal issues of the research participants were avoided. Each interview lasted 40–50 minutes per each RR. Since the researcher was not in the country where the research was conducted–the interviews were held via Zoom. There were no particular challenges in collecting the data online, since the researcher knew every research participant in person by his previous affiliations. Due to the RPs' proficient command of the language, the questions have been designed and employed in English. The RPs were reassured that their names and the name of the institution they work for will be kept confidential, which facilitated more in-depth data during the interview from the participants regarding the perception of their professional activities.

Research Participants and Sampling

Since the research focus is on the RPs' activities partially related to the shadow education, which represents some methodological inconvenience (i. e., shadow education stakeholders may be unwilling to participate in research in case it is regarded as an illegitimate form of education) (Coniam, 2014; Bray, Kwo & Jokić, 2015), the nonprobability convenience sampling method was employed. This sampling method allowed to select those respondents who found the research objectives "convenient" and expressed their "availability" (Salkind, 2010, p. 254). The researcher approached all the known, by the previous affiliations, university teachers who also worked as private tutors and asked about their availability. Among respondents who expressed their interest, the RPs were chosen based on two selection criteria. Firstly, potential RPs should have had relatively solid and comparable work experience in both professions. The sufficient time spent in the professions is assumed to construct their dual professional identities to a considerable extent. Secondly, the potential RPs should have been recognized in both professions. In Uzbekistan the most demanded and highly qualified professionals are hired by universities. The fact that they work for universities make them popular among potential tutees.

Thus six RPs were chosen for the present study (*Table 1*). All of them had more than five years of working experience as teachers at one of Uzbekistan universities. They also worked as private tutors of General English (GE), International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and/or Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) preparation. All of them hold post-graduate degrees from foreign institutions, are highly ranked among their students at university as lecturers and are of reasonable demand as tutors. The participants worked on average 12 contact hours per week as teachers at university and 8 hours per week as private tutors.

Table 1. Research Participant Profiles

Title Code	Accumulative years of work experience	Taught level(s) (L) as a University Teacher (UT) and taught courses as a Private Tutor (PT)
Teacher-Tutor 1 TT1	Teacher: 8 Tutor: 8	UT: L3, L4 PT: IELTS, GE
Teacher-Tutor 2 TT2	Teacher: 7 Tutor: 9	UT: L3, L7 PT: IELTS, GE
Teacher-Tutor 3 TT3	Teacher: 7 Tutor: 5	UT: L3 PT: TOEFL, IELTS
Teacher-Tutor 4 TT4	Teacher: 21 Tutor: 20	UT: L4 PT: IELTS, GE
Teacher-Tutor 5 TT5	Teacher: 22 Tutor: 24	UT: L4 PT: GE, IELTS
Teacher-Tutor 6 TT6	Teacher: 20 Tutor: 22	UT: L3, L4, L5 PT: IELTS; GE

It is important to mention that university lecturer usually combines at least two professional identities–the identity of a researcher and the identity of a teacher. The present study hereafter is to focus on their identity and the activity of a teacher. In other words, the respondents' university teaching activities and private tutoring activities, and corresponding identities will only be examined.

Data Analysis

The content analysis was applied for the collected data. This "flexible" approach allows to analyze "narrative responses" within "explicit" and "inferred" communication means to further categorize them based on the meaning and the relationship between certain concepts or themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Being guided by predetermined theoretical framework–an Intrapersonal Identity Network Approach, the researcher applied the deductive approach to reveal both explicit and implicit representation of ties (relationships) between the nodes (identities) using the principles of selective coding. That is, the type of ties (e. g., conflicting, integrating, temporal, power relation) proposed by an Interpersonal Identity Network Approach served as initial resultant themes. The researcher then looked at the evidence of the presence and the non-presence of these themes in the transcripts of the interviews. Having found the presence of certain themes, the author further looked for the evidence of how these themes (ties) relate to one another, and how the relationship between/

among the themes affects the respondents' professional activities. The findings were organized based on the presence of the evidence of the certain ties between the two professional identities and their impact on either teacher's or tutor's activities.

Findings

Multiplex Ties: Power Relationship – Temporal – Conflicting

All six respondents indicated multiplex ties between teacher and tutor professional identities. They all reported three most distinctive ones among these multiple ties. The first tie is power relationship, where the teacher identity is prioritized over the tutor identity:

TT2: I prioritize my official work over my tutoring. … I don't like a status of a tutor, if I had an opportunity in my life not to do tutoring – I wouldn't do it. If I had a higher status at the University, and if my university paid me more than it pays me now I would never ever go for tutoring.

TT6: When I got a job at the University, the salary was not rewarding and I had to start a side job. So private tutoring is like a side job.

The second is a temporal tie, where the identity of the private tutor was indicated to be in temporal relation to the identity of university teacher:

TT1: Tutoring is not something, I see doing for my life, while university teaching is something, I will go with throughout all my life.

TT3: Private tutoring is not a career; it is just for the time being.

TT6: Soon, I will stop private tutoring at all, and will start fully devoting myself to my university job.

The third is a conflict tie. In this type of relationship, the tutor identity comes in conflict with the teacher identity:

TT2: So, I do not like tutoring, because I do not like myself in tutoring, myself as a teacher in tutoring. … My university persona is very different from my tutoring persona.

Reasons for Existing Relationships

There are a number of reasons that have been found to cause the mentioned ties between the teacher and the tutor identities. Those above are the most commonly stated. The power relationship between the teacher and the tutor identities has been mainly established because of opportunities for career/professional growth, social status/benefits and collegial support that the former identity offers. While the latter identity is found to be less prestigious and to provide less stable income:

TT1: Work at university seems to be carrying more prestige than being a tutor.

TT2: [University job] is not only the professional development, …[but] also establishment of yourself in the field.

TT3: University teaching is much more rewarding, especially for the professional development because you have more students there. And you can conduct action research to understand the classroom problems.

TT5: … another reason can be an official record of my work, …[so] I can be sure that my experience is going on. And after sometime when I retire, I know that I will get a pension. Whereas working at home doesn't offer this security.

TT4: I really like the colleagues [at University] I work with. I think if there were not my colleagues, I wouldn't enjoy my work. The atmosphere is really much important.

TT6: Private market has never been stable, because you may have students at a certain time and you may not have any in other times. So, what you need actually is to concentrate on a more stable and a more secure job. In this regard, I find a university job as more secure and safe.

The most stated reason for a private tutoring to be a temporal profession is due to its financial reward. So, the RPs intend to quit it because they currently have enough gained professional expertise and growth to get a higher income in their regular activities:

TT1: Tutoring is done in Uzbekistan …because of the financial reasons. But I have a chance not to do tutoring [because my] salary has gone up significantly since I was promoted. And I think that in the future, hopefully, I will stop doing it altogether.

TT6: I would rather work with more professionals because I have now more or less the expertise that I can share in the field of education, in the field of assessment and curriculum development. …I would rather work with more professionals… than just working with private tutees.

TT4: I have done private tutoring to make money nothing more. Now I'm not really concerned about it, since I have made most of the biggest purchases. Now I feel I have enough credential to start my PhD research.

The conflict tie among the identities has been established because the tutor activities contradict the teacher identity's professional values and beliefs, limit their creativity and push to violate the laws:

TT5: Tutoring is a customer-service relationship that should not really be a case in teaching, to satisfy your client. … There were cases when students did not study, but I had to carry on because they were paying.

TT1: I do not really feel that there is a lot of space for my creativity [in private tutoring]. … it is very limiting when a student has the purpose of only entering a university… [So] there is not a lot of things that you can really do during the classes.

TT2: What we do is not official and you always work under a constant pressure of being caught, of being reported, of being told by someone that you are doing private tutoring in your home. … I also see a big problem in the material that we use. … I cannot really go and buy them – I download them from the internet illegally – it could break the copy right and it is not okay.

TT1: This area is hidden. So, lots of tutors are working illegally…Throughout these years there have been three or four times when lots of tutors were caught. … I am not particularly happy with this situation, because I consider myself to be a person with high ethical standards.

Impact of the Relationships on Professional Activities

The most commonly stated, by RPs who have indicated this chain of ties, was an impact on their tutoring classes. In particular, they reported fulfilling their university responsibilities at

the expense of their private classes. As a result, the respondents felt the decrease in the quality of the private tutoring classes due to the frequent cancelation and being not fully committed:

TT1: [Private tutoring] turns almost like a factory …just a conveyer of students, which at some point means that there is no quality. … What happens is that you do not have time to prepare. You end up teaching students the same stuff.

TT2: When there is a lot of money involved, I feel that for the money I am paid I need to do as much as I am paid for. And sometimes in my practice it happened that I felt that I didn't really earn that twenty dollars in one hour and thirty minutes, because I didn't do much–I only printed new material and I only asked the right questions. … Private tutoring is like a conveyer.

TT4: With private tutoring you feel like a money-making machine. And it is well reflected on the quality of your tutoring classes.

TT5: If there is a requirement that I have to be at University, there was oftentimes when I had to cancel my private classes.

TT1: I felt very unhappy …that I had to cancel the [tutoring] classes a lot because I had some responsibilities to fulfill at university.

TT6: [Private tutoring] is quite a tiring job…because you sit with people most of the time one to one and it is not easy. I feel I am not fully committed during these classes and that's way the quality of the lessons suffers…

Discussion

By employing an intrapersonal identity network approach as a theoretical framework for present investigation, the findings of the study echo and supplement the assumptions of the multiple disciplines that this framework was built on. In particular, the obtained results are in line with the socio-psychological, micro-sociological, developmental and critical perspectives on multiple/dual professional identities and the relationship between/among them. The present research results are also in line with and supplement some of the findings from previous study on mixed teacher-tutor identity.

The findings that multiple identities are in the power relationship, where one identity is prioritized over another, reflect some assumptions of social identity and identity theories. These theories employed by socio-psychological and micro-sociological approaches presume multiple identities to be structured in hierarchy (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Stets & Burke, 2003; Tajfel, 1978). In the hierarchical relationship, along with other reasons a single identity turns salient or "rises to the top of hierarchy" owing to its "strength" (Ramarajan, 2014, pp. 595–599; Hornung, Bandelow, & Vogeler, 2018 p. 2014; Korte, 2007). As the present research shows the strength of the professional identity is determined by the social status it denotes and the resources it accumulates. In other words, the respondents prioritized their teacher identity over their tutor identity because they assume the regular teaching profession to possess a higher social status, to bring a more stable income and to provide more resources in favor of professional development than the private tutoring profession does. The organizational research using a micro-sociological perspective have shown that hierarchical relationship of multiple identities presumes "hierarchy of commitments in this relationship"

(Ramarajan, 2014, p. 598). That is, the extent that one will affirm commitments to the responsibilities of one professional identity over another will depend on the degree of salience of this identity in the hierarchy. As the present research indicates this extent may be determined by fulfilling the responsibilities of salient identity (i. e., teacher) at the expense of the responsibilities of non- salient identity (i. e., tutor).

The findings that identities may have temporal ties echo some assumptions of the developmental approach to dual identities. This approach studies the concept of identity as an evolutionary phenomenon which is unfolded or displaced within the life span (Phinney, 1993; Ganiere & Enright, 1989; Moen, 2003). The identity, which is being displaced, is entitled to have a temporal tie. Organizational scholars studying the multiple identities using developmental approach have suggested that one would unfold or displace professional identity depending on contextual factors facilitating professional growth (Higgins & Thomas, 2001). The latter is reflected in the present research results, where respondents indicated professional growth within regular university activities and a consequent increase of their income as the main factor of displacing tutor identity. The temporal tie of the identity is known to "motivate [one's] actions in present" (Ramarajan, 2014, p. 623). In other words, one may be less inclined to contribute to the activities of that professional identity which is assumed to be displaced. This may be another explanation of why the respondents constantly cancelled their private tutoring classes and felt the decrease in the quality of their teaching.

The findings that dual identities may come in conflict relationship reflect the assumption of all abovementioned disciplines. Although these disciplines employ different approaches to studying relationships between multiple/dual identities, they generally agree on the point that two or more identities come in conflict due to the contradicting values of one identity to others (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008; Goclowska & Crisp, 2014; Settle, 2004). Even though not explicitly, the respondents of the present research mentioned that their core teacher identity value to advance themselves as professionals for the benefits of their students contradicts the core tutor identity value to work for the benefits of themselves. Another indicated conflict is between their citizen identity that abides by the laws with their tutor identity that violates the laws. The conflict between the identities is found to be projected onto the "performance of one or both of these identities" (Jones & Hynie, 2017, p. 2). In the present study, this projection is revealed to be on the activities that correspond to one professional identity. In other words, due to the conflict tie between tutor and teacher identities, the activities of the former were reported to be of poor quality. Finally, the conflicting tie is assumed to cause an internal tension, since the "set of meanings, values, and behaviors" of one identity do not "satisfy… expectations" of another identity (Ramarajan, 2014, p. 614). This is found to be a case with the present RPs who admitted being emotionally strained, since the high standards that their teacher identity is striving for in professional activities are not maintained in the activities corresponding to the tutor identity.

The findings of the present study correspond with the findings of the previous study on teacher-tutor identity conducted by Kobakhidze (2018). In particular, teacher-tutors from the previous study valued their teacher role more due to its higher social status, and the moral aspect attached to this role. Another explanation of teacher identity to possess more value than the tutor identity in previous research is that later identity is usually self-imposed because of the teachers' financial needs. The present research participants have also indicated that they are involved in tutoring because of the financial gains rather than professional interests. As in the previous, the research participants in the present study indicated the conflict between their

dual professional identities. The study by Kobakhidze (2018) found that the conflict between two professional roles happen because teacher-tutors have to fulfill the responsibilities of one profession at the expense of another. The present study complements these findings and further indicates that the conflict between the professional roles is the result of the conflict between the core identities, which leads to the fulfilling the responsibilities of one professional identity at the expense of another. However, unlike the study by Kobakhidze (2018) which indicated that both teachers' and tutors' activities may be impacted depending on the importance of each role in a given time, the present study indicated that only the activities corresponding to the tutor's identities are negatively affected.

Conclusions and Further Directions

Private supplementary tutoring has been found to contribute to the social inequality as students from the disadvantaged backgrounds are deprived of the quality education to further progress in life. The tutors as the providers of this service are partly involved in promoting such inequality. In the given situation, only a few studies considered the motives driving teachers to become tutors, and most importantly, how the values and beliefs of both identities co-exist and are projected on their professional activities. The present study was a pioneering attempt in the discourse of Uzbekistan to shed light on this issue. In particular, within the intrapersonal identity network approach it aimed to reveal the types of relationship between tutor and teacher identities, to find out the reasons for existing types of the relationship and to identify the possible impact of each type on respondents' professional activities. The study reveals three most predominant types: power relationship, temporal and conflicting. The reason for power relationship, where the teacher identity is prioritized over the tutor identity, is the social status and a more stable income that the former identity denotes. The reason for the temporal relationship is the professional growth of the respondents and the inability of the tutor identity to meet their professional interests. The reason for conflicting relationship is contradicting values and beliefs of both identities. As a result, the power relationship and the temporal tie between the identities found to have led to the constant cancellation of the tutoring classes, and the conflicting tie reported to have led to decreased quality of PST service. Although not explicitly, the findings point out to the tension that teacher-tutors experience, which is the result of their conflicting professional values.

The present study has some limitations which are important to consider for the further research. Firstly, study has only investigated the intersection of two core identities–the teacher's and the tutor's ones. The professionals at university and elsewhere, however, are assumed to have more than two core identities (e. g., social: citizen identity, professional: researcher identity). Thus, the investigation of other core identities and their intersection with the two mentioned ones may present deeper insight into professionals' feelings, motives and activities, Secondly, the involvement of more research participants and increasing the research sample size are important to reveal the general trends. Since the present research is exploratory and as such involved small sample size of the research participants, it is not possible to generalize the obtained results. Thirdly, the verification of the research results needs to be considered in further studies. The present results indicated the decrease in quality of tutoring

classes; however, this decrease is indicated only by the perceptions of the research participants. The further research should apply the means to verify the actual impact of dual or multiple professional identities and their conflicting values on regular teaching and tutoring classes. Finally, the analysis of the existing country's policies is important to introduce PST as legally stipulated activity. In the present exploratory study, it has been found that teacher-tutors experience certain tension which is partially related to their feelings of being involved in illegitimate activities. The policies that will regard PST as a legal activity are assumed to mitigate tutors' tension and contribute to the quality of their classes.

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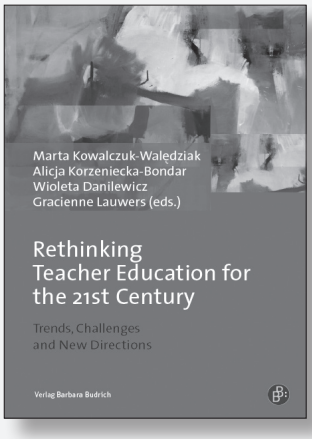

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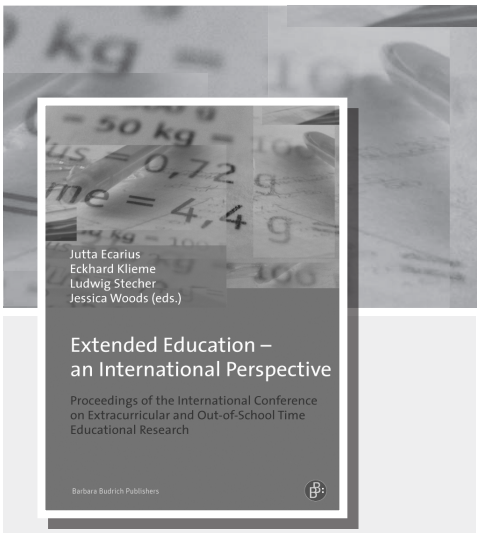

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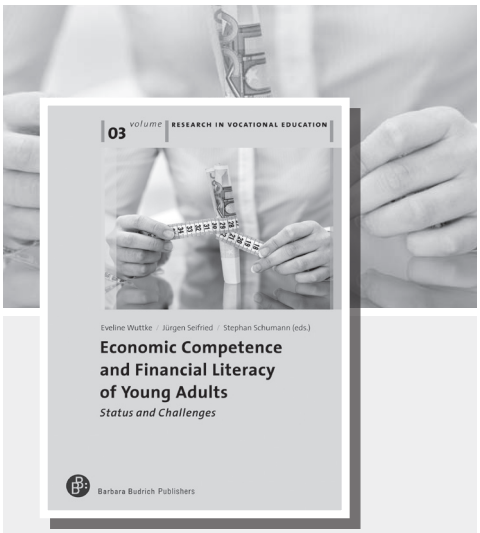

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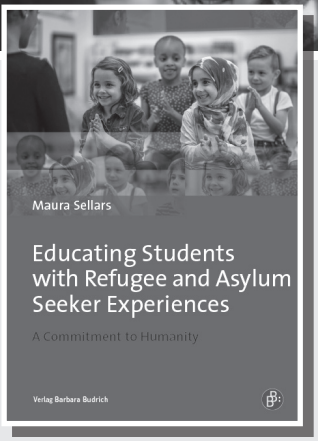

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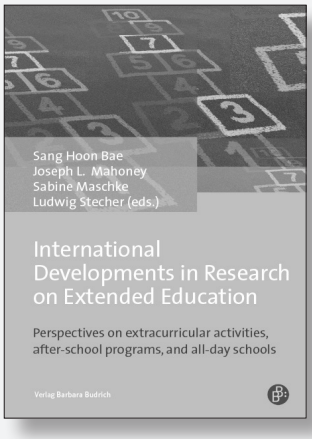

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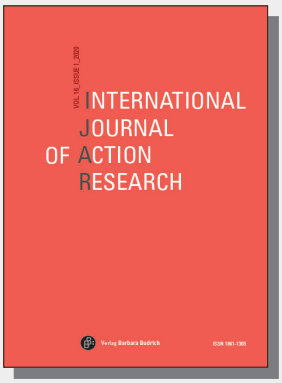

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