

A History of Shadow Education in Japan and South Korea

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Shadow Education

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Bray (1999) states “In general, the subjects given most attention in private tutoring are the ones most needed for educational and therefore socio-economic advancement. Commonly this means languages, mathematics and science” (p. 34). Bray’s statement provides an initial working definition of shadow education that can be further refined through analysis of the usage of competing terms within published research.

Shadow Education Terms

The term *shadow education* comes as an analogy which can be easily misunderstood. For example Watanabe (2013) described it as if the shadow referred to a sinister and dark industry, destined to operate in the shadows, despised by all. Hirst (2013) describes shadow education as having connotations that it is not a legal industry, and further states that *juku* work wholly in the shadow of the formal system of education teaching the same curricula. However, the *shadow* in shadow education was originally used to describe “the way that supplementary tutoring mimicked the mainstream, growing as the mainstream grew and changing shape as the mainstream changed shape” (Bray, 2010, p. 4). Thus the *shadow* in the term *shadow education* does not refer to education *in* the shadows, this form of education *is* the shadow.

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the supplementary education industry found in Malaysia by Marimuthu et al (1991), then Stevenson and Baker (1992) used the term as a nickname for the private supplementary education industry the following year, and independently by George (1992).

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Shadow education has many names, such as *supplementary education* by The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014), *private tutoring* (Bray 2009; Chan, 2014; Park, 1990; Ramos et al 2012.), *out-of-school classes* (Entrich, 2014b; OECD, 2014), *private institutions* (Nam, 2009; Ra, 1999; Ryu, 2003; Yun, 2005), *private academies* (Azuma, 2011), *private cram schools* (Chen & Lu, 2009), *private tuition* (Reddy, Lebani & Davidson, 2003), *private educational institutes* (Shon, 2011), *private sector English education* (Ryu, 2003), *academic institutes* (Sim, 2002), *extra lessons* (Stewart, 2015), and *bespoke education* (Davis, 2013).

Alternate terms include *juku* (Cook, 2013; Dierkes, 2010; Entrich, 2014a) and *hagwon* (Bray & Lykins, 2012). These are the forms of education that are discussed in this thesis. *Juku* is the Japanese version, and *hagwon* is the South Korean counterpart.

Accredited Education

Shadow education is not the sole domain of problematic terminology. As one cannot define a shadow without first defining light, a clear definition of shadow education cannot be made without first defining the education that it supplements. Studies that discuss shadow education use the terms *public education* (Roesgaard, 2006), *formal education* (Mori & Baker, 2010; Pham, 2015), *state sponsored education* (Southgate, 2009), *regular education* (Davis, 2013; Lowe, 2015), or *mainstream education* (Chan, 2014; Courtenay, 2013) to designate the education that is being supplemented. However each of these terms may not accurately clarify which forms of education are being

discussed, and imply a contrast that may not exist or contrasts with a pre-existing term that would not make sense.

The formal recognition of authority to grant academic honors comes from government *accreditation* agencies, allowing accreditation to serve as a criterion for defining shadow education. Shadow education is not accredited, so a student in one supplementary education institution who transfers to another may be required to retest before being placed in a program in the new institution. Thus the two forms of education can be separated objectively, using the terms *accredited education* and *shadow education*.

Shadow Education Defined

Shadow education is expected to be supplementary, improving the students' education and helping them achieve higher scores on tests and daily work in their accredited schools. However, the supplementary effects of shadow education on students' scores are still inconclusive (e.g. Gurun & Millimet, 2008; Smyth, 2008). Rather than claiming that a course or institution is definitively supplementary, it may be more accurate to define this industry in terms of the expectations held by students and their parents about the outcomes of the course or program.

Since students and parents of shadow education students expect courses to be supplementary to accredited courses, the majority of shadow education courses supplement courses considered core, tested subjects in order to raise educational and socio-economic advancement. Such subjects are typically languages, mathematics, and sciences. Subjects that may be taught in accredited schools but are not typically tested when taking entrance exams, for example cooking, would not qualify as shadow education (Bray, 1999).

A parent or friend may assist a student in academic achievement by teaching occasional lessons on core subjects, and such lessons are not accredited. In this thesis, a criterion is added, that shadow education must be regularly scheduled. Therefore, occasional help from a friend or parent would not qualify as shadow education because it is not a regularly scheduled program. One more criterion is added to eliminate self-study from qualifying as shadow education. Shadow education requires an educational manager such as a teacher or learning coach.

Using the above characteristics, shadow education can then be defined by four criteria; it is expected to be supplementary to the core subjects tested for advancement in accredited schools, it has a regular schedule, there is a teacher or educational manager overseeing the contents and pacing of the course, and it is not accredited.

History of Shadow Education

In China, Zhu Xi lamented the uselessness of accredited schools in 1179, because they were only teaching for the civil service exams. The schools were neglecting to help the students increase human capital and achieve self-actualization. With this perspective of accredited education, Zhu Xi promoted private education, and restored or founded academies himself (Azuma, 2011). Initially these schools were not accredited, but were supplementary to the schools that were accredited. The White Deer Grotto Academy was initially an accredited school at the time, but had not been used in some time before Zhu Xi restored it. As Zhu Xi's teachings and ideas were still considered revolutionary, and rather abrasive to the public officials at the time, the school was not considered accredited. However, these teachings had a great effect on the students, and nearly a hundred years after his death he was honored posthumously. In time, his teachings influenced both Japan, where his teachings are known as *shushigaku* (朱子学), as well as in Korea under the term *jujahak* (주자학).

Shadow education appears (or reappears) when there is a gap, causing unmet needs. Shadow education may address fundamental gaps, such as access to education in general, or access to subjects ignored by accredited schools. During Zhu Xi's time (1130-1200), the education of commoners in China, particularly for reading and writing was the domain of family schools, free private schools and community schools, adopting and adapting accredited schools' pedagogy. Zhu Xi was a firm believer in education for all, and that education was for the benefit of the fellow man. Accredited education at the time was focusing on passing the public servant tests at the expense of education for higher knowledge or self actualization. The general populace had little to no access to these schools due to time and money constraints. The schools established or reformed by Zhu Xi attempted to meet these needs

and bridge these academic gaps.

In Japan, during the Edo period [1603-1868] most shadow education schools in Japan followed Confucian principles, teaching subjects such as medicine and western learning, which were largely ignored by the accredited schools. During this same period, the civil service exams in Vietnam and Korea were the main means of social and economic mobility, so the accredited schools taught mainly for the exam, while private academies were set up to teach commoners reading and writing, among other basic subjects (Azuma, 2011).

Juku / Hagwon

Having described the current state of shadow education with some historical background, the discussion now turns to a definition and description of an overlapping but not equal form of education, beginning with the Japanese form *juku*, and moving to the Korean form *hagwon*. After these institutions are discussed, the forms of *juku / hagwon* which fall directly under the term shadow education will be introduced and discussed.

Juku are said to “supply a wide range of educational services to children at the primary and secondary levels of schooling” (Mawer, 2015 p. 131). The term *juku* is often narrowly interpreted into English as “cram school” (Dierkes, 2011), but actually has the meaning of any education that is outside the accredited system (Bray, 2010; Dierkes, 2011; Entrich, 2014a) for any age. Further defining *juku*, Entrich (2014b) states: “A *juku* is a private for-profit school offering all sorts of instructions in academic as well as non-academic fields. While nonacademic *juku* are concerned with *naraigoto*, academic *juku* are school subject related and offer private tutoring, enrichment as well as remedial classes or the preparation for tests” (p. 5). *Naraigoto* (習い事), are subjects of interest for further learning, but not considered core to accredited education. Thus *naraigoto* are not considered either accredited education, nor shadow education. This form of education is included in this report because shadow education has its roots in the *juku / hagwon* system, which includes *naraigoto*.

There are many piano *juku / hagwon*, art *juku / hagwon*, and other such institutions only loosely related, or completely unrelated in most aspects

to the formal education system (Kuroishi & Takahashi, 2009) such as bartending *juku*, or fish identification *hagwon*. Southgate (2009) defines the shadow education system, stating it “does not include non-academic lessons such as music, the arts or athletics”, however, he then uses the term *juku* synonymously with Japanese shadow education, demonstrating the need for clarification of these terms.

Juku History

Mehl (2003) writes that the earliest *juku* existed in the eighth century. Historically, *juku* did not start out as shadow education institutions as there were no accredited version of education at one time to shadow. At the time, typical studies included math, martial arts, history, arts, and agriculture.

The history of Western language learning in Japan began when a Portuguese ship landed in Tanegashima after having been blown off course in 1543. The Portuguese were followed by Spanish, Dutch, and English traders and missionaries. These western traders were in competition with each other and had frequent conflicts. Since the Portuguese arrived first, the lingua franca of western international trade with Japan through the 16th century was Portuguese. However, other Portuguese traders engaged in piracy and the Spanish reciprocated. Many Japanese of all classes converted to Christianity quickly, with an estimated half million Christians in 1614 (Janeira, 1970). In 1641, the successful conversion of so many people, along with the infighting and piracy led Tokugawa Ieyasu to banish all foreigners from Japanese soil, including Chinese and Koreans.

From that time the Dutch had a monopoly on trade in Japan which lasted for over 200 years, partly due to the shogun and Dutch traders' common enmity with the Portuguese and Spanish (Vos, 2014). The expulsion and mistrust of the Portuguese changed the language of trade to Dutch.

The Dutch who were allowed to remain after Japan's seclusion were relegated to an artificial island Dejima, to exploit a loophole in the law. Since foreigners were no longer allowed on Japanese soil, Dejima became a compromise since it was not a natural island of Japan. The Dutch were permitted to land there and traded with Japanese interpreters, called *oranda tsuji*, the only Japanese allowed to visit the island. These Dutch traders

had an impact on the Japanese language (Shintani, 2013), and introduced western forms of mathematics, astronomy, geography, navigation, shipbuilding techniques, medicine, and pharmacology to Japan.

From the time the first Portuguese traders arrived in Japan, translators with skill rather than credentials were required. Initially these traders used the official interpreters provided by the government, but found that their language skills were not sufficient (Vos, 2014). The interpreters originally assigned to the Dutch traders in Dejima were not only interpreters, but officially sanctioned representatives of the Tokugawa government. At the time, this occupation was based on heredity, not skill (Yamashita, 2015).

The *juku* system in Japan increased in size and numbers from the time of the Edo period [1603-1868] (Azuma, 2011). According to Blumenthal (1992, in Cook, 2013), in Edo times, the term *juku* referred to small schools “founded by individual scholars or teachers specifically for teaching martial arts, special skills, or the doctrines of particular philosophical schools” (p. 2). The heart of these *juku* was one charismatic and educated individual, who inspired students to moral integrity and intellectual improvement (Mehl, 2003).

Such schools were started within the *samurai* class, and were originally called *hanko*, or fief school. *Hanko* were set up by provincial *daimyo* to educate the sons of *samurai* families. Seeing the advantages that the *samurai* had through education, other classes such as farmers, craftsmen, and tradesmen set up schools on parallel principles called *shijuku* (Mori & Baker, 2010), and in local temples the priests, *samurai*, and other educated personalities set up *terakoya*, also called *shoin*, to educate the common people. This was tolerated by the *daimyo* as it raised production and trade profits. Students in *terakoya* and *shijuku* learned basic life skills such as reading, writing and basic math. The students in *hanko* studied these things and also learned Confucianism, swordsmanship and poetry. Collectively the higher levels of *hanko* and *terakoya* were called *juku*, however there has always been a great overlap in the terms used for these institutions.

The *juku* system has regulated the accredited education system of Japan throughout its history (Russell, 2002), even giving birth to it, rather than being a reactionary shadow. Some historical *juku* managed to survive, thrive, and become major universities, such as Nishogakusha founded by Chuushuu

Mishima, the oldest *Kangaku juku*, (*juku* following Chinese styles of learning).

Ogata Koan's school Tekijuku was founded in 1838. This early *juku* was considered a large scale Dutch language study center. At the time it focused mainly on the reading of medical books. Tekijuku employed three educational principles that went directly against the credentialism of the time. The first principle is that education is not for oneself, but for the service of others. The second principle states that a student may receive advice from seniors, but must study by himself. The third principle is that students would be tested six times a month. Students such as Tsunetami Sano, who set up the Japanese Red Cross Society studied medicine and graduated from this *juku* (Shimizu, 2010). Tekijuku's pedagogy and educational principles were influential in studies of other languages such as English.

The first native speaker of English to teach English in Japan was Ranald MacDonald, who in June 1848 came ashore in Hokkaido in defiance of the isolationist government. The American MacDonald was taken to Dejima and held in a cell, where he was ordered to teach fourteen interpreters of Dutch the English language from his cell. The interpreters sat on tatami mats in front of his cell as he taught communicative English, and was later deported (Shimizu, 2010). *Juku* for interpretation and translation were established by some of the fourteen official interpreters, using communicative methods they were taught by MacDonald. These *juku* filled the gaps created by the official hereditary system, the accredited system at the time, and later were formally recognized (accredited) by the Tokugawa government.

The Meiji Restoration [1868] abolished the class system and attempted to create a system based on merit. Many of the *samurai* class suddenly found themselves without a profession. Unlike China, Korea, and Vietnam, Japanese *juku* were created initially for education of interested members of the population, not for civil service exams (Azuma, 2011). Bureaucrats up to this time had been recruited through connections based on class, but as the national government tried to move away from parentage towards skill-oriented advancement, tests were introduced similar to those already introduced in China and other Asian countries. To pass these exams students had to enter and pass through the *juku* system first. At this time the *juku* system was by default the accredited version of education similar to the K-12

system of modern schools.

The government established the Imperial University in Tokyo in 1886. Graduates of the Imperial University were exempted from civil servant tests causing a rush among the former *samurai* class, who could afford the tuition or had connections to people who could extend loans, to enter the university (Watanabe, 2013). Students who wished to enter this university came from a wide variety of schools.

The Imperial University had to find a way to screen the applicants, many of whom would be unable to cope with the demanding studies. At this time schools for the general populace had not yet been divided by age and levels, and subjects taught also varied, as did the standards. To bridge the gap between the studies the applicants had been exposed to and the studies that they would be faced with on entry, private institutions rapidly formed. Standards for entrance to the Imperial University were investigated and quickly became the subject of studies at these private institutions, which then standardized exit testing amongst themselves. The Imperial University soon adopted these exit tests for entrance screening, which became the first university entrance exams in Japan. This was the same process by which entrance exams were instituted for other vocational schools in disciplines such as medicine, civil service, and law (Amano, 1983/1990).

When the Japanese emperor drew the country into war, there was little time for shadow education, and even accredited education was only provided for military purposes and needs. At junior high school age, male students would not have remained in one place long enough to maintain a private school, and female students were busy with local war efforts and city tasks at home, such as creating fire lanes and driving streetcars.

Academic *juku* re-emerged shortly after World War II ended. Education and industry was seen as the way for Japan's rebirth and *juku* slowly underwent a modernization period. In the 1950s and 1960s the *juku* industry was used mostly by elite students. In 1955 accredited high school enrollment was approximately 50 percent, while tertiary enrollment was only 10 percent. By 1976, when government studies of *juku* started, enrollment of junior high school students in *juku* was approximately 38 percent, while accredited high school enrollment reached over 90 percent and tertiary enrollment

was approximately 40 percent. In 1985, while the media was portraying the shadow industry in a negative light, enrollment had risen to 45 percent and enrollment peaked near 1993 at 60 percent. With increased enrollment in accredited schools came an increased demand for *juku*, as access was increasingly limited. (Mori & Baker, 2010)

Juku in Japan gradually adapted to business needs and became an important industry. Russell (1997) estimated that eight of ten secondary school students in Japan attended *juku* in 1997. This industry was estimated to have annual revenues of approximately US\$ 14 billion by the mid-1990s (Dang & Rogers, 2008, p. 3). Sato (2005) reports there were over 50,000 *juku* accounting for over 10 trillion yen of income in 2005.

Hagwon History

According to the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE), in South Korea, the *Goguryeo* kingdom established the first (accredited) school in 372 A.D. called *taehak* (big education). Soon after, the *seodang*, private elementary schools, spread and remained popular through the *Goryeo* and *Joseon* dynasties (KICE, 2012). These *seodang* were not set up or organized by the kingdom governments but were private equivalents (shadows) of *taehak*, and as such can be loosely classified as the earliest recorded shadow education in Korea. These private schools typically were limited to fewer than ten privileged students and not accessible to common people.

The first accessible schools in South Korea were organized at approximately the same time as those in Japan, after the seventeenth century (Azuma, 2011). At this time they went through a phase similar to that of the *juku*. Early *hagwon* were places where people could learn to read, write, and do simple math.

As in Vietnam, Japan, and China, the works of Zhu Xi were widely read and studied (Azuma, 2011). Zhu Xi wrote commentaries on the Four Books: the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, Analects of Confucius, and Mencius, considered classics. These four books were basic reading for students hoping to pass the civil service test, and after his death, Zhu Xi's commentaries were accepted as required reading in order to gain a basic understanding of the four books. His commentaries and teachings advocated

education for all regardless of social class. Zhu Xi also taught his ideals of educational attainment by example. After passing the Imperial Examination, each time Zhu Xi took official positions he was demoted for exposing corruption and incompetence of other officials, finally being accused of various crimes resulting in his execution.

Zhu Xi's ideas of education spread through Korea, known as *jujahak* (주자학), and in Japan as *shushigaku* (朱子学). His life exemplified his disdain for credentialism and his support for self-actualization through education for all.

When missionaries began proselytizing in Korea they also started to teach foreign languages, especially English. Teaching English was partly due to demand, but most of the first missionaries were Portuguese. With the arrival in 1884 of Horace Allen, a Presbyterian missionary and doctor of medicine, protestant missionaries began to spread education and medical treatment to the masses with the assistance of the royal family (Kim, 2003).

Before the annexation of Korea by Japan (1910-1945), there had been approximately 3,000 *hagwon* serving as private schools in Korea. When Japan annexed Korea all private schooling was banned at first, but soon Japanese forces found it easier to control the people when they allowed private teaching to resume in addition to the education the occupying forces supplied themselves (Kim, 2003). After the war ended and the country regained autonomy, Korea was left with an education system that was not based on birth and gender. At this time education became the most important key for social mobility, and the fairest way to access higher education was the university entrance exam system.

From the end of World War II until 1954, Korean colleges had a serious corruption problem in their admittance process. Unfair practices included admitting more students than their quota allowed, and admitting unqualified students who had monetary or political power. In response, the Rhee regime (1948-1960) created the National College Admissions Unified Test, which was used along with separate college administered tests for screening applicants more fairly. This test included Korean literature, English, mathematics, social studies and science. The National College Admissions Unified Test only lasted one year however, because students were dissatisfied with it, politicians used

their influence to ensure their children passed the test, and test questions and answers were leaked.

In 1955 this test was replaced by using aggregate scores and records from high school or only percentile ranks. This non-examination system was also abused. Universities continued to admit more students than their quota allowed for financial reasons. The bigger problem at this time was middle school examinations. Elementary school students were under pressure to pass middle school admissions exams until the examination was abolished in 1968.

Individual college examinations heavily influenced high schools, which tested only Korean literature, mathematics, social studies and science. This caused high schools to only teach these subjects, omitting others, such as English. This problem lasted through Park's regime (1962-1979), and increased in severity. The courses in accredited schools only focused on how to pass the entrance exams. At this time, Park focused educational reform on the college system, endorsing the National College Admissions Qualification Test as the primary way to screen applicants. Park's government also restricted applications to 110 percent of the quota of a university. Park's regime found that efforts to improve the system ended up causing more problems than it solved. Test items that had been a mix of multiple-choice, short, and long answer questions changed to multiple-choice items. In 1964, Park's government gave up on their national exam and restored the college-administered tests as the primary screening method. The subjects tested by these college-administered exams were confined to Korean literature, English, mathematics, social studies and science.

In 1969, colleges and the government collaborated on a screening system. Under this system the government tests were only for initial screenings, and consisted of multiple-choice questions. Applicants who passed this screening could take the college administered main test. This was an attempt to stop colleges from cheating on their quotas. The subjects tested under this new system were increased. Despite these efforts, some problems persisted and intensified. Competition for entrance provoked high schools to intensify their college preparatory courses, creating an abnormal education program. Until this time *hagwon* were not considered important, but due to the college-

administered tests, the shadow education industry grew. The college-administered tests were mostly open-ended questions and went far beyond the accredited curriculum. Applicants felt compelled to attend despite the high costs. During Park's regime, control of admission policy swung between the government, under which test items were mostly multiple-choice of a wider number of subjects requiring rote learning, to the colleges, under which test items were mixed, multiple-choice and essay answers in limited major subjects.

In the 1970s the class sizes, numbering nearly 70 students per class, and the low amount of spending, approximately 10-30\$ (U.S.) per student per year, made conditions in junior high and high schools intolerable. At this time, shadow education became the best way for students to prepare for university entrance exams in a variety of subjects. Lee (2011) estimates that there were 1,421 *hagwon* in 1970.

When Chun came into power in 1980, he attempted to overhaul the entire education system. It was at this time that shadow education costs were first seen as a national problem, along with excessive competition for university admission. Chun passed the 7.30 Educational Reform act in 1980, which prohibited attendance in supplemental education courses designed for exam preparation. This was in an attempt to curb students' dependence on this form of education. Notifying relevant government agencies about those who continued to participate as a student, parent, or teacher garnered a reward. This prohibition did not allow teaching those who needed remedial learning, but did allow teaching students who graduated high school but failed to enter university, as well as those who needed to study arts or physical education. To alleviate the scope of the exam problem, several entrance exams were also abolished, the school curriculum was changed along with national education standards, and diverse schools were established (Lee, 2011).

The College Admissions Preliminary Test and the high school percentile rank were the only forms of screening. This test included seven subjects: Korean literature, national history, mathematics, Chinese classics, national ethics, politics and economics, and industrial technology or household management. Co-elective subjects included one foreign language including English, and one vocational subject. The school rankings system continued

to be problematic for screening because it failed to consider academic discrepancies between schools. In addition, colleges made it more difficult to graduate, artificially increasing their enrollment.

In 1982, the screening system was revised to make the College Admissions Scholastic Achievement Test, which used the high school grade percentile as a secondary screening factor. This test was revised every year, but remained the primary screening system until 1993, continuing through Roh's regime (1988-1993).

Kim, the first civilian president of South Korea (1993-1998), formed the Presidential Committee for Education Reform, which initiated four major educational plans. This committee proposed the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) based on the SAT used in the United States. This test was supposed to remedy the measuring of rote learning as in previous national exams, and increase higher order and analytic thinking skills. These skills were thought at the time to be impervious to shadow education because short term tutoring would not be effective. Colleges were allowed from this time to use the CSAT in conjunction with other screening methods. Although shadow education was expected to become irrelevant with the adoption of the CSAT, it had exactly the opposite effect. *Hagwon* dramatically increased because students could not prepare for the CSAT alone and there was a general distrust of the high school education system. (Choi & Park, 2013)

In April 2000, the shadow education ban was judged unconstitutional (Lee, 2013) and shadow education re-emerged as an industry (Park & Ablemann, 2004) allowing current forms of *hagwon* to spring up. According to Lee (2011) there were 67,649 *hagwon* in 2007, employing over 200,000 teachers and tutors. Since the ban on *hagwon* was lifted, the industry went from an unknown percentage of students in 2000 to an estimate by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) of 80.9% of primary school students, 70.6% of middle school students, and 50.7% of upper secondary school students by 2012 (MEST, 2013) participating in lessons. This rise caused the government to become aggressive in regulations, but remain tolerant of the industry.

As in Japan, pre-world war two *hagwon* that survived the difficult times and maintained their popularity became accredited graduate schools and high schools. Also similar to Japan, university entrance exams were created by

the *hagwon* first, rather than the universities (Seth, 2006). There is less evidence that *hagwon* have historically played as much of a regulating role on accredited education in South Korea (Russell, 2002) as can be seen in Japan. Mori and Baker (2010) predict the shadow education system in the future will come around full circle, becoming accepted by accredited education systems and then becoming legitimized (accredited). Sim (2002) sees shadow education as possibly replacing the current accredited system in time.

In South Korea, the *hagwon* industry is reported to amount to around 20 billion US dollars per year (Kim, 2008, p. 6), or approximately 2.9% of the GDP, coming close to the public education spending of 3.4% (Dang & Rogers, 2008). It is unclear in these national surveys if the numbers include *naraigoto hagwon*, or only supplementary *hagwon*.

Throughout its history, the *hagwon* industry has, and continues to include *naraigoto* courses similar to Japanese *juku*. Examples of courses taught by *hagwon* which can be found using South Korea's dominant search engine *Naver* are: abacus, singing, dancing, cooking, speech, acting, modeling, medicine, airline staff, and used car sales. Due to the academically inclusive nature of *juku / hagwon*, these terms cannot be accurately used as synonyms of shadow education.

Juku / Hagwon Research

Despite the amount of financial investment and the mixed government policies concerning this huge industry, there is relatively little published research being conducted (Bray, 2007; Lowe, 2015; Southgate, 2009). Two reasons supplied by Lowe (2015) are “Researchers do not work in *juku*”, and “(*j*)*uku* are difficult to access” (p. 28).

Watanabe (2013) describes the various forms of shadow education in Japan admirably, but fails to state the sources of much of his information, whether it is from firsthand observations, common knowledge, or internet searches. This is in direct contrast to studies of accredited school studies such as Kim (2014), in which accredited elementary school English education was systematically studied, comparing Japanese and Korean elementary school English classes, triangulating the data with observations, questionnaires, and interviews. Roesgaard's (2006) widely cited study investigated “the relation

between *juku*, regular schools and *Monbusho*" (the Japanese ministry of education) (p. 22). Roesgaard's study deals with elementary school *juku*, and includes a typology of *juku* for this age group. However, this study is based solely on interviews with *juku* administrators and staff in one area of Japan.

Research of *juku* / *hagwon* suffers from a lack of studies based on direct classroom observations which could be used as a framework, such as found in studies of accredited schools by Anderson (1987), Anderson (1995), Lewis (1984), Osborn and Broadfoot (1992), Murdock (1999), Szendroi (2010), and Vulliamy, Kimonen, Nevalainen, and Webb (1997).

O'Sullivan (2006, p. 247) summarized this quandary in an anecdote about a visit to the doctor. When one goes to see the doctor there are two steps. Step one involves the doctor asking what is wrong. Step two is when the doctor does an examination of the problem. O'Sullivan (2006) notes that primary education lacks this second step in developing countries. When people believe something is wrong with an education system, relevant literature is referred to in order to fix it, without examining the problem firsthand. This appears to be precisely the case with shadow education in general.

On the other hand, the studies cited in this study show that studies about *juku* and *hagwon* have increased in recent years. Hagen Koo (2007) states that there appears to be significantly more research being conducted in the Korean context, where government and social commentators are vocal about the issues in access to education and long-term social mobility which stem from the supplementary education industry. While that may be the case, during the course of this study, some accessibility issues became apparent. It was more difficult to find information about this topic written in Korean since many of the studies written by South Korean academics were only accessible with a national identification number, in online repositories difficult for non-natives of Korea to navigate. However, dissertations and theses written in Korean often have an English abstract with searchable keywords, which the Japanese studies typically do not.

The Purpose of *Juku* / *Hagwon*

Hirst (2013) describes *juku* as parasitic in its relationship with accredited education, and blames *juku* for a pervasive culture of disengagement and

disenfranchisement among Japanese youth. Among lists of the problems that are associated with *juku* / *hagwon*, the OECD's (2011) list is exceptionally detailed and assumes that all *juku* are for core academic studies. This list blames *juku*, but also accurately outlines negative opinions of *hagwon* such as those of Card (2005). The list includes:

1. Long commutes and night-time travel to *juku* has a negative influence on student's (sic) daily life.
2. *Juku* impose a significant burden on parents.
3. Time for normal life experiences, such as play, family and local activities, is insufficient because of *juku*.
4. Long commutes and night-time travel to *juku* has a negative impact on students' health and energy.
5. Excessive competition in school entrance exams has a negative impact on children's character.
6. The focus of parents and children on their *juku* studies leads them to neglect their school lessons.
7. The impact of the parents' income on the academic ability of their children has become too large.
8. The emphasis on outstanding results ignores students' desires and distorts their career choices.
9. Students' thinking ability and desire for individual study are not cultivated.
10. Participation in school training activities is reduced.
11. Increased eating at restaurants due to *juku* attendance has an adverse impact on children's health.
12. Differing instructions given by the school and the *juku* create confusion and insecurity in children and parents.
13. The commute to *juku* creates opportunities for misconduct by children.
14. Severe competition between *juku* has led to unfair advertising and troubles with contracts (p. 112).

Despite this list of problems that *juku* are blamed for, this industry continues to exist. The following are some of the reasons cited for the *juku* / *hagwon* industry's resilience.

Gaps in Education. There are many academic gaps in accredited

education. Ministries of education focus primary and secondary education on math, sciences, social studies, health, languages, and arts, but people find the need to gain other skills as evidenced by *naraigoto* courses. Public educational programs are too specific to be of use to the public that may want to learn other subjects (Park, 1990; Park & Abelmann, 2004).

Age Restrictions. Core subjects taught by accredited schools have the drawback of being taught in a specific pre-determined sequence deemed appropriate only for students of a specific age. Some students may want to escape this restriction. *Naraigoto juku / hagwon* do not have inherent age restrictions, and can be attended by youth otherwise considered too young, as well as adults. Some of these institutions also have classes for adults who have forgotten, or never fully mastered, the contents of subjects they learned in high school. Other courses, particularly languages such as English, have mixed adult and youth attendance based on levels rather than age. In addition, many home tutors teach lessons for entire families together.

Teachers. Historically *juku* and *hagwon* were run by charismatic teachers. To some extent, this continues. Some *juku / hagwon* are taught by teachers who are locally famous or popular. These teachers may be sought after for their entertaining teaching style, the way they care for their students, or their fame as leaders in their profession.

Gakushuu Juku / Ibshi Hagwon

The terms *juku* and *hagwon* include education shadowing accredited education and *naraigoto* courses. In this section, the discussion turns to only those educational programs classified as both shadow education and *juku / hagwon*.

Japanese graduate students researching the shadow education environment, specifically institutions of supplementary nature such as Akimoto (2013), Inui and Ida (2009), and Kuroishi and Takahashi (2009), use the terms *gakushuu juku*, a term adopted by Dierkes (2011) and Entrich (2014a) among others. Korean graduate school researchers such as Bang (2006), Cho (2011), Hong (2007), Ryu (2003), and Sim (2002) use the term *ibshi hagwon* to refer to the same supplementary context in South Korea. Lee (2011) states that nearly 80% of the registered *hagwon* in South Korea are *ibshi hagwon*, the

remaining 20% being *naraigoto hagwon*.

In Japan, *gakushuu juku* diverged from the *juku* system shortly after 1886, when the Imperial University was established. By necessity, the *naraigoto* courses were discarded in these new unaccredited preparatory schools, in favor of core subjects and remedial preparation courses. *Gakushuu juku* again emerged shortly after World War Two ended and once again higher education became a way to a better life and rebuilding Japan.

Education in Korea was ad-hoc system until the occupation by Japan. Although there were schools available to many, courses were taught as teachers with knowledge became available, and were not government sponsored. After the Japanese left Korea, there was a formal schooling system in place. Admittance to university required elite academic skills, or connections. Although there was a screening system in place, it went through frequent changes mainly due to corruption. During this time there was little incentive to attend *ibshi hagwon*, as students could get in by demonstrating very high intelligence, or by connections and bribes. From 1969, the universities under Park's regime, attempted to reform the screening process to a merit-based system. Students then had an incentive to bring their education levels up, resulting in high rates of participation in *ibshi hagwon*.

Courses

Courses typical of *gakushuu juku* in Japan are primarily mathematics and English, with Japanese, social studies, and science as less popular subjects (Shintani, 2013. p. 360). In South Korea, popular *ibshi hagwon* courses are reading, writing, English, mathematics, social studies, science (biology, physics, chemistry, and earth science), foreign languages (other than English), and computers (Lee, 2013).

Current Typologies and Parameters

Bray, a pioneer of research into global supplementary education, outlines the dimensions of shadow education (which he also at times calls parameters) of *supplementation*, *privateness*, *levels*, and *forms* (Bray, 1999). Bray uses these dimensions to describe aspects of shadow education courses or programs, but did not use them to define shadow education types.

While lumping all forms of *gakushuu juku* together under the term *juku*, Roesgaard (2006) ignores *naraigoto* and offers a typology with parameters that has been adopted by others such as Cook (2013) and Shintani (2013).

According to Roesgaard (2006), *shingaku juku* targets students who are focusing on entrance exams, but have time, usually years to study before taking the tests. This term is now considered outdated for junior high and high school age courses and is currently used for elementary school age courses studying in preparation for junior high school entrance exams.

A further distinction is the *yobiko*. *Yobiko* are typically not considered *juku*, (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Roesgaard, 2006; Shintani, 2013) but have a similar function to *shingaku juku*. *Yobiko* target students who have already graduated high school but failed to enter their university of choice (Mori & Baker, 2010). These students choose to take time out from their accredited educational studies until the next round of university entrance exams in hopes of entering their first choice university (Park, 2011).

Using Bray's (1999) parameter of enrichment - remediation, *shingaku juku* and *yobiko* could be expected to fit the enrichment education classification, while *gakushuu juku* would fit the remediation education classification according to Roesgaard (2006). However this is often not the case. *Shingaku juku* and *yobiko* are expected to give their students an extra educational boost for an advantage over the other applicants, but often the advantage they actually gain is more remedial in nature. *Gakushuu juku* also attempt to offer shortcuts to getting higher scores along with remedial education. Lee (2004) finds that students who attend *ibshi hagwon* wish to "not merely improve their records, but supplement their poor subjects" (p. 85).

The types of shadow education defined by Roesgaard (2006) in addition to those already listed above are *gakushuu juku*, *hoshuu juku* (for remedial teaching), *fukushuu juku* (for supplementary teaching), *yoshuu juku* (for preparatory teaching), *kyousai juku* ("likened to a free school", p. 32), and *doriru juku* (relying on drills and repetitive exercises). The definition of *kyousai juku* is particularly unclear.

Roesgaard (2006) lists eight variables to describe the types of *juku*: Atmosphere, Focus of courses, Relation to school, Students, Teaching material, Size, Admission, and Advertising. Her report attempts to define four of the

types she identified (*shingaku juku*, *hoshuu juku*, *kyousai juku*, and *doriru juku*) using these variables. The relations of the program to the variables are all based on interviews with *juku* staff.

Although Roesgaard (2006) provides descriptions based on these eight variables, closer scrutiny of the characteristics she used to identify differences between the *juku* types revealed instead the following defining characteristics: target student ages, student levels, goals according to *juku* staff, and amount of teacher involvement.

Mawer (2015) lists the following types of *juku*: *gakushuu juku* (broken into *shuudann shidou* meaning group instruction, and *kobetsu shidou* meaning individual instruction), *shingaku juku*, *hoshuu juku*, *kyousai / kyuusai / kyouiku rinen juku*, *sougou juku*, and *doriru juku*. As with Roesgaard (2006), Mawer (2015) ignores *naraigoto juku* and gives descriptions that are intended to define the differing types. However on closer scrutiny, Mawer uses the same defining characteristics Roesgaard (2006) uses to differentiate them. In Mawer's (2015) typology the hierarchy of types has overlapping definitions to a greater extent than in Roesgaard's (2006) study. For example, Mawer (2015) defines a *gakushuu juku* as "a summarizing term for *juku* specializing in instruction of academic school subjects relevant for entrance examinations." Then *shingaku juku* is defined as *juku* that "specialize in preparatory education for entrance examinations; targeting academically better performing students" (p. 136). According to these definitions *shingaku juku* is clearly one type of *gakushuu juku*, but is listed as being a separate type.

Mawer (2015) states that two of the *juku* included in the publication fit within the category of *shingaku juku*, however in the conclusions asserts that even though the courses fit the definitions of elite *shingaku juku*, the teacher of the courses mentioned that they often needed to do remedial instruction as well. Roesgaard (2006) also states that the terms she defined were used in her interviews with administrators, but that the administrators tended to try to further redefine the terms during their discussions, which suggests that the popular usage of the terms was not sufficiently clear and was open to personal interpretation.

Purpose of *Gakushuu Juku* / *lbshi Hagwon*

In Asian countries such as Japan (OECD, 2011), South Korea (KICE, 2012), and Vietnam (Pham, 2015), high school education is not mandatory, so students must take an entrance exam to enter high school. Indeed, to get in to the high school of choice a student may need to take an entrance exam to get into the correct junior high school to prepare for the high school entrance exam (Park, 2011; Sorensen, 1994). Thus a student's examination history may well begin at the elementary school level (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Park & Abelmann, 2004; Roesgaard, 2006).

Entrance into the right elementary school may have a chain effect on the student's life choices long after graduation from university. The converse is also true; failure to gain entrance into the right junior high school results in a chain of failures, resulting in limited choices in adult life (Sorensen, 1994; Southgate, 2009). This is the fear that drives students to participate in the shadow education industry as early as elementary school.

Entrance Exams. Without an understanding of the entrance exam systems, it would be difficult to understand the shadow education systems. Students and parents alike see education as the course towards greater economic freedom, and the more prestigious the school, the more prosperous the student is expected to be (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Sorensen (1994) states that in Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, educational success and socioeconomic status correlate much more highly than in the USA.

The resulting pressure on students to gain access to their chosen university is so great that in South Korea, for one day usually in December, airlines are redirected, government workers are asked to arrive at work one hour later than usual, and police cars are on standby for students who are running late or are caught in traffic jams. This is university entrance exam day. Zeng (1999) claims "exams are the only cause and *raison d'être* of the vast cram industry" (p. 202). Although the exams are a highly visible reason for these institutions to exist, others are described in this report.

In Japan, the government sponsored university entrance exam is the National Center Test for University Admissions, commonly called the Center Test. The Center Test is required for entrance to all national universities, and the primary test for many other universities (Hirst, 2013). However, there are

many other ways to gain entrance to universities, especially since 1996 when the student population peaked. Due to the still declining number of students taking the university entrance tests, many universities have had difficulty enrolling enough students to remain open. This decrease in competition has made it increasingly easy to gain admission to a university of higher rank, and has opened backdoors.

In order to boost student numbers, many universities in Japan have increased use of other forms of tests, such as the *suisen* (recommended) test, also known as *suishin* test. Universities allow, or even encourage high schools to recommend a set number of students to their university. This number is subject to change depending on the quality of students who were recommended the previous year and student recruitment quotas. If a university has trouble with students from a specific high school, the number allowed to enter by *suisen* test from that high school may be decreased for the next school year. This promotes expectations of good student behavior in both high school and university, and assists the universities in filling their recruiting goals.

There are two forms of the *suisen* test, the *shiteikou suisen* (指定校推薦) and *ippan suisen* (一般推薦). The *shiteikou suisen* is more of a process than a test. The high school directly appeals for admission on behalf of the student, and admission is usually based solely on the results of a single interview combined with the student's high school records. The *ippan suisen* is a simplified form of entrance exam. Students taking this exam need permission and cooperation from their high school. The *ippan suisen* is comprised of a simplified exam, a review of their high school records, and in many cases, an interview of the prospective student, but the order in which these happen varies (Roesgaard, 2006).

Although Japanese students must prepare themselves for the Center Test by default, most universities require students to take their in-house exam separately as well (Hirst, 2013). *Gakushuu juku* staff must be aware of the requirements of nearby and popular universities, past issues that disqualified students who would have otherwise been granted admission, and advantageous forms of the entrance exams of universities their students may choose. If the problems an individual student are likely to face are purely pedagogic, special focus will be given to these problems during courses. If the

issues are behavioral, social, or procedural, staff may have additional advisory sessions with affected students.

For school year 2017, 547,391 students took the Center Test. This test covered Japanese (200 points), geography (100 points), citizenship (100 points), maths (200 points), sciences (150 points), and foreign languages (250 points). Within the foreign languages, 540,029 students took the English test, while 116 took German, 134 took French, 558 took Chinese, and 185 took Korean. (National University Admissions Center, 2017).

In South Korea, the government sponsored exam is the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) (Kawano, 2003), also nicknamed the Korean Scholastic Ability Test (KSAT) (Choi, 2015), or the *suneung* (수능) or *jeongshi jeonhyeong* (정시 전형) in Korean (Yun, 2005). As with the Japanese Center exam, this is the test that all students are to study for by default until they choose a specific university, which may have alternate tests.

Approximately 80 percent of Korean students gain admission to an institution of higher learning (KICE 2012). According to the Education Testing Service (ETS) 84 South Korean students took the Test of English as a Foreign Language internet Based Test (TOEFL iBT) in 2015 to gain admission to universities overseas (ETS, 2015), mainly in the USA (ICEF Monitor, 2015). In 2015, four percent of the Korean students managed to navigate their way around all these tests in favor of non-simplified, but more specialized entrance exams (대학 본고사) made by the university along with evaluations (수시 전형) from their high school.

The ministry of education in Korea recognized the intense pressure on students to succeed in entrance examinations and attempted to alleviate this issue. From 2004, screening officials were formally introduced, but it was in 2008 that universities were actively encouraged to adopt the admission officer system. Under this system, admissions officers, specified experts with extensive knowledge of high school curriculum who can evaluate students based on their high school performance, make their recommendations to universities about who should and should not be accepted without further testing. As of 2013, this system had not yet been accepted by all South Korean universities (Choi & Park, 2013).

For the school year 2017, the subjects tested included language arts

(45 items), mathematics (30 items), English (17 listening items + 28 reading items), Korean history (20 items), social studies (20 items), sciences (20 items), vocational education (20 items), second foreign languages or Chinese characters & classics (30 items) (KICE 2017).

The OECD (2011), referring to *gakushuu juku*, states that “*Juku* are considered by many parents to be useful in helping students succeed in the battery of tests that determine admission, in addition to providing other services that schools do not provide” (p. 110). While preparatory studies for entrance exams are a major reason for *gakushuu juku* and *ibshi hagwon* to exist, other reasons also deserve attention.

Social Capital. Social capital is an intangible concept that exists in the relations between people that facilitate action (Coleman 1988). This definition is very similar if not identical to cultural capital, but excludes economic capital. Social capital has an effect on student motivation (Morgan & Sorensen, 1999). One aspect of social capital is the views within the society a student resides in towards the obligation of using every resource possible for educational achievement. Lee (2011) mentions one parent’s reason for sending a child to *ibshi hagwon*: “If that student goes to a *hagwon*, my child also has to go” (p. 17). Students who don’t use this resource by personal choice, may find themselves under social condemnation for any small failure, losing social capital due to their choices. On the other hand, social capital could increase dramatically if a child chose not to attend, but still managed to enter a prestigious university without the extra help.

Rankings. In Japan, students are introduced to their *hensachi* as outlined by Park (2011). The *hensachi* is a score that shows their ranking among other students. Until 1999, Japanese students were able to take tests in their accredited school to estimate their *hensachi*, although in many cases accredited schools relied on *gakushuu juku* based resources to determine this ranking.

In 2000, the Japanese ministry of education abolished all use of the *hensachi* in accredited schools. Accredited schools were mandated to use the students’ school scores, notes about their behavior (*naishinsho*), and the entrance exam in order to determine which university or high school would accept them.

This form of student evaluation is not helpful for students while choosing a university however, because the *naishinsho* notes are not available for the students or parents to see (Horio, 1988). Although daily scores and test scores are mostly known to the students, the addition of the *naishinsho* reports adds mystery to the overall assessment of the student. The *naishinsho* is thus used in threats by the teachers; “This will affect your *naishinsho*” (p. 281).

Schools send these notes and grades by student request to universities to which the student wants to apply, but these notes directly from school to university in a sealed envelope. This is in an attempt to decrease the pressure of the entrance exams on students, but actually has the opposite effect, because at this point the entrance exam results and their choice of schools are the only things remaining within the control and knowledge of the student. Studying can help the students prepare for an upcoming exam, but there is little or no reliable assistance from accredited schools to help students determine those universities to which they have a good chance at gaining entrance.

Since students have little or no feedback, they resort to *gakushuu juku* to determine their *hensachi*. Even students who do not attend *gakushuu juku* courses take a *hensachi* test through a major *juku* chain to estimate their chances of entrance into their chosen high school or university. The *hensachi* helps the students narrow down their choices to a manageable number. University entrance exams are expensive and often held on the same days as other universities, limiting students' possible choices.

In South Korea the *hensachi* is replaced by the CSAT results. Students take the CSAT during their final (third) year of high school. The score they receive determines to a large extent which schools they have a chance to enter regardless of their actual proficiency in a specific subject. South Korean schools lack the permission to evaluate students for university entrance purposes (Nalty, 2008). Thus, a student's accredited school will give limited advice on university options, but to get more complete advice many students discuss options with *ibshi hagwon* teachers and advisors (Lee, 2013).

For both *gakushuu juku* and *ibshi hagwon*, the driving factor of business is a good reputation. Helping their students enter the most prestigious school possible is essential to attracting new recruits and ultimately staying in

business. One of the main functions of these businesses therefore becomes sorting and advising students to their mutual advantage.

Diagnostic Tools. In Japan and South Korea the accredited curriculum is determined by the ministries of education. Students are expected to keep up with the pacing of the set curricula. Falling behind is seen as a personal failure that extra hours of study can rectify (Park, 2011). *Gakushuu juku* and *ibshi hagwon* cannot afford to move students through the system regardless of their actual competence as is often the case in accredited education. Pushing students to take higher level tests when they have a low chance at success will result in a loss of business and reputation when those students fail exams or complain to their parents.

To assess if students have a good chance at success in entering their choice of university, many *gakushuu juku* have created their own diagnostic tools to determine the weaknesses of the students. Some *gakushuu juku* chains allow non-members to use these tools for a fee, so smaller *gakushuu juku* that lack the resources, or even larger *juku* companies that do not want to invest the extensive resources required for making their own diagnostic tools, send their students to another *gakushuu juku* for diagnostic purposes (Mawer, 2015).

In South Korean *ibshi hagwon*, personal interviews and entrance testing are the most common tools for diagnosing weaknesses. Online tools may also be used in conjunction with an *ibshi hagwon's* set curriculum, which include diagnostic tools and set remedial lessons throughout each course. Such regular and systematic diagnostic evaluation is also typical in Japanese *yobiko*, but rare in *gakushuu juku*.

Social Acceptance. Lee (2004) reports that one of the reasons to attend *hagwon* is to socialize with others of similar age in a safe environment. While socialization with peers is not the main reason for attendance, it is important enough that *ibshi hagwon* and *gakushuu juku* administrators must take this aspect into account. In the same study it is reported that another reason is for confidence in life, due to society accepting their academic efforts. Students attending *gakushuu juku* or *ibshi hagwon* feel that they are doing what is required of them by society, and have more confidence as a result in daily life, which is supported by Ryu (2003).

Social Roles. Bray and Lykins (2012), Lee (2004), and Southgate (2009) outline the following social roles of shadow education institutions as a place for exchanging ideas and socializing. Before and after lessons, the schools or homes that shadow education is held in can function as a safe place for students to meet and socialize with their friends. Students can also spend extra time there on assigned homework or other personal studies, asking for extra help with various subjects from their friends, teachers, or administrators. Shadow education administrators often socialize with, and formally advise their students when they are not in lessons. Parents can also meet other parents while waiting for their children, exchanging news and ideas. These parents can then ask the shadow education teacher questions about educational matters and about their children's progress.

Parents can also get to know the friends of their children. Shadow education schools sometimes have extra programs or social get-togethers to help parents and students socialize and relieve stress. Shadow education institutions can serve as a social gathering location, which families consider to be a constructive use of adolescents' spare time. Southgate (2009) further asserts that in countries with high participation rates in shadow education, students who do not participate will not be abreast of emerging culture.

Sociopolitical issues. Both Japan and South Korea place high value on tests and are called exam-oriented cultures (Johnson, 2009). This leads to a gap between the goals of students and goals of ministries of education (human capital). Students see the goal of their education as high performance on exams. Members of their educational community endeavor to assist students in obtaining this goal. However, educational reform measures by ministries of education are aimed at achieving greater competence in the subjects taught for raising competence in the international workforce. These two views of education create a contradiction, making interesting activities aimed at increasing competency appear to students and parents to be unimportant, since the link between these activities and high test performance is not clear (Cook, 2013).

Horio (1988) summed up this exam oriented situation that still applies for Japan and South Korea.

Today's academic pedigree disease might better be designated a social

pathology which has its etiology in the frantic desire to enter a famous university, for what is socially serviceable is the status of the university's diploma, rather than anything one might learn there. It is in the thronging of examinees to the small number of socially valued, high-ranking universities that the viciously intense examination competition plaguing Japanese education begins (p. 303).

Politics, particularly in the formation of national educational goals, back up this notion of economic prosperity being based on educational foundations (OECD, 2011). However these same political goals often get in the way of educational progress (Kim, 2012; Lubienski, 2009). Since education in both countries is stressed as the main factor of prosperity for country and individuals, and with society worried about the quality of accredited education, and politics that are played at the expense of accredited education, it is reasonable for parents and students to feel a need for educational supplementation (Ra, 1999).

Since students and parents in both countries see economic prosperity hanging on the thread of access to the right schools, getting into these elite schools is of great importance (Park & Abelman, 2004). Entrance exams are mostly based on multiple-choice items of facts and rote learning (Lee, 2013), rather than actual skill in the subject being tested.

Human Capital. A study in the Philippines found that parents and students felt that the accredited education was not sufficiently preparing the students for the challenges of higher education or equipping students with the skills they would need later on in life. This caused them to resort to shadow education to supply their unmet educational needs (Ramos et al., 2012). Entrich (2014a) echoes these sentiments about the *nachhilfe* (shadow education institutions) in Germany. Entrich (2014a) claims that students in Germany needing *nachhilfe* is a national issue of concern, indicating the possible downfall of the accredited education due to inadequately preparing students for academic success.

Mori and Baker (2010) assert that one of the reasons shadow education exists is the complexity of the modern labor market. While accredited education is expected to prepare the upcoming workforce for job market demands, shadow education provides more opportunities to meet those preparatory needs.

Heyneman (2011) writes:

There are five reasons to encourage private tutoring. First, it is the natural inclination of all responsible parents to support the education of their children.... Second, in instances when policies have outlawed parental educational investment, the result has been catastrophic.... Third, education is a human right.... Fourth, an investment in education is an investment in human capital.... Fifth and last, a family's investment in education is a natural outgrowth of social capital (p. 184).

Empowering the Disadvantaged. Southgate (2009) found that shadow education is used to advantage females, decrease the disadvantage of speaking a foreign language in the home, and reproduce a social class advantage. Lee (2014) states that shadow education can be an important place to build networks for students who live outside their native country, assisting them in adapting to their new surroundings, and assisting others with returning to their home country.

Business Advantages. If students or parents have special needs or want to change a service, it is usually difficult to ask a teacher of an accredited school to accommodate their wishes (Lee, 2004; Nam, 2009). The teacher may have legal prohibitions, time constraints, school regulations, a lack of competence, or an unwillingness to comply with the requests.

Unlike accredited schools, businesses must be flexible enough to comply with their customers' demands and requests, and maintain friendly relations in order to secure their income (Sim, 2002). In Singapore, South Africa and Tanzania, governments actively encourage shadow education believing it to be a way to raise human capital and tailor education to the needs of students (Dang & Rogers, 2008). Lubienski (2009) reports on efforts to create competition within accredited schools and how doing so increases the choices of students.

Dissatisfaction with Accredited Education

Dissatisfaction with accredited education is also cited as one of the main reasons for enrolling in *gakushuu juku* / *ibshi hagwon*. The following are a sample of the problems found in accredited schools.

Behavioral Problems. Zidonis (2004) reports of breakdowns in the

classrooms due to disciplinary reasons, and mental or emotional instability. Belligerence, fighting, destruction of property in class, and other problems exist in some classrooms. Some students have mental or emotional problems that make it difficult for them to attend accredited schools. Hyojin Koo (2007) outlines in detail different bullying behaviors found in South Korean schools similar to the disruptions listed above.

Zidonis (2004) suggests that one of the causes of behavioral problems is the *juku* system. However, in addition to reducing the number of students in a class, increasing the number of teachers, and listening to the students, private supplementary institutions (*gakushuu juku*) are also listed as possible solutions, making *gakushuu juku / ibshi hagwon* both a cause and solution of behavioral problems.

Educational Mandates. Sometimes breakdowns in accredited education appear to be purely political in nature. Such breakdowns are the result of changes being imposed by a ministry of education. Hirst (2013) writes “the success of *juku* possibly highlights a failing of the formal education system. This may not be entirely accurate, however, for *juku*’s success seems to be independent of, and unaffected by, government changes to the curriculum” (p. 16). Watanabe (2013) asserts that accredited schools do have a great deal of freedom allowed them, but are unwilling to assert their freedom as that may cause additional work.

Watanabe (2013) also briefly discusses the issues of unionization and different organizations that include and affect both accredited education and shadow education. These issues at times help and at other times hinder both forms of education in complex ways, for example when faced with a corruption scandal involving one accredited school teacher, the national government intervened. Rather than punishing the teacher as would be expected, the teacher was reassigned a new post. However, that post was the one in charge of dealing with teacher corruption in the prefectural level (Watanabe, 2013).

Nature of Accredited Education. There are reports (Iwase, 2009; Mawer, 2015) that some of these behavioral and politically motivated curricular shortcomings seemingly cannot be rectified under current guidelines. Such systemic problems are causing *gakushuu juku* to collaborate with accredited schools. Entrich (2014b), and the OECD (2015) claim that the Japanese *juku*

industry is an indispensable addition to the public school system. The OECD (2014) report mentions programs in Japan that incorporate supplementary education into accredited programs and then asserts that in Korea all schools engage in supplementary education programs, both free and paid. How much of that falls under shadow education and how much is part of the accredited school's after-school obligation is not clear.

Lack of Teacher Skills. Livedoor News (2017) reports about tests taken by English teachers working in Kyoto. The Kyoto Board of Education asked all of the accredited middle school English teachers to take the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC). The test was taken by 74 teachers. The Kyoto Board of Education was hoping that the teachers would achieve a score of at least 730 (of 990), but were dismayed when only 16 of the teachers were able to do so. 14 of these teachers scored under 500, with the lowest score 280.

Lack of Coping Resources. The OECD (2011) claims that accredited schools rely on shadow education. Problems that are typical with accredited schools around the world include classes that are too large (Silova & Bray, 2006), the inability to adequately support students who have special needs (Byun & Park, 2012), a wide gap in students' levels (Byun & Park, 2012), and insufficient time allotted to the subject. Shadow education has the potential to alleviate these problems in ways that may be impossible for accredited schools by providing choices that students lack in accredited schools (Shon, 2011).

In some cases there is corruption in accredited schools, such as intentionally teaching poorly in school or withholding information about upcoming university entrance exams in order to create a demand for private lessons, bribery in university exams and for artificially lowered scores, or referral schemes that only benefit the teachers and schools (Buchmann, 1999; Foondun, 2002; Glewwe & Jayachandran, 2006; Silova & Bray, 2006; Sorensen, 1994). Watanabe (2013) discusses a wide range of scandals involving accredited school teachers in Japan.

Conclusion

The history of shadow education is also the history of accredited education. The roots of education in both Japan and Korea are in small

schools that predate government efforts at education. With educational reform and advances inevitably come gaps. Such gaps require remediation, and shadow education fills those gaps. Despite governments' best efforts the education system will have needs that are not met, and may not be possible to meet with government sponsored mandates. The need may be for greater empowerment, more time spent on academic instruction, language assistance, or more time to spend with friends in a socially acceptable environment. Whatever the need that is unmet by accredited education, shadow education will be there to capitalize on it.

The washback effect is commonly expected to make changes in the shadow education teaching system, but has a looping washback effect, which puts accredited education in check, effectively regulating it. Those who would attempt to make improvements to the accredited education system may find it beneficial to acquire the assistance of the shadow education industry in enacting these changes.

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