Shadow Education: Its Nature, Role and Function in British International Schools in Hong Kong.

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Dedication – For my Mam, I wish you could have been here to see this.

Abstract

Shadow education is the term frequently used to describe the provision of supplementary education by tutoring agencies, 'cram schools' and other private, typically for-profit organisations that assist in the achievement of successful examination results. This thesis will attempt to research the role which 'shadow education' plays in modern day Hong Kong. A study undertaken in 1998 revealed that on average 41 per cent of grade 3 students and 39 per cent of grade 6 students were participating in shadow education. This seems to be part of a wider international trend in both developed and developing countries, including the UK. With a system comparable to the British education system, Hong Kong has experienced growth in its shadow education system as well. While a number of studies have examined the economic and policy implications of shadow education, few have undertaken thorough research of the sociological factors that might contribute to its popularity. This study aims to investigate the historical, socio-economic factors that influence the choice of shadow education in Hong Kong. In this way, it followed the precedent set by British researchers Ireson and Rushforth, who conducted a similar study of private tutoring in the UK. In order to understand the policy and social implications of shadow education, the system needs to be placed into a wider socio-political historical, economic and cultural context to reflexively frame both its existence and its acceptance amongst parents, students, education providers, and education policy-makers in Hong Kong. This study has hopefully provided both the context and the impact of shadow education in this particular example, but with wider application once the historical and sociological contexts are understood. This discussion and analysis placing the study's primary data results from questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups hopefully demonstrates that the historical and social context of Hong Kong plays at least, if not more, of a role in the choice to participate in shadow education as pure economic practicality and functionalism. Shadow education fills a role in education that is social and confidence building, and also ameliorates some of the postcolonial anxieties of parents who grew up in a very different context than they find their children. While social mobility and

economic gain clearly play a role in all of these considerations, the role of the shadow education system extends beyond the functionalism it is currently assigned in the literature.

Chapter 1: Background of the Study

1.1 An Introduction to Shadow Education

Shadow education is the term frequently used to describe the provision of supplementary education by tutoring agencies, 'cram schools' and other private, typically for-profit organisations that assist in the achievement of successful examination results. This thesis will attempt to research the role which 'shadow education' plays in modern day Hong Kong. A study undertaken in 1998 revealed that on average 41 per cent of grade 3 students and 39 per cent of grade 6 students were participating in shadow education. A more recent study also suggests that 28% of lower secondary, 33.6% of middle secondary and 48.1% in upper secondary also receive supplementary tutoring (Bray 2009). This seems to be part of a wider international trend in both developed and developing countries, including the UK. With a system comparable to the British education system, Hong Kong has experienced growth in its shadow education system as well. While a number of studies have examined the economic and policy implications of shadow education, few have undertaken thorough research of the sociological factors that might contribute to its popularity. This study aims to investigate the historical, socio-economic factors that influence the choice of shadow education in Hong Kong. This thesis argues that social capital, self-efficacy and the postcolonial context of Hong Kong all contribute to the need for shadow education amongst students at the ESF schools in Hong Kong. While the literature tends to focus on issues of social mobility, the research found that social mobility is highly contingent on these other socio-historical factors, and issues such as self-efficacy, which all contribute to the perception of shadow education as a necessary, socially accepted or indeed mandated, and valuable supplement to the formal education system.

1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

This thesis is driven by a number of research questions stemming from the overarching question of what drives the use of shadow education in Hong Kong? Proceeding from this question will be further underlying questions: What are the goals of the two

educational systems? Why do students feel the need for shadow education? How well is it received? Are these two separate systems of education, or are they part of the same structure? Does the government recognize and/or encourage shadow education? If so, what are the ramifications for its own standard education system? In what ways do the two systems complement each other? Also, I will examine the sociological model of socio-economic breakdown. Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility? How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea? How does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations – both education and social – of the parents who participate in shadow education? Another important area of my research will be examining the financial circumstances of the cram schools and private tutors, in as far as is possible. How much are students paying? Where is most of the money going? In analyzing what role shadow education plays in Hong Kong, a necessary pursuit is the question of to what extent these multiple systems are integrated as one? If the government fully concedes that to get a 'full education,' one must attend some form of shadow education, does that imply that shadow education is another part of the educational system? If so, what are the ramifications for class structure if that is the case? Those that cannot afford it are in that case not receiving the full education they 'signed up for'. Hong Kong is known for having one of the best educational systems in the world, in terms of statistical pass rates and demonstrations of knowledge afterwards. Is this at all reliant on a section of the student body seeking supplementary education elsewhere?

These questions that drove the initial interest in the topic were then distilled after secondary research was conducted. They became the research questions that drive the primary research.

The questions that this research project aims to address are:

1. Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility?
2. How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea?
3. Do issues of self-efficacy influence the demand for shadow education?

4. How does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations - both education and social - of the parents who participate in shadow education?

In order to address these questions, this study will entail an interpretive phenomenological approach to the qualitative research. I will look into the 'local knowledge' systems, analysing how the students and bodies involved in the institutions conceive of this educational phenomenon, and I will also look at the secondary data of how those entering these establishments perform to determine whether the function of shadow education is predominantly social, predominantly educational, or some combination of the two. This study argues that while the primary stated motive of parents who participate in shadow education is education, the role and function of shadow education is predominantly social, working from the foundation that social capital is attained through the conspicuous display of attendance at cram schools or tutoring agencies and the relationships and networks that these schools provide both increases self-efficacy through positive peer groups and external motivators, and eases postcolonial anxieties caused by the rapid educational changes in the wake of the British handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997.

For more interpretive research, this project will entail secondary research into the history and educational theory and techniques of the two school systems. It will also entail research into the reception the two systems have in the social sphere. This will lead me into more qualitative areas of research. Apart from secondary research, this will be done through using more qualitative research methods, including interpretive phenomenological analysis. A combination of questionnaire and interview/focus group based research will further clarify the educational structure as seen from below, both by those who perform the teaching, and those who are being taught. This study will entail some research into the socio-economic, historical contexts of Hong Kong society. Are education and/or supplementary education ever used as a symbol of status? This can be approached through both secondary research, as well as qualitative interviews with individuals and focus groups. While it may be a difficult question to ascertain through direct questioning, indirectly approaching the issue of status and class may be a more successful form of qualitative analysis of education as status in Hong Kong. As well as

the qualitative research into this issue, statistics from various archives and media sources about socio-economic mobility and associations between 'consuming education,' and other conspicuous consumption will also play an important role. Through employing a range of methods, both quantitative and qualitative, both secondary and primary, I will compile a comprehensive analysis of what role shadow education fills in modern Hong Kong. Combining the sociology of the background of the phenomenon with the educational theory which these institutions employ, I will provide an in-depth examination of the phenomenon, and present support for the argument that social and symbolic capital play important roles in the function and choice of shadow education in Hong Kong. By contextualising the social phenomenon as presented by the respondents to the questionnaires, focus group, and semi-structured interviews, this thesis aims to understand the perceived role of shadow education as more than an economic phenomenon.

1.3 Originality and Significance of the Study

Shadow education, in the form of private tutoring and 'cram schools,' is not as easily approached by researchers as standard, government-sponsored education. This is because of its privately funded and privately regulated nature. This special private-sector status it enjoys means that it has a peculiar nature in the world of education in Hong Kong. There is little accountability that is transparent amongst shadow education institutions in Hong Kong. This type of education is generally only measured by success rate or by economic measures. In order to accomplish a comprehensive analysis of the nature, role and function of shadow education in Hong Kong, this thesis seeks to employ some alternative methodologies. In order to understand the policy and social implications of shadow education, the system needs to be placed into a wider socio-political historical, economic and cultural context to reflexively frame both its existence and its acceptance amongst parents, students, education providers, and education policy-makers in Hong Kong. For this reason, sociological and historical literature covering social capital and postcolonial studies will help to contextualise the data gathered in this study. By approaching the quantitative and qualitative data with a hypothesis that seeks to examine the nature of social relationships and postcolonial

anxieties, I hope to provide an alternative to the primarily economic or functional measures of shadow education's role in Hong Kong's education system. This study will hopefully provide both the context and the impact of shadow education in this particular example, but with wider application once the historical and sociological contexts are understood. This study is original because it is applying postcolonial theory, theories of social capital, and current research into student motivation to the understanding of the use of shadow education in Hong Kong, positing a different interpretation of the social and sociological factors that influence its use in Hong Kong as opposed to previous research in Asian countries which primarily focused on socio-economic factors.

1.4 Structure

The next chapter will be a presentation of the literature relevant to this study, including an investigation of the British and Hong Kong education systems, both in their policies and their historical contexts; a brief examination of the literature on postcolonial studies; the growing literature on shadow education; the current state of education research; and finally the sociological theories that support the study's hypothesis. The third chapter will be a description of the methodology and the reasoning for its selection. The fourth chapter will be the presentation of the data and the fifth chapter will be the data analysis. Finally, the study will conclude with a reiteration of the hypothesis and the conclusions drawn from the data and literature review.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter will present the current debates in the fields of education and sociology in Britain and Hong Kong. The aim of this chapter is to present the theoretical and practical grounding for the exploration of shadow education both as an educational force and as a social tool within Hong Kong. The chapter will be organised into five sections: a look at the sociological background to this investigation, including the notion of social capital as promoted by Bourdieu; a review of the British educational system upon which the Hong Kong system is based; a brief overview of issues of postcolonialism; a review of the Hong Kong formal education sector; a review of shadow education and theories about its role in modern education; and finally, a broader investigation of important trends in educational research. After this discussion of the literature, the thesis will move on to present the methodology of this particular study and a subsequent analysis chapter will explain how this study fits into the larger picture presented herein. This thesis argues that a new methodology is needed for understanding the aim, role, and function of shadow education within the Hong Kong educational system.

2.1 Sociological Issues

In their study of the role of shadow education within the British educational system, Ireson and Rushforth makes it clear that "psychological and cultural factors may also influence participation in the shadow system and affect young people's opportunity to learn and achieve." (Ireson and Rushforth 2005:1). In the following sections, the role of historical context for Britain and Hong Kong's educational systems has been explored, as has the nature of shadow education. This section will examine in greater detail the sociological issues that are relevant, as Ireson and Rushforth articulate, in the provision of shadow education. Given the current state of the debate on educational research focused on social and psychological (self-efficacy) studies, sociological issues seem

particularly relevant to understanding the reasoning behind the choice of shadow education.

One very important sociological issue that pertains to the understanding of shadow education both in Hong Kong and worldwide is the role of social capital. Education has long been associated with status symbols. Field writes that "recent work has generally tended to confirm that social capital seems to be closely associated with educational outcomes." (Field 2003:46). Social capital is tied to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital, which regards culture, taste, and aesthetics as important indicators of social capital. Darby Southgate calls this cultural capital and writes that within cultural capital studies of education, "social reproduction theory explains how language use at home is instrumental in student academic achievement, yet prior cross-national research does not include language acquisition or literacy as a possible reason for the national variations in the use of shadow education." (Southgate 2007:3). Bourdieu first articulated the idea of multiple types of capital, including economic capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital and social capital – "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition." (Bourdieu 1986:248). Bourdieu defines social capital as "the resources which can be brought together *pro procurationem* through networks of 'relations' of various sizes and differing density." (Bourdieu 2005:2). According to Bourdieu, social capital is "the objectified and internalized capital (properties and habitus) which defines social class and constitutes the principle of the production of classified and classifying practices." (Bourdieu 1989:114). Recent definitions have become muddled by where this capital exists, what it can be used for, and who uses it. Robison et al. distill a definition from a variety of various scholars, concluding that "Social capital is a person's or group's sympathetic relationship with another person or group that may produce a potential benefit, advantage, and preferential treatment for another person or group of persons beyond that which might be expected in an exchange relationship." (Robison et al. 2000:6).

This leads to the important role of social relationships in both the production and exchange of social, symbolic, and cultural capital.

Robison et al. point out that "one important difference between social capital and some other forms of capital is that social capital exists in a social relationship." (Robison et al. 2000:5). It is possible that parents and students are using their participation in cram schools and other forms of shadow education in order to ensure their own upward social mobility through test results; however, it is just as likely that, like other conspicuous displays, shadow education has a social function beyond the educational realm. Given that Bourdieu writes that "a class is defined as much by its *being-perceived* as by its *being*, by its consumption – which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic," it is logical to see shadow education as part of the same social capital needed for status definition. (Bourdieu 1989:483). Portes explains the important role of relationships in the earning of social capital, writing that, "to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage." (Portes 1998:8). In terms of education, the common bond of cram schools provides a basis for social networking, a supposition supported by Nahapiet and Ghoshal's explanation that social capital is the network of relationships used to ease interactions. (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). Anderson et al. point out that those characteristics seen to make up social capital are those most often used to define it: "trust, relationships, associability, interdependencies and networks." (Anderson et al. 2007:248). This follows in accord with Bourdieu's definition of social capital above. However, the attainment of social capital is often related to capital outlays – either monetary or social themselves. Casson and Della Guista define social capital in economic terms as "'the capitalized value of improvements in economic performance that can be attributed to high-trust social networks'." (Casson and Della Guista 2007:221). This definition links the economic performance and growth to relationships and reputation. It is perhaps this emphasis on the economics of social capital that encourages the methods previously used in studies of shadow education: researchers seek to discover what role economic advantage plays in disrupting a seemingly level

playing field in public education; or equally, they hope to find a demonstration of economic outlay assisting in social mobility.

This study presents an alternative sociological approach to shadow education, examining the symbolic, status related implications of private tuition, rather than the purely economic role it has been demonstrated to play. Symbolic capital is used "to explain the logic of the economy of honour and 'good faith'." (Bourdieu 2005:2). Morrison and Wilhelm define this same quality not as social capital but 'human capital', writing that human capital includes "client relationships, a personal reputation for fair dealing, and certain forms of knowledge that, without further scientific development, cannot be codified." (Morrison and Wilhelm Jr. 2004:1682). The role of symbolic capital seems to be the ability to leverage networks; however, it again is not a purely economic form of capital, and these networks are not all intended necessarily for economic gain, but also for status within society. Bourdieu suggests that symbolic capital is earned amongst the professional classes by "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability that are easily converted into political positions as a local or national notable." (Bourdieu 1989:291). Thus reputation, respectability, and honour as conceived by both the narrow, immediate society and wider national expectations play a large role in the development of social and symbolic capital. What this means in terms of shadow education will be explored in greater depth in the analysis chapter once these theories have been compared to the questionnaire and interview responses.

2.2. British Education

The literature review will begin with an examination of the history of British educational theory and technique. This is necessary to understand what the background to the Hong Kong educational system is, because it was Britain that instituted the standard education model for the former colony. Education has been a function of the state throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and neither Britain nor Hong Kong has been exceptional in this. As Apple points out, the state has been highly involved in

the development and reform of curricula, and the modelling of education systems to align with political realities and economic and societal demands, as well as the orientation of development goals. (Apple 2003). Mass education, economically- and technologically-focused curricula, and national testing standards are a legacy of the twentieth century's mass movements and bureaucratic expansion. (Heater 2003:115). This section will examine some of the important concepts that underline the national curriculum that has emerged from this historical context in the hope that it will help to explain the context both of the Hong Kong educational system and the rise of shadow education.

The British National Curriculum is based on key stages of learning and development. The theory behind these key stages is continuity and progress in education. Continuity is defined as the flow within lessons, between lessons, and from year to year while progression is the advancement toward a delimited goal, either external (examinations, moving up a year, etc.) or self-defined. Progress therefore should be measured both externally through measurement by the teacher, progress within the school, and testing by the national curriculum and internally, as the student sees gradual advancement from year to year. Continuity is facilitated by the school, parents, and teachers and relies on the use of a standard curriculum. The British national curriculum is focused on this continuous, cumulative development of educational skills over the four key stages. Fabian and Dunlop state that they "acknowledge that learning is influenced by the nature of the transition and that there are certain factors that contribute to this." (Fabian and Dunlop 2002:3). They suggest that transitions between lessons should encourage students to remember what they have learned already, and what concepts were introduced while simultaneously moving into discussion of how those concepts introduce new topics in the lesson. Together, the concepts of continuity and progression are seen as fundamental to the national curriculum because they reinforce learning by revising key elements and concepts, demonstrating what has been learned so far to reinforce ideas of self-efficacy (to be discussed further below), and reminding students of the progress that they have made towards goal achievement.

The British education system, therefore, is primarily focused on setting national standards and achieving goals set on a nationwide level. This is mirrored in the national curriculum's focus on 'key stages', culminating in the GCSE examinations, and A level examinations for those who choose to follow an academic path. Key stage one is ages 5-7; key stage two is ages 7-11; key stage three is ages 11-14; and key stage four is ages 14-16. The national curriculum stipulates that "At key stages 1 and 2 the statutory subjects that all pupils must study are art and design, design and technology, English, geography, history, information and communication technology, mathematics, music, physical education and science. Religious education must also be provided at key stages 1 and 2." (National Curriculum). The national curriculum mandates that for key stages three and four, "the statutory subjects that all pupils must study are citizenship, English, information and communication technology, mathematics, physical education and science. The teaching of careers education, sex education, work-related learning and religious education is also statutory." (National Curriculum). These subjects make up the core of what education policy advisers believe to be the most important factors in childhood development and lifelong human capital development. Key skills development is expected to be carried from one year to the next by both the student and the teacher. Of particular concern in the literature on the British national curriculum is continuity in the periods of change from primary to secondary education, and again in secondary to tertiary education. The national curriculum and current research in education both emphasize the need for continuity in students' educational development, particularly focusing on the transitional phase between key stages two and three, when students often change schools, and between key stage three and GCSE level work. Since progression is measured by achievement of anticipated goals, the measured 'learning' and comprehension of key skills and concepts at certain stages of development, the British system is framed around several stages of testing for which students, teachers, parents, and shadow education establishments prepare.

Similarly, the role of education is different in China and Britain – both in perception and in government focus – which has led to some shifts over the past decade. While much of the shadow education research focuses on the economic role of shadow education

as a market correction for the failure to provide adequate resources, the shift in focus from British to Chinese priorities might also help to explain the changing role of shadow education in Hong Kong. The education system as established in Britain and its overseas territories was one that aimed at building a stable local bureaucracy in order to run its colonies efficiently and at creating a thriving merchant class of bankers and traders. (Mangan 1988). J.A. Mangan points out that education was an important tool of empire, "with the use of formal education as a means of disseminating and reinforcing imperial images" and the evolution of "the assimilation, adaptation and rejection (partial if not complete) of metropolitan educational models." (Mangan 1988:5). In Hong Kong, Britain's most recent colonial possession to be repatriated, the imperial educational model emphasized testing at certain ages, school uniforms, grammar schools and other meritocratic models, and, like imperial education everywhere, was tied to the metropole of England, where parents aspired (or were expected to aspire) for their children to attend exclusive public schools or universities for the attainment of high level civil service or private sector jobs. This status or social mobility would be attained through expanded social capital gained from relationships and common experiences shared: "this capacity on the part of individuals to converse with each other to a high degree of intelligibility and informality and to process cultural and economic information effectively…we might call their 'communicative competence'." (Szreter 2002:66). With a shared, imperial ground for communication, social capital was gained through relationships forged in education. With the handover of Hong Kong to China, this shared language of engagement is eroding, something that will be investigated below, in the section on Hong Kong's education system. First, however, I will turn to a brief examination of the literature on postcolonial studies in order to provide a framework for the investigation of post-1997 education in Hong Kong and potential changes that could be driving use of shadow education.

2.3 Postcolonial Issues

The role of symbolic social capital may take on an even more pressing function in the postcolonial society of Hong Kong. The range of subjects and topics covered by

postcolonial studies has led to many of the current debates in the field. The field includes broad ranging topics including the creation of empires, the economic and cultural contexts of role of the colony in post-independence, agency of 'subaltern' populations, the effects of colonization on postcolonial history and culture, the societies in colonized cultures, and feminist or Marxist interpretations of postcolonialism. This section will briefly investigate some of the issues in postcolonial studies in order to serve as a basis for understanding the Hong Kong shadow education system's role in society in a postcolonial context. As discussed above, the British education system is the foundation of the Hong Kong system. However, since decolonization following the 1997 handover of the country to China, new pressures are being placed on educators and families to meet conflicting standards and expectations. Since the beginning of the postcolonial era in the 1960s and 1970s, postcolonial studies have gained in prominence in examining the impact of imperialism and its aftermath. The creation of colonies through various tools and mechanisms of control, identity formation, language, etc. and the various periods in the development of nationalist pressure interest many scholars in the field, including Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Catherine Hall. Because of the deeper sociological impact of colonial influence, these scholars frequently take postcolonial to be part of an investigation of geographical rather than traditionally 'before-and-after' studies of periods of colonization and post-colonization. While this can be geographically construed, it can also extend to the period before colonization in order to study the cultural productions and societal developments as they took place in the situation of colonization itself. In addition to these broad temporal understandings of 'postcolonial', it also sometimes includes the study of countries that are still colonized, or minorities in countries that were formerly colonizers themselves, as well as in independent countries that who are experiencing new types of suppression either through 'neocolonialism' or post-independence dictators. Therefore, postcolonial studies explore more than simply the real historical event of decolonization preferring to describe in general the period that followed the peak period of nineteenth and twentieth century colonialism. Beyond the subject of study, postcolonialism is also used to represent an academic position against imperialism, neo-imperialist discourses, and the Western dominance of knowledge systems. Thus postcolonial studies encompass a

wide range of geographic, temporal, and ideological sub-disciplines in attempting to group together a wide variety of experiences and conflicts.

While some academics reject the temporal laxity and vagueness of historical and material particularity they find in postcolonial studies, others argue that since many former colonies are still very much under the sway of colonial influence through cultural, social, and economic ties they should not be classified as 'postcolonial' in any historical sense. Although Bhabha does recognize the postcolonial as a historical period, he writes that "the twin forces of economic deprivation and cultural and technological dependence created indigenous national elites of a neo-colonial cast that became the willing or unwilling operatives of the IMF, the World Bank, and other international cartels." (Bhabha and Comaroff 2002:16). This argues for awareness that postcolonial does not necessarily mean that aspects of colonial influence or neocolonialism are not present. Equally, some perceive that emphasis on a clear definition in relations between the colonizer/colonized tends to obscure the tools and means of internal diversity – both in oppression and in other types of relationship – within colonies. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, for example, writes that "I am critical of the binary opposition colonizer/colonized. I try to examine the heterogeneity of 'colonial power' and to disclose the complicity of the two poles of that opposition as it constitutes the disciplinary enclave of the critique of imperialism." (Spivak 1994:130). Other academics disapprove of the receptivity of Western or developed world academics to postmodern conceptions of hybridity, creolization, and syncretization within postcolonial literature and theory while neglecting the critical examination of racial, social, and class-based mechanisms of colonial control. Although the field is contentious with academic debates, research in postcolonial studies encourages a critical form of investigation into power dynamics in various social, political, educational, linguistic, and personal contexts.

In terms of Hong Kong's specific postcolonial situation, Rey Chow writes that "with the emergence of global capital, the older narratives of British colonialism, US imperialism, and Chinese nationalism no longer suffice to account for what is operating as a fluid,

transnational, collaborationist structure of financial interests that, despite the ideological divergences or the parties involved, have as their mutually self-serving goal the prosperity and stability of the 'Pearl of the Orient'." (Chow 2000:315). Benedict Anderson writes on the role of new nationalisms in the wake of colonization/decolonization. This may pertain in Hong Kong, since many have sees the handover from Britain as a re-nationalisation or repatriation of Hong Kong. However, others argue that since Hong Kong has not belonged to China in over a century, this act is actually a form of new imperialism on the part of China. (Bray and Koo 2004). This raises the question of neocolonialism, as some argue that transfer from Britain to China will not see any real difference in issues of democratization or rights for the people. This will be explored in the context of education in the section below.

This section has briefly examined postcolonial theories and some of the current debates in the field. Because of Britain's recent handover of Hong Kong to China, the issues of identity, language, and the creation of social norms and values in a colonial/postcolonial context will be valuable for helping to frame and contextualize the experience and role of shadow education in Hong Kong. Hong Kong's education system will be examined in the next section.

2.4 Hong Kong Education

Hong Kong's education system was based on the British education model. This section will explain the current state of Hong Kong's education system, as well as its historical and economic context. Some schools still operate on a purely English-speaking, British-based curriculum. The English Schools Foundation (ESF) operates a number of English-focused schools throughout Hong Kong, from Kindergarten through secondary levels. The ESF had 10 primary schools, five secondary schools and one multi-age special needs school in 2002-2003. (Bray and Koo 2004:223). Bray and Koo report that "The ESF had been created in 1967 to serve expatriate children following the education system of England, but over the next three decades its clientele diversified to include children of many races and nationalities." (Bray and Koo 2004:223). However, despite this English focus, the ESF reports that "the curriculum, leading to the International

Baccalaureate, is adapted to Hong Kong and the Asia Pacific region." (English Schools Foundation). These schools, first established in the 1960s, reflect the cosmopolitan identity of many of Hong Kong's residents as they attempt to teach in English, Cantonese, and Mandarin while preparing students for the internationally recognised IB examination. The national curriculum, as expressed in a national yearbook report in 2004, aims to enable "students to meet the challenges of a knowledge-based society." (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). Its authors write that "The framework is composed of three interconnected components: Key Learning Areas, Generic Skills and Values and Attitudes." (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). The choice of these goals for teaching, learning, and childhood development was based on the idea that "The Key Learning Areas serve as the major knowledge domain of subjects providing contexts for the development of generic skills and values and attitudes…by making use of the curriculum framework, schools are now offering their students a broad and balanced curriculum." (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). The model of British education still holds strong in Hong Kong, therefore, including similar measures of key stages, and focus on progression and development.

However, as indicated by the ESF statement above, despite the traditional British basis for the educational system, the British handover of Hong Kong to the Chinese in 1997 has influenced the growth of Asian values and standards within the system. Currently, it is the policy of the Hong Kong government to provide nine mandatory years of free education. These are broken down into six years of primary school and three years of junior secondary school, followed by two years of senior secondary school. The Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE), like the British GCSE, is the measure for these preceding years. The HKCEE examinations are followed by advanced secondary school for two years, concluding with another government examination, the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE). There are three different types of Hong Kong schools: government, aided and private. Bray and Koo illuminate the difference: "Government schools are wholly operated by the government, and are staffed by civil servants. Aided schools receive strong subsidies from the

government, and in effect are part of the public sector, but are run by voluntary bodies. Private schools are owned and operated by private organizations or individuals, although some receive financial assistance from the government." (Bray and Koo 2004:223). They point out that this may have an important impact on the direction that postcolonial education is taken in Hong Kong, since the three school types approach issues of testing and focus of education in different ways. For example, "in the aided sector, the majority of schools are part of the local education system and follow a curriculum that leads to the HKCEE and HKALE." (Bray and Koo 2004:223). The ESF, discussed above, is also part of the aided sector, which means that the aided sector can play a role in the dissemination of English language courses in an environment which is otherwise turning towards Chinese instruction and history. Once students have completed the HKCEE and HKALE or an equivalent such as the International Baccalaureate, they can attend one of Hong Kong's eleven higher education institutions. Bray and Koo write that "Government funding is to some extent linked to government control, but at the post-secondary level the government has largely been willing to leave decisions on the medium of instruction to the institutions themselves." (Bray and Koo 2004:223).

The developments within the Hong Kong system are part of a worldwide twentieth century change in approaches to education from those focused on private, classical education to the 'citizenship' model of mass education for the betterment of the whole society. (Heater 2003). The Chinese state, as well as other strengthening Asian powers, has been able to use its influence in governing school policy on a national level, mandating school curricula, textbook creation, and examinations to adapt education to development trends and attitudes of the state to economic growth and changing political circumstances. Nationalist visions of education that use the power of a state-funded education model to develop the next generation have been successful in a number of emerging Asian nations.

While this approach has created unprecedented growth in economics, business development and science and technology, it has also led to a much more authoritarian

vision of education within the Asian 'Tiger Economies' even amongst supposed democracies. Frank Tipton writes that many of these Asian economies, because of their strategic importance in the Cold War period, drew international investments and used nationalist ideas to prop up state promotion of economic development through mediums such as education and nationalized industries. (Tipton 1998). This nationalist sentiment was supported by home-grown 'neo-Confucianism' that was taught in the schools as "an amalgam of the family of collectively oriented values of the East and the pragmatic, economic-goal oriented values of the West." (Tu 1984:110). Tipton argues that it was less that these neo-Confucian values defined Asia's success and more that this form of nationalism represented a state endorsed belief that Asia and Asians were suited to the development of strong economies, a form of self-efficacy that was affirmed as growth was realized and development goals achieved. Government educational policy within these economies has been directed at fostering entrepreneurial, market-driven achievement to a much greater extent than the British model that Hong Kong was originally based on. This tendency to use authoritarian approaches to education for achieving state goals was recognised by many Western countries, and they tried to combat this approach with the institution of UN rules to support the rights of children and "by the 1980s few schools in Western nations were as authoritarian as they had been a generation earlier." (Heater 2003:113). Despite these slow changes, these approaches to education have not reduced in the face of economic development in the Asian 'Tiger Economies', which include South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and have in fact been seen as part of the goal to achieve further economic successes. Bray's latest publication (2009) is an uncompromising investigation into the negative impacts of shadow education across the world and it gives a measured notification that governments need to be conscious of the effects that this industry may have upon their citizens.

The 'flying geese' model of economic development has been used to describe the development of these Asian countries in the latter half of the twentieth century based on an economy that moves from imports to production for domestic consumption to export. In order to complete that model of development, strategic decisions about the role of

education within the state have been made. Education has been an invaluable resource in the expansion of developing economies that use the 'flying geese' model. Education served the development of these countries both by teaching the necessary skills for the economy growth and bolstering national esteem and self-efficacy. In order to achieve the step towards export production in the flying geese model, education is necessary for keeping up with technological innovations. Additionally, in order for indigenous industry to develop, education is imperative for inspiring innovation and ensuring the technical skills are available. Indigenous industry became possible for Hong Kong and other Tiger Economies when the mobile factors such as financial and human capital and individual enterprise emerged in the domestic economy. Radelet and Sachs write that the governments of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore invested heavily in education for this express purpose. (Radelet and Sachs 1997:44-59). Booming populations meant that education initiatives were given increasing importance in these countries' plans for development from agricultural to industrial economies. Ashton argues that it is domestic *human,* not financial, capital that led to the development. (Ashton et al. 1999). He suggests that sustained and expanding levels of school attendance from the beginning of the implementation of post-war development plans increased alongside the economic and financial advances in parity with the demand for new skills. This meant that by 1990, both Hong Kong and South Korea were "on a par with the industrialised countries of the OECD" in education and development. (Ashton et al. 1999:1) Hong Kong was in a unique situation because of the continued presence of the British government until the late 1990s. However, it is clear that the success of the policies that have been perceived to have created this economic growth has further hardened the role of the state in interventionist education policies, and that China would seek similar intervention in Hong Kong. This educational advantage gained in the post-war period did give rise to economic success in Hong Kong and other regional economic powers, fuelling further educational developments as people have become more able to afford education for their children. However, it has also led to increased pressure as the advantages of the first generations dissipate and top professional careers are sought after by an increasing number of highly qualified students. Many

have proposed that this economic pressure is what has led to the rise in shadow education in Korea, Singapore, or, in this study, Hong Kong. Before this theme is examined further, an explanation of shadow education and its place in education is needed.

Mark Bray and Ramsey Koo point out the specific case of language in Hong Kong's postcolonial education. They point out that "Hong Kong's Basic Law [Article 136]…states that: On the basis of the previous educational system, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall, on its own, formulate policies on the development and improvement of education, including policies regarding the educational system and its administration, the language of instruction, the allocation of funds, the examination system, the system of academic awards and the recognition of educational qualifications." (Bray and Koo 2004:222). They add that once the British colonial state was dismantled in 1998, "The authorities rigorously screened the secondary schools' ability to teach in English, and pupils' ability to learn in English, and decreed that only one quarter of government and aided schools would be permitted to retain English as the medium of instruction. Officials claimed that the policy was introduced for educational reasons, but it was widely perceived as being primarily driven by political motives." (Bray and Koo 2004:225) While this was popular in some segments of Hong Kong's society, others were worried that they were losing out of the globalizing international economy without a strong English background. Meanwhile, others turned from the old colonial power – Britain – to the new dominant metropole – Beijing. This entailed neglecting Cantonese for Putonghua, the official state language of China. Bray and Koo write that "By 2003/04, six primary schools in the government and aided sectors were using Putonghua as the medium of instruction, compared with just one in 1997; and four private primary schools taught in Putonghua compared with one in 1997. At the secondary level, the first school to teach fully in Putonghua was opened in 2002/03; and a further four schools used Putonghua for some subjects in addition to Chinese Language, Chinese Literature and Chinese History." (Bray and Koo 2004:227). With changing 'imperial' focus and changing national priorities, parents who

seek social mobility through education may be forced to turn to shadow education to make up for what they lack. Children whose parents speak English or Cantonese and would have had an advantage in the British imperial system now turn to external tutors for help with Putonghua. Meanwhile, the national priorities of Chinese development do not reflect the imperial priorities of Britain's education system. Rather than training for a civil service bureaucracy or international finance, the focus is now on technical sector, scientific development and manufacturing.

There are several ways this postcolonial, or neocolonial, situation might contribute to the demand for shadow education. The first is as an increased arbiter of social or symbolic capital; the second is as a reaction to the increased expectations placed on students (to be proficient in three languages); and the third is as part of a new part of a vast Chinese state with even greater competition for top university places; and finally, with reduced links to the British university system, and a changing, Chinese-oriented curriculum, parents might feel they need to improve their children's chances through private tuition. The first point – that parents are increasingly using shadow education as social or symbolic capital rests on the increased use of the other three reasons for using shadow education because through increased demand, shadow education gains the cachet of something with symbolic or cultural capital. With increasing use of cram schools, social capital can be created through the relationships and networks that the students and parents are engaging with outside of the mandatory, state school.

2.5 Shadow Education

Shadow education is defined as "a set of educational activities that occur outside formal schooling and are designed to enhance the student's formal school career." (Stevenson et al. 1992:1639). Essentially shadow education is any form of outside-of-school facilitated learning activity that pertains to items relevant to the standard school curriculum. Southgate writes that "One corollary of the expansion of worldwide mass education has been the use of outside of school assistance in school subjects, termed shadow education."(Southgate 2007:2). The broad expansion of education as a

necessary provision and function of the state government, shadow education has arisen as its corollary because, as Mark Bray points out, “private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education exists.” (Bray 1999:16). With the rise of the trends of state education described in the Hong Kong section above, it has been observed that “Every nation in the world has outside of school classes and tutors that are used to help students navigate a successful passage through school and into adulthood.” (Southgate 2007:2). These are developed, some argue, to suit the demands of market failures in educational provision. Bray writes that shadow education “employs many thousands of people, consumes massive amounts of money, and demands huge amounts of time from both tutors and students.” (Bray 1999:16). He cites examples of students working everyday of the week within either formal or shadow instruction. Southgate writes that “the national use of shadow education varies, but even in nations where shadow education is least utilized, at least 20 percent of students report having accessed shadow education throughout their academic career.” (Southgate 2007:2). The vast expansion of shadow education over the past several decades has been noted by much of the research, but as both Bray and Southgate note, very little comparative or policy-associated research has been conducted because of the historically, contextually-contingent nature of regional education. For example, the recent shift of Hong Kong education from a British foundation to a new Chinese-oriented approach means that, while Hong Kong shares some characteristics with Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea – the other regional ‘Tiger economies’ – it is hard to make direct comparisons because they all have very different historical approaches to education. Because of this disparity in comparative elements, economic studies have predominated because of the apparent ease with which economic data can be read across national boundaries. Although this present study does not champion Hong Kong ‘exceptionalism,’ it does focus on only this one society in order present a socially, historically contextualized approach to shadow education rather than a sweeping study of shadow education as a worldwide phenomenon.

Private tutoring is one aspect of shadow education. Dang and Rogers write in their survey of worldwide shadow education trends that there are a number of perceived benefits of shadow education: “Private tutoring is also less formal and more flexible than private schooling: it can include not only one-to one tutoring but also group classes, it can be provided not only by full-time tutors and teachers but also by university students, retired teachers, university professors, and community members.” (Dang and Rogers 2008:163). Aside from flexibility and breadth of knowledge, private tutoring is perceived to be a more student-responsive teaching tool, increases the ‘learning hours’ a child is exposed to, and supplements parental support where it is unavailable. Given the current focus of educational research which will be examined in detail below, these qualities of shadow education tutoring appear to be desirable. Bray notes that “private tutoring can be seen as a mechanism through which pupils extend their learning and gain additional human capital, which benefits not only themselves but also the wider societies of which they are part.” (Bray 1999:17). However, there are equally valid criticisms of the dominant role it is gaining in some countries: “tutoring commonly creates and perpetuates social inequalities, and it consumes human and financial resources…private tutoring can distort the curriculum in the mainstream system, upsetting the sequence of learning planned by mainstream teachers and exacerbating diversity in classrooms.” (Bray 1999:17). These positions on the impact of shadow education are valuable for policy analysis and the resulting social mobility or social distortions that take place as a result of shadow education; however, this paper is primarily concerned with the perceived role and function of shadow education to the parents, teachers, and particularly the students involved.

There is a growing literature on the role and function of shadow education in modern educational provision worldwide. Most studies are focused on the role of shadow education in wealthy or emerging wealthy economies. One particular concern for policy planners in these rapidly developing economies is that teachers or schools might be holding education hostage by limiting the teaching during normal school hours in order to force students who want to pass national examinations to pay for private tuition by

those same schools or teachers outside of normal school hours. (Bray 1999:10). This has been known to happen particularly in countries where teacher salaries are found to be an insufficient living wage. As far as developed economies such as Hong Kong or the UK, concerns are similar, though they tend to be more focused on the role of education as a means for social mobility. Rather than fearing the blackmailing of impoverished parents, literature on the role of shadow education in wealthy countries looks at the policies of testing, university requirements, employment requirements – particularly in the professions – and the possible role that shadow education plays in ensuring success, the implication being that should shadow education prove necessary to "social mobility" through education, it is possible that a class who cannot afford private tuition is being blocked from advancement. Mark Bray's thorough study of the worldwide trend in shadow education highlighted this aspect. He argued that "If supplementary tutoring helps people stay in education systems longer, then for those people it may be a very good investment…differentials [in living standards] have long been particularly great in such societies as Singapore and Hong Kong…this implies that the rewards from extra levels of schooling, and from supplementary tutoring are greater in these Asian societies." (Bray 1999:30). This implies that what is at stake for parents choosing shadow education is purely economic – they seek an advance in social mobility for their children. Given the stringent system of bands of schools, ranking, and testing, it is clear, Bray and other economic determinists argue, that the function of shadow education is economic.

One particular vein of shadow education research investigates the economic role it plays in supplementing failing governmental education policies, either in correcting a market failure or in supplementing the educational provision when it is limited by national or local authority income. Kim looks at the economic function of shadow education, using the example of Korea, where shadow education is prevalent, arguing that "mushrooming of private tutoring is a natural market response to underprovided and overregulated formal schooling in Korea." (Kim 2004:1). Baker et al. concur with the underprovision argument as put forward by Kim and others in their paper on worldwide

trends in shadow education; however, they argue that "institutional factors of education, including limited access and lower levels of funding, drive the use of shadow education, instead of high-stakes testing and national achievement incentives." (Baker et al. 2001:1). This primarily economic focus hopes to understand what is perceived to be missing from the 'market' of government education provision, be it inadequate teaching to achieve high national standards (measured by high-stakes testing) or simply the inadequate allocation of resources to schools. Bray follows this logic, explaining that tuition centres often use incentives to draw 'customers.' He writes that "tutorial centres in Hong Kong commonly increase their attractiveness by offering the most recent technology…some centres offer prizes for academic success, and expand their markets by advertising through leaflets, posters, newspapers, magazines, cinemas and television." (Bray 1999:40). Because of the potential for disruption of educational equality through the income-based supplementary tuition, this is the concern of many reports on shadow education. Dang and Roberts report that "Standard economic theory would suggest that certain factors increase household demand for education: households' income, preference for education, and expectations about the returns to education for their children." (Dang and Roberts 2008:166). This is important in the economic theories of shadow education because it suggests that social mobility provided by education is dependent on several factors, not just household wealth.

Beyond the economic exploration of the impact of shadow education, other researchers have investigated the phenomenon of private tutoring in itself. Ireson and Rushforth completed a comprehensive study of private tutoring within the British education system. (Ireson and Rushforth 2005). Their study, while confined to British education, provides some insight into the social, economic, and psychological impetus for shadow education and may have more broad reaching application. One interesting aspect of their study that may be valuable to look at for comparison to the study conducted here in Hong Kong is the role of ethnicity in choosing shadow education. Ireson and Rushforth's data suggest that tutoring in the UK is much more prevalent amongst non-white students: "Indian students (45%) had most private tuition, followed by Chinese

(35%), African (31%), Other Asian (29%), Pakistani (28%), Caribbean (27%) and Other White (27%)."(Ireson and Rushforth 2005:6) They also found that students whose parents have both attended university are much more likely to employ shadow education of some kind, particularly leading up to examinations. This relates to the important role of parents in choosing shadow education. While this study will focus on the role of the student in their perception of the function and influence of shadow education, Ireson and Rushforth present a convincing argument for the social and psychological role of the parent or family in the choice of shadow education, arguing that "a parent's involvement relates to their personal construction of the parental role, their sense of efficacy for helping children succeed at school; and their reaction to the opportunities and demands presented by their children and their children's schools." (Ireson and Rushforth 2005:8). This thesis will seek to expand on this sociological and behavioural aspect of shadow education, looking at the role of parents and peer groups in helping to influence their popularity in Hong Kong.

The sociological aspect of shadow education is under-researched, however. Bray does point out that "recommendations operate more effectively than formal advertising" in drawing new tutoring clients. (Bray 1999:40). He cites a Malaysian research report that "indicated that 71 per cent of respondents identified their tutors through friends." (Bray 1999:40) This will have an important bearing on this study, which will examine the role of peer groups and social capital in the choice and function of shadow education in Hong Kong. Given that current, economically-centred research has identified that "in Hong Kong and Taiwan, proportions of students in high-ranking schools taking tutoring were much greater than proportions in low-ranking schools" indicates that social factors might play an important, if under-observed role in the function of shadow education. (Bray 1999:42) However, it might also indicate that the standards set for the high rank schools are beyond the scope of the average school day or teacher's ability, thereby necessitating tutoring to fill in the gaps. This study will hopefully explain this discrepancy.

2.6 Educational research

This section will present some of the current issues in educational research that pertain to this study, including self-efficacy research and other issues of motivation both inside and outside of the formal classroom setting, and the problems of linear progression through assessment and diversity of abilities within the classroom. Current research in educational theories presents a picture of increasing focus on the role of education in social mobility and encouraging linear progression along the norms of assessment through the provision of extra support. The role of shadow education within these research frameworks is murky, in part because of the 'shadow' nature of shadow education. However, it seems that particularly in developing countries or countries with a mass education approach, the linear model of progression is best served by the combination of shadow and formal education. Self-efficacy and motivation from teachers, parents and peer groups may also play a part in the increasing popularity of shadow education, particularly in developing countries where competition and the drive for social mobility are high. These issues will be explored further with reference to the data gathered in this research in a later chapter. Educational research trends currently focus on the role of internal and external motivators in the process of learning. This section will explore the literature on self-efficacy, the role of social or peer groups, and the role of parents and teachers in contributing to the education of students.

Self-efficacy emerges from Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory. (Bandura 1986) In this framework for psychological and social behavioural analysis, "learning is viewed as knowledge acquisition through cognitive processing of information" based both on cognitive self-assessment as well as social awareness. (Stajkovic and Luthans at 63) Stajkovic and Luthans define self-efficacy as a psychological construct that "deals specifically with how people's beliefs in their capabilities to affect the environment control their actions in ways that produce desired outcomes." (Stajkovic and Luthans at 63) Barry Zimmerman writes that "as a performance-based measure of perceived capability, self-efficacy differs conceptually and psychometrically from related motivational constructs, such as outcome expectations, self-concept, or locus of

control.". (Zimmerman 2000:82). In another study Zimmerman finds "students' beliefs in their efficacy for self-regulated learning affected their perceived self-efficacy for academic achievement, which in turn influenced the academic goals they set for themselves and their final academic achievement." (Zimmerman 1992:663). Researchers have convincingly demonstrated that there are connections between students' goal orientations, goal structures and academic performance. Studies of self-efficacy in education have revealed both that it is an important tool in motivation and achievement of educational goals. One very strong factor that contributes to behaviour and progress is motivation. This follows Bryce and Humes who argue in their study that group work helps students to feel involved and in control of some part of their learning process. They write that "there has been a growing realisation of the importance of feelings of self-esteem in pupils if they are to be motivated to learn and there has been an increasing awareness of the influence of the so-called hidden curriculum on pupils' (and on teachers') learning and behaviour." (Bryce and Humes 2003:429). Sprinthall and Sprinthall emphasized Bruner's idea from *The Process of Education* (1960) that "it is only through intrinsic motivation that the will to learn is sustained" while other factors such as teaching, peer reinforcement, parental guidance, and extra tuition fall into the category of "more transitory effects of external motivation." (Sprinthall, and Sprinthall 1990:243). This explains pupils' behaviour and progress through internal forces and limits the influence of environmental factors such as teachers, parents, or peers. Internal or inherent motivation factors – self-efficacy – can contribute to a student's ability and desire to advance and succeed in the classroom. Self-efficacy is an important and growing field of education research. However, teachers and external influences are still important in the context of inspiring and encouraging natural curiosity. One problem with this area of study is that it may overlook the impact of societal expectations in motivation. One way of looking at this is the understanding of the impact of gender. Meece et al. argue that the effects of gender and gender expectations on students' goals and self-efficacy perceptions are impacted by ability, culture, and age. (Meece, et al. 2006:351-373). Anderman and Young point out that the effects are more pronounced in primary school students than in secondary school

students. (Anderman and Young 1994:811-831). Other scholars found no correlation between gender and students' reported goals amongst secondary school students. (Middleton and Midgley 2004:710-718; Greene et al. 2002:421-458; Dowsen et al.2006:781-811). However, none of these studies controlled for the difference between avoidance goals, which are more likely to be practiced by male students facing examination, and performance approach. (Smith et al. 2002:471-485). Additionally, the role of parental, school, and societal expectations could affect female secondary school students, especially in developing countries. Student involvement in the learning is crucial to educational development, according to Beard and Senior. (Beard and Senior 1980). Personal interactions in learning environments help to motivate students and improve perceptions of efficacy, particularly when informal interactions with peers, teachers and parents reinforce what is being taught in the more formal lecture or classroom situation.

The role of teachers and parents in the learning process is another important focus of educational research. Roeser et al. demonstrated that there are reliable connections between perceptions of ability on the part of students and the grades they have received from their teacher. (Roeser, et al. 2002:408-422). This is important to this study because one of the questions asked of the study participants is about the teaching styles of formal and shadow instructors and the role of parents in choosing shadow education. Sprinthall and Sprinthall write that "many of the significant models in the child's world, parents and teachers, are also in charge of the child's reinforcement schedule" and can aid in development through modelling their own behaviour. (Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990:259). Eccles et al. also argue that parents are one of the most important influences on children's attitudes toward academic achievement. (Eccles et al 1998). This suggests that the presence of either strong or poor learning behaviours in teachers or parents and the reinforcement of these with informal value statements can alter a child's progress and development in education. As Sprinthall and Sprinthall point out, "teachers provide conditions for learning in the classroom not only by what they say, but also by what they do."(Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990:261). Other studies

have also tied students' goals with perceptions of academic achievement. (Elliot and McGregor 1999:628-644; Elliot et al. 1999:549-563; Elliot and McGregor 2001:501-519; Harackiewicz et al. 2000:316-330*;* Wolters 2004:236-250). However, the classroom influence can be mitigated or altered to a certain degree by parental involvement and reinforcement, which may counteract some of the effects of teacher reinforcement in positive or negative ways. Negative reinforcement at home might lead to the need for stronger positive reinforcement from the teacher, while positive reinforcement at home through parental involvement or the provision of private tutoring might counteract weak instruction at school by providing positive educational models. The reinforcement of learning associated behaviours and operant control for negative expressions such as behavioural problems can have important ramifications in the development and progress of students. Therefore, in order to stimulate feelings of self-efficacy and motivation, "the teacher must provide students with problems that are just difficult enough for the children's intrinsic curiosity motivation to itself activate exploration." (Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990:244). Sprinthall and Sprinthall even state that in this "the teacher's role is indeed sensitive," pointing to the reinforcement of modelling as an example of the role reinforcement can play in student progress. (Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990:247). Reinforcement seems to affect the mode through which learning takes place, however, rather than creating a feeling of self-efficacy or motivation for learning. Entwhistle's survey of students demonstrated that a teacher's "relationships with students were also seen as important" in establishing the quality of the teacher. (Entwhistle 1987:20). The claim by Claxton that "much of a teacher's influence on the development of young people's leading is achieved through their informal, unguarded language" demonstrates the importance of the role of teachers and other learning role models but it may overstate its role in the learning process. (Claxton at152).

Peer interactions help to determine issues of efficacy and motivation as well. There is some evidence pointing to the idea that social goals such as participation in certain peer groups can affect academic goals in different conflicting and converging ways. (Barron, and Harackiewicz 2001:706-722; Dowson, and McInerney 2003:91-113). The role of

peer behavioural reinforcement and other sociological and psychological effects of peer group dynamics including the diversity of ability within the class and the teacher's ability to teach to all of these abilities through appropriate methods all seem to be important contributing factors in student development. Much research has been conducted on students' social reasons for wanting academic achievement. (Urdan, and M.L. Maehr 1995:213-243; Wentzel 1999:76-97; Ryan 2001: 1135-1150). This is important to this study because of the nature of cram schools and other forms of shadow education, which may be more selective in their student intake or may reflect a more homogenous peer group. As Sprinthall and Sprinthall reveal in their research, the place of cooperative learning activities in the classroom contributes more of an effect on academic achievement and student self-perception than the use of positive reinforcement or cues and feedback from teachers alone. (Sprinthall and Sprinthall 1990:321). This reinforces Claxton's assertion that it is in the informal interactions and sociological/behavioural constructions that play an equally or more important role in student achievement than curriculum material alone.

In addition to issues of motivation, shadow education might also be affected by issues of need or perceptions of inadequate support in the classroom. This goes hand-in-hand with issues of self-efficacy and parental involvement and is complicated by the fact that schools in the British and Hong Kong system are based on a model of linear progress that does not necessarily adapt to a gifted or special needs non-normative schema. Additionally, it brings into focus the problems created by assessment and linear examinations. Although this research is still primarily sited in Britain, Europe, and America, recognition of the pressures of assessment and lack of adequate educational support in government schools is a developing issue in emerging economies such as the 'Asian Tigers.' As Christensen argues, "critical social analyses of schooling have identified a tension between the overt commitment of education as a means of maintaining equality and social justice, and the covert processes where schools sort, select, and stratify the student population." (Christensen 1992:277). Educational research in Britain is beginning to focus more on different models for approaching these needs. The Special Educational Needs Code of Practice demonstrates the current

debate about the role of assessment in its guidelines for assessment. The guidelines say that identification of disability can be measured through several classroom performance assessments: “their performance monitored by the teacher as part of ongoing observation and assessment; the outcomes from baseline assessment results; their progress against the objectives specified in the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy Frameworks; their performance against the level descriptions within the National Curriculum at the end of a key stage; standardised screening or assessment tools.” (National Curriculum 2001:5:13). These assessment guidelines take as given that there is a true average level of ability and that those who fall below this average, as defined by the National Curriculum’s ‘Key Stages’ are developmentally ‘slow’ or behind other students, while students who grade above this average are equally marked out. However, the measurement of average might not take certain factors into consideration, and in situations where there is a dearth of public funding, schools might not have any ability to adequately support those who are identified by these assessments.

While much of the current discourse in British educational research is focused on definitions, curricula, assessment, and social mobility, the essential role of support is often overlooked. Although the provision of extra support for those with learning disabilities is mandated by SENDA in Britain, the provision of these supplemental support mechanisms is often modified by political considerations. The SENDA act means that schools are mandated to provide the necessary in-school support to provide an equal education for all students. This has frequently created misperceptions by parents of ‘average’ students that those who require supplemental support are putting a strain on scarce resources and reducing the amount of time teachers can spend with their students. (Fulcher 1989:15-16). At the same time, Smith and Erevelles suggest that extra help from teachers and teachers’ aides may be perceived as exclusionary, and “special education classrooms and rehabilitation programs where they are trained to become compliant to the requirements of ‘normativity’” are perceived as archaic and inhumane.(Smith et al. 2004:31). Shadow instruction may be seen to fill this gap, particularly in situations where the disparity between ‘average’ and the student’s

performance is seen by teachers and parents (and potentially by the student as well) as being insufficient to require special aides in the classroom. Here too perceptions of self-efficacy can be fostered through out-of-school extra tuition, where peer groups will not negatively impact motivation. Emotional support through the promotion of self-efficacy is important because of the potential negative impact on the student who has been labelled by his or her learning weaknesses. However, a shadow education versus in-class support approach raises several questions: should students who are classified as poor learners be treated separately from those who are diagnosed with learning disabilities? How does this assessment occur, and what does a difference in support mechanisms and approaches mean for the students involved? By providing extra support to those who are assessed as having particular types of education needs, is the school leaving behind those who are simply deemed average poor students? In situations where there are insufficient resources (i.e. in developing countries), does the shadow education system fill the role of in-classroom support?

Current research in educational theories presents a picture of increasing focus on the role of education in social mobility and encouraging linear progression along the norms of assessment through the provision of extra support. The role of shadow education within these research frameworks is murky, in part because of the 'shadow' nature of shadow education. However, it seems that particularly in developing countries or countries with a mass education approach, the linear model of progression is best served by the combination of shadow and formal education. Self-efficacy and motivation from teachers, parents and peer groups may also play a part in the increasing popularity of shadow education, particularly in developing countries where competition and the drive for social mobility are high. These issues will be explored further with reference to the data gathered in this research in a later chapter.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of the literature in the various fields – postcolonial studies, British education, Hong Kong education, shadow education, educational debates, and sociological background – that have contributed to both the formation of

the hypothesis and the analysis of the data collected in interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups. With the change from British to Chinese education and attendant postcolonial developments, shadow education is gaining ground as an arbiter of symbolic and cultural capital and a provider of social capital through the development of relationships with like-minded, socially mobile families. The research questions have been formulated with this context in mind. The next chapter will discuss the methodology of the study before moving on to a presentation of the data and its analysis in light of the themes discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methodology overview

The methodology for this study is based on analyzing what the perceptions of shadow education are amongst students at an ESF school in Hong Kong. The study will use a mixed method approach in order to find the answer to the main research question: what factors drive the use of shadow education in Hong Kong? A questionnaire approach using published data and some questions in my study will help to illuminate the role of economic factors such as parents' education and careers, government support for schools, ability to afford shadow education, and provision of shadow education. Interpretive phenomenological analysis using semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups will help to pinpoint the underlying sociological research questions such as the role of peer group pressure, perceptions of shadow education as the only means to social mobility, and self-described reasons for choosing shadow education.

This required extensive secondary research as presented above, focusing on educational philosophy and history in Hong Kong and Britain, sociological theories, and the current debates on shadow education. This will also involve research into participation rates of the two systems and analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of those who participate using the questionnaire as a starting point for further investigation. This can be done through linking observations of both official figures that are published through government publications, in other secondary research from journals and publications, to my own phenomenological research drawn from some of the questionnaire questions and the subsequent focus groups and semi-structured interviews. For official statistics, the Hong Kong Institute of Education has extensive collections of information from throughout the last hundred years. I will use the archives to examine how the government has conceived of standardized education throughout the last century, and more recently, how they conceive of shadow education as part of

the entire structure. Historic trends will illuminate the colonial and postcolonial perceptions of social mobility through participation in this shadow system.

3.2 Research questions

The questions that this research project aims to address are:

1. Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility?
2. How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea?
3. Do issues of self-efficacy influence the demand for shadow education?
4. How does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations - both education and social - of the parents who participate in shadow education?

3.3 The institution

In order to conduct this study, the researcher first chose and contacted the school to participate. The institution is one of the five ESF secondary schools. The school has a comprehensive intake drawing students from a wide area encompassing a broad range of social and economic backgrounds. The school has a scholarship programme and is one of the 'aided' schools described by Bray and Koo. These schools, first established in the 1960s, reflect the cosmopolitan identity of many of Hong Kong's residents as they attempt to teach in English, Cantonese, and Mandarin while preparing students for the internationally recognised IB examination and thus will hopefully demonstrate the postcolonial impact on shadow education.

The English Schools Foundation (ESF) operates a number of English-focused schools throughout Hong Kong, from Kindergarten through secondary levels. The ESF had 10 primary schools, five secondary schools and one multi-age special needs school in 2002-2003.(Bray and Koo 2004:223). Bray and Koo report that "The ESF had been created in 1967 to serve expatriate children following the education system of England, but over the next three decades its clientele diversified to include children of many races and nationalities."(Bray and Koo 2004:223). However, despite this English focus, the

ESF reports that “the curriculum, leading to the International Baccalaureate, is adapted to Hong Kong and the Asia Pacific region.” (English Schools Foundation). These schools, first established in the 1960s, reflect the cosmopolitan identity of many of Hong Kong’s residents as they attempt to teach in English, Cantonese, and Mandarin while preparing students for the internationally recognised IB examination. The national curriculum, as expressed in a national yearbook report in 2004, aims to enable “students to meet the challenges of a knowledge-based society.” (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). Its authors write that “The framework is composed of three interconnected components: Key Learning Areas, Generic Skills and Values and Attitudes.” (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). The choice of these goals for teaching, learning, and childhood development was based on the idea that “The Key Learning Areas serve as the major knowledge domain of subjects providing contexts for the development of generic skills and values and attitudes…by making use of the curriculum framework, schools are now offering their students a broad and balanced curriculum.” (Hong Kong 2004 Curriculum Development). The model of British education still holds strong in Hong Kong, therefore, including similar measures of key stages, and focus on progression and development.

3.4 Sequence of Data Collection

The sequence of data collection was dictated by times that were mutually convenient for the respondents and the researcher. The questionnaire was distributed to the final year secondary school students by the school itself under the instructions of the researcher. For the questionnaire, a month was given for the respondents to reply. In order to get adequate sampling, this was extended so that more respondents could send in their questionnaire responses. The researcher then went to the school and collected the questionnaires.

For the focus group and semi-structured interview, it was necessary to schedule around the participants, who were chosen from the questionnaire responses. In the end, some of the initial choices for the interviews and focus group were changed in order to

accommodate the majority as well as the research schedule. The focus group took place first, followed by the semi-structured interviews approximately one month later. The interviews were conducted over the phone, while the focus group was conducted in person in order to create a sense of the group dynamic.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures

The questionnaire was distributed to the final year secondary school students by the school itself under the instructions of the researcher. The school was asked to participate and each student in the year was given a description of the research project in enough detail to allow them informed consent, but without jeopardizing the underlying aims of the research by alerting them to the hypothesis. Those students who completed the questionnaires attached their consent forms. The consent forms also had a section for contact information regarding both the ability to participate in further research and contact information of the researcher in case the participants had questions later. The researcher then went to the school and collected the questionnaires.

After the initial data was collected from the questionnaire, the focus group of ten students was arranged from a sample of those students who responded that they participated in shadow education. The students were approached through the school setting again, with the researcher coming to the school and asking for a group of ten randomly selected from those who had returned questionnaires that indicated that they were participating in shadow education. The students were asked if they would like to participate and were given consent forms to take home and look over with their parents. The focus group then took place on over a school holiday so that the students would not be missing either their school or shadow education classes. For the focus group, a semi-structured approach was taken. Over the course of four hours, prepared questions were read aloud from a script to the students, who were then free to discuss their answers amongst themselves. There were two breaks of half an hour each during the focus group session. It was stressed that responses would be anonymous and that the students should answer honestly about their experiences. Students were encouraged to explain their beliefs and experiences about each question in order to

draw out the phenomenological interpretation. They were also encouraged to interact and comment on each other's experiences in order to establish a group dynamic. Once the focus group had concluded, the notes of their responses were coded according to various themes that emerged in their descriptions and responses to the questions.

Finally, a semi-structured interview was conducted over the phone with three parents, one shadow education instructor, and two students who had not participated in the focus group. These participants were approached through the information on the initial consent form that indicated that they would be interested in participating in further research. The purpose of the semi-structured interview was to apply the major themes discovered in the questionnaire and focus group and delve deeper into perceptions held by the three participatory groups. The choice of these participants who had not previously participated in the focus groups was intended to flesh out the responses of the students in the questionnaire. The interview questions were drawn from the questionnaire questions as well as being directed by the findings of the focus group. The interviews were between half an hour and forty-five minutes long, depending on the length of the response, although the questions were all worded in the same way so as to reduce sampling error.

3.6 Sampling Strategy

The sampling frame was dictated by the nature of the research questions, the need to control variables, and ethical considerations. Purposive sampling techniques were used to select classes which fulfilled a series of criteria designed to strengthen the internal validity of the study. The first criterion to be satisfied was that cooperation had to be sought from the school and the shadow education agency. The school that was chosen then distributed the questionnaires to its final year secondary students. The questionnaire was distributed to the students and their parents. The research began with the questionnaire, given to a sample of sixty-five secondary school students, ten parents, and five shadow education teachers. The negative responses for participation in shadow education were removed before randomly selecting the participants for the focus group and semi-structured interview. Each questionnaire was given an

identification number for future reference and the data were entered into an Excel spreadsheet.

The choice of this sample group was based on the research question, which seeks to find a social context for the function of shadow education. Therefore, a small sample group was important in order to allow the peer group dynamics and role of the parents and the specific tutoring agencies to come through in the focus groups and interviews. This sampling strategy was then balanced by secondary data from a number of different sources in order to fit this group into a wider social context. The questionnaire was sent out with the hope of an eighty per cent rate of return. After extending the deadline for the return of the questionnaire, an eighty per cent response rate was nearly achieved (seventy-six per cent) when fifty respondents sent in their answers: forty students, seven parents, and one teacher. The information collected from parents and teachers was simply intended to mark them as possible participants in the semi-structured interview segment of the data collection, and the questions (beyond the first two) were not aimed at these groups and therefore are not recorded here.

Participants for the focus group were then identified on the basis of those who participated in the same shadow education network: in this case, they all attended the same cram school. This was necessary to explore the role of social capital and the impact of social relationships on shadow education. In order to answer the research questions laid out above, the research design relied on data from students as well as their parents and teachers. For this reason two shadow education teachers and two parents of shadow education participants were included in the semi-structured interviews. Although a large sample size helps to reduce any sampling error while increasing the study's external validity, the research questions were focused more on the individual experiences of shadow education participants as well as the group dynamics and social relationships of the peer groups. Therefore, a small sample size was chosen, but in order to prevent a lack of external validity, secondary data was also included in the study in order to broaden the context of shadow education and Hong Kong education more generally.

3.7 Choice of methods

The data that was gathered primarily through the questionnaire was intended to give a broad context of why people choose to participate in shadow education, as well as an idea of what socio-economic and educational backgrounds might contribute to the phenomenon. Using a combination of multiple choice answers and coding of popular responses to non-multiple choice questions, the data will be arranged according to the number of responses, the percentages of responses falling into delimited categories, and cross-analysed between the different questions in order to understand how different factors relate and are perceived to be influencing shadow education choices. Since the focus of this research is on *perceived* reasons for choosing shadow education, correlation of different factors elicited in the questionnaire responses will be important. Because this is a multivariate study, it will be necessary to ensure that causation is not implied where there is simply correlation. (Bryman and Cramer 1990:195). In order to do this, it may be necessary to remove a covariate, such as income, which is correlated to participation in shadow education but is not the primary factor in the perception of the need for shadow education amongst students and parents in Hong Kong. The questionnaire data will be presented in chapter four with minimal analysis of the survey results; the questionnaire responses will then be analysed alongside the phenomenological data gathered from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups to study both the perceptions and their context.

This study will derive its data from the participation of students in focus groups and semi-structured interviews, and both student and teacher participation in questionnaires. The mixed method approach to data collection is used because it provides a multilayered impression of the subject. The qualitative data collected from these sources was then analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis and then placed in the context of the secondary literature and contextual data collected through questionnaires in order to understand both the perceived and real role of shadow education in Hong Kong. This follows the suggestion by Ritchie that “focus groups might

be used as an initial stage to raise and being to explore relevant issues which will then be taken forward through in-depth interviews." (Ritchie 2003:38).

Preliminary contextual data will be collected through the use of questionnaires, a standard method for collecting data in sociological research. A short questionnaire will allow for the greatest variety of responses with the fewest inconveniences incurred. The questionnaire will be distributed to students, asking questions as to how integrated they feel the two parts of their education are, how important shadow education is to them and other factual questions whose data could be interpreted in terms of how those involved conceive of the system, and what problems and strengths that reveals. This can then be contrasted with the views of the educators themselves. By creating a questionnaire that requires numerical as well as descriptive responses, we will obtain results that can be analysed in a more interesting fashion by cross-analysing certain responses to see what may or may not influence different perceptions of shadow education. Coding techniques are used to determine themes that occur in the responses to the questionnaire.

Qualitative research has been well represented in sociological research.(Snape and Spencer 2003). This study utilises new qualitative data in conjunction with previous quantitative surveys in order to better understand the function and perceived role of shadow education within the Hong Kong education system. The quantitative data used will be intended to satisfy the need for a broad understanding of the economics of shadow education and pass/fail rates for students in Hong Kong's system who both do and do not use shadow education. The purpose of the secondary quantitative data is to determine the representativeness of the present study's sample. While the focus of the research and research questions is mostly on the qualitative, phenomenological aspects of the interviews and questionnaire responses, it will be useful to have statistical information for comparison to put the sample group into perspective. Interviewing is a sociological standard, along with distributing questionnaires. I intend to distribute questionnaires to provide contextual data in order for me to construct categories. Based on those responses, I will then select candidates for interview. In order to maximize the

efficiency and accuracy of these interviews, I will have a set of questions to ask each of the interviewees, and will then depart from the stock criteria. I will be fully aware of the possible biases answers of interviews. In order to counteract the problem of interviewees attempting to answer whatever I would like them to, as opposed to what is accurate, I will also try to interview individuals who have not participated in previous shadow education research. This will allow me to approach people who have not yet formulated their opinions on the matter by the time the interview begins.

The use of focus groups, as opposed to large-scale surveys, is recommended as a method for drawing out individual responses as well as group or societal responses. The focus group was used to generate the themes that persist in discussions of and understanding of the social context of the research. As the convenor and the facilitator, my role in the focus groups was to steer and guide discussion, in order to get the participants to interact with one another and establish the social context for shadow education. Focus groups are valuable for qualitative research because they "provide a social context for research, and thus an opportunity to explore how people think and talk about a topic, how their ideas are shaped, generated or moderated through conversation with others." (Ritchie 2003:37). The intention of the researcher in this study is to get as much personal, subjective, and contextualised data as possible from the individual (interview or questionnaire) and group (focus group) approach to the research. The focus groups consisted of groups of students who participate in shadow education. The participants are all involved in some form of cram school or private tuition, and of various ages in order to reduce the bias toward students about to take examinations. In order to analyse the qualitative data collected from the focus groups and interviews, the study will use interpretive phenomenological analysis on their responses to identify themes. Interpretive phenomenological analysis is a biographical method of data collection and interpretation that is reliant on a holistic approach to the subject. (Denzin 2002). Phenomenology is the study of the constructs – linguistic, social, political, and gendered – used in daily life and the associated layers of meaning and understanding that create everyday interaction. (Snape and Spencer 2003).

Interpretive phenomenological analysis will be used to qualitatively analyse responses to the focus group questions. Together with the theories explored in the literature review, the quantitative data collected from the questionnaires and secondary sources, the focus group data will be used together to measure self-reported educational success and choice of shadow educational tools, as well as to interpret the reasoning behind those perceptions, and the context of social awareness.

3.8 Phenomenological Analysis

The choice of qualitative phenomenological analysis for this study rests on the socially contingent and personal nature of the research questions: the aim of the thesis is to discover the perceived function of shadow education to families in Hong Kong. Denzin lists six steps to phenomenological interpretation:

1) Framing the research question
2) Deconstructing and analysing a priori assumptions
3) Capturing the phenomenon
4) Bracketing the phenomenon by essentialising and reducing it from its context
5) Constructing the phenomenon in terms of its essential parts
6) Contextualising the phenomenon but reintroducing it to its context (Denzin 2002:349-350).

Once the chosen phenomenon has been articulated and interpreted, it is necessary to examine the respondents' interpretive criteria. The researcher then evaluates the interpretive materials using the following criteria:

- Do they illuminate the phenomenon as lived experience?
- Are they based on thickly contextualized materials?
- Are they historically and relationally grounded?
- Are they processual and interactional?
- Do they engulf what is known about the phenomenon?
- Do they incorporate prior understandings of the phenomenon?

- Do they cohere and produce understanding?
- Are they unfinished? (Denzin 2002:362).

The choice of interpretive phenomenological analysis in this study is to help develop a full, contextualised, objective and subjective, affective and cognitive picture of the respondents in order to better understand the factors that influence shadow education in Hong Kong.

There are some obvious methodological problems in semi-structured interviews and focus groups due to memory biases, mood, communication norms, and inhibitions, including "what actually can be recalled from one's past, whether the source of one's information is perceived to be likeable and credible, whether arguments presented appear to be cogent, the tendency of interviewees to overrate good things and underrate bad things, and the tendency to report popular things at the time." (Sirgy 2001:82). Another potential problem facing the researcher attempting to interpret responses is the framing of questions, which may elicit different positive or negative responses from interviewees. In other words, if the researcher frames a question about the choice of shadow education in a negative or positive way, that could cause the respondent to frame the answer differently, which will then lead to a different interpretation by the researcher. Denzin points out that, "often researchers form interpretations of their subjects' actions that the subjects themselves would not give." (Denzin 2002:364). This is important to bear in mind while studying students' perceptions of the role and function of shadow education because they may be reveal socially contingent factors that have not been obvious to previous economically-focused studies. Also important is the fact that social dynamics are particular to one group, which means that differences in socio-economic group, gender-balance, and age should be taken into consideration when discussing the wider impact and extent to which this data can be generalised. These methodological shortcomings will be taken into consideration both while the research is conducted and once it is collected and is being analysed and assessed. This is the reason for the use of semi-structured interviews in addition to focus groups and questionnaires. Arthur and Nazroo recommend this

technique because, in semi-structured interviews, “the interviewer asks key questions in the same way each time and does some probing for further information.” (Arthur and Nazroo 2003:111). This way, the questions will not change for each respondent and thus the interviewer will eliminate one variable in the analysis. Semi-structured interviews were used to draw out more personal and social details as well as to ensure that the same questions were directed to each of the interviewees so that research bias could be limited in the study.

The mixed methodology allows for a broad and deep approach to both the qualitative and quantitative factors that may influence the perception of shadow education among parents, students, and the broader society, including policy-makers and participants in both the formal and informal education sectors. It is important while analysing qualitative data that it is approached with an awareness of the researcher’s inherent bias. This bias will be minimised in this study by approaching the data with an inductive and deductive research design, looking at both questions hypothesised before the study began, but keeping an eye open for other emerging themes. The next section will present the questions that were covered by the questionnaire, focus group, and semi-structured interview, as well as the practicalities of the data collection.

3.9 Example Questions

The questionnaire (see Appendix) was sent out to sixty students, teachers, and parents with the hope of an eighty per cent rate of return. Participants for the focus group and semi-structured interview were then selected from those respondents, with an aim to focus the more detailed investigations on those who did participate in shadow education.

The study used a focus group of seven participants in concert with secondary literature and other survey data collected by Hong Kong’s education agencies. The questions were formulated in order to learn what role personal choice, parental choice, educational necessity, and social pressures played in the decision to use a cram school or private tutor.

The focus group responded to some of the following questions:

- Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are with public education?
- How many hours each week do you spend doing work in shadow education? Public education?
- How much does your family spend on your education? Do you think this is average, below average, or above average? Across Hong Kong? In your group of friends? Amongst your parents' friends?
- Do you feel you have better skills or qualifications than other people at your school? Than other people at your shadow education provider?
- How satisfied are you with your education?
- Has this shadow education impacted your future life decisions? How?

In the semi-structured interviews, the researcher also asked questions about the subjects' long-term educational goals and their families' financial circumstances. Two groups – those in shadow, unofficial education and those only in formal education – were measured against each other. The focus group of shadow education students provided the themes, which were then posed as questions to semi-structured interviewees.

The researcher also prepared some probe questions that were used in the semi-structured interviews and the focus group if follow up was needed. The aim of these questions was to have additional questions ready to pursue interesting points, but have them prepared ahead of time so that they were not seen to be leading questions, and so that the researcher's approach did not change from one interview to the next. The questions included

- How do you think you/your parent has influenced perceptions of shadow education?
- How did interaction with older students involved with shadow education make you feel about shadow education and what it could do for you?

- How do you and your friends talk about shadow education?
- How do your teachers talk about shadow education?

3.10 Analysis of texts

The interviews, focus group data, and qualitative questionnaire data will be analysed using qualitative data analysis methods. Saunders et al. describe this process as "a selective process" of organizing data according to the purpose of the research using appropriate software for qualitative data analysis. (Saunders et al. 2007:480; Remenyi et al. 2003:279). This will mean indexing and coding according to interview theme and common responses, managing the qualitative data through category trees, and processing transcripts and questionnaire responses using factor analysis. This multifaceted approach will hopefully do away with the problems of data fragmentation caused by coding.(Bryman and Bell 2003:597). While coding, categorising, and indexing the data from the focus group in particular, I will identify both statements and themes that support the argument of this research, but will also be aware of repeated themes and phrases that occur independently in order to incorporate them into the questions posed to the participants in the semi-structured interviews. The analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data should provide some balance to the study as well, combining both a socio-economic and sociological-psychological approach in order to determine the layers of context that influence the choice of shadow education in Hong Kong.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

One ethical issue that might raise some concern is the framing of questions. The researcher must frame questions in a neutral way so as not to lead the respondent to answer in a particular way. Another potential problem is the weight given in the interpretation of data to the different types of data collected – in other words, how should the phenomenological, qualitative data collected from interviews and focus groups be used in conjunction with the quantitative data gathered from the questionnaires and secondary research? It is important for the researcher to understand the biases of statistical analysis that might colour these interpretations and

carefully weigh the possible co-variables so as not to attribute causation. Finally, knowledge of voluntary participation through measures ensuring informed consent is critical to ensuring the ethical conduct of this research. Cooper and Schindler point out that it is the researcher's responsibility to make sure that "no one is harmed or suffers adverse consequences from research activities." (Cooper and Schindler 2004:116). Therefore, conditions of anonymity will have to be put into place in a way that still allows the utmost accountability to the reader without compromising any agreement with the research subject. Cooper and Schindler recommend an approach that first describes the purpose of the research, then gives an estimate of the time that will be needed for the focus group or semi-structured interview, alerts the participant that they are there voluntarily, and makes them aware of the possibility of anonymity and non-response, and finally, asks for permission to conduct the research.

3.12 External Validity of the Study

The external validity of the study depends on the extent to which the sample is representative of a wider population. Since the group was selected from an aided school rather than a government school, it is likely to be less representative of the wider population. The school demographics are mixed socially and economically and may therefore be more representative of a wider group of the Hong Kong population than is necessarily demographically consistent with population. However, it will likely present intensified phenomenological impressions of the postcolonial impact on shadow education given the school's focus on multi-lingual education. Also, because this is a study of the particular contextual relationship of the peer groups at the school and the role of social capital in shadow education, the research questions are best suited by a case study approach rather than a broad survey.

3.13 Internal Validity of the Study

Internal validity is judged by the extent to which the data analysis has taken into account and controlled for latent variables. As this is a multivariate study, variables such as income will have to be controlled so that causation is not implied where there is simply

correlation. (Bryman and Cramer 1990:195). The internal validity of the study will require that any correlations that are revealed cannot or are not likely to be explained by another factor. A number of different variables could create patterns of variance in the data, but the researcher should be aware that controlling one variable may mean allowing another undesirable variable to be considered. In this study, for example, it may be necessary to remove a covariate, such as income, which is correlated to participation in shadow education but is not the primary factor in the perception of the need for shadow education amongst students and parents in Hong Kong. The major dilemma in this study is the choice of school and sample size, which are not representative for external validity. However, they may aid in internal validity because the economic factor might be more easily removed.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation

This chapter will present the responses of research participants to both the questionnaire and the focus groups and semi-structured interviews. The research data will be presented both statistically and using the coding and factor analysis described in the methodology. The first section will present the primary data gathered for this study. The second section includes secondary data, collected from a number of sources including other studies on shadow education, the Hong Kong education authorities, and other secondary literature.

4.1 Primary Data

This section will present the questionnaire data, semi-structured interview responses, and focus group dialogues. This will then be analysed in the context of the literature review in the next chapter. The research began with the questionnaire, given to a sample of fifty secondary school students, ten parents, and five shadow education teachers. The choice of this sample group was based on the research question, which seeks to find a social context for the function of shadow education. Therefore, a small sample group was important in order to allow the peer group dynamics and role of the parents and the specific tutoring agencies to come through in the focus groups and interviews. This sampling strategy was then balanced by secondary data from a number of different sources in order to fit this group into a wider social context.

4.1.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was sent out to sixty-five students, teachers, and parents with the hope of an eighty per cent rate of return. After extending the deadline for the return of the questionnaire, an eighty per cent response rate was nearly achieved (seventy-six per cent) when fifty respondents sent in their answers: forty students, seven parents, and one teacher. The information collected from parents and teachers was simply intended to mark them as possible participants in the semi-structured interview segment of the data collection, and the questions (beyond the first two) were not aimed at these groups and therefore are not recorded here. Participants for the focus group and semi-

structured interview were then selected from those respondents, with an aim to focus the more detailed investigations on those who did participate in shadow education. This section will go through each question and identify the most common answers in order to set up a basic understanding of what those who do and do not participate in shadow education think about the aspects of the system related to this study. The research will then probe these initial responses further with the focus group and semi-structured interviews.

In order to address the research questions, the questionnaire had to differentiate between those who participated in shadow education and those who did not. To "Q1.) Have you ever attended any form of 'shadow education' (i.e. private tutoring or cram schools)?", twenty-seven of the respondents had attended shadow education and thirteen had not. Of the parents – whose relationship with the students was left anonymous – five out of seven of the respondents had sent their child or children to shadow education.

In order to get some information from the negative responses, the questionnaire then asked "Q2.) If not, which of the following options had to do with why you didn't? (Final question if you did not attend such an institution.)" The responses are recorded in Table 4.1.a below.

Table 4.1.a Reasons for not participating in shadow education

1	I am already doing well enough in school to achieve my goals
1	No shadow education facility seemed to suit my needs.
2	I don't have time.
3	I don't have the money.
3	It doesn't seem worth the money.
2	None of my friends are going.
1	My parents didn't want me to.

The next question probed the surface of declared reasons for choosing shadow education: "Q3.) If you DID attend such a form of shadow education, what was your primary reason for doing so?" The results are recorded in Table 4.1.b below.

Table 4.1.b Reasons for choosing shadow education

9	Improve my scores
3	My friends were all doing it
7	It seemed necessary in order to do as well as I would like to at final exams.
8	My parents chose it for me

Because such a large focus of the research to-date has been on economic factors, these could not be ignored, and therefore the next question asked "Q4.) How big of a financial commitment was it for you and your family?" This question aimed to unlock the relationship between economic and social capital in order to understand whether families were using scarce resources to ensure family social mobility.

Table 4.1.c Financial commitment

3	Very big
6	Relatively big, but not prohibitively expensive
6	Not too significant
5	Not an issue
7	Do not know

The next table looks at the overlap between those responses and the responses to question three.

Table 4.1.d

	Very big	Relatively big	Not significant	Not an issue	Do not know
Improve scores	1	4			4
Friends doing it			1	2	
To pass exams	1	2	2	2	
Parents chose	1		3	1	3

In order to determine whether pressure to use shadow education was derived from the schools themselves or from another source (to be identified using the questions below) question five asked "Did your school encourage you to go use cram schools? Private tutors? Did they know?"

Table 4.1.e School encouragement

	Yes	No
Cram schools	8	19

Private Tutors	11	16
Did they know	27	0

To gauge the social awareness of shadow education as well as begin to test the hypothesis of social and symbolic capital, question six asked “How many other people in your class do you think attend cram schools or private tutors?” Since this question asked for an estimate from personal experience, there was no prompt of numbers in case that should change the perception of the immediate, unprompted response. Since the group were all from the same school, we were then able to match perception to (reported) reality in order to determine the influence of this perception on the participation levels.

In order to test perceptions of school efficacy, self-efficacy, and perceived function of shadow education, the next question asked “Q7.) Do you think it has helped you attain your educational goals? If so, how did it do so (i.e. got into college, got a good job)?” This was split into two analyses: quantitative assessment of yes or no answer and qualitative coding for the responses to how it helped. Popular responses included “helped to pass exams”; “helped improve performance at one subject”; “helped to get into university”.

Table 4.1.f Do you think it has helped you attain your educational goals?

Yes	20
No	7

The next two questions were intended to establish a basis for further inquiry either in the focus group or the semi-structured interview: “Q8.) What was different about your tutor or cram school and your mainstream education programs?” and “Q9.) Was the teaching different? If so, in what ways?” Since these were more qualitative answers, individual responses varied according to personal circumstances. This is where issues of peer groups, teacher support, self-efficacy, and proficiency came into the discussion. Some of the popular responses to the question of what was different included “the teacher had more time to answer my questions”, “we moved at a faster/slower pace”, “we cover different material”, and “the [shadow education] is more about techniques than about

information." The teaching was reported to be generally different from the teaching in formal education because, with regard to tutors it was more responsive to student concerns and demands, and with regard to cram schools, it was more about teaching the techniques for passing exams than about the content of the exams.

The answers expected for question ten – "Who encouraged you to attend your shadow education program?" – were roughly those we received.

Table 4.1.g

12	Parents
5	Teachers
1	Friends
9	Self

Question eleven was also left open for free responses in order to see what was the most frequently cited through self-assessment: "Q11.) What subject(s) did you chose to seek extra tutoring or cram schools for?" Since this question left open the option of multiple subjects, raw numbers and percentages have both been included in the table.

Table 4.1.h

Subject	Number	Percent of the group
Math	21	77%
English	15	55%
Cantonese	2	7%
Putonghua	17	63%
Science	12	44%
History	2	7%
Geography	3	11%

The next question asked about efficacy of the tutoring and the perception of self-efficacy in the subjects named above: "Q12.) Do you think that you would have succeeded in this subject(s) without the supplemental education?" This asked for a qualitative assessment of success, whereas the next two questions asked for a quantification of that assessment in terms of the impact of the shadow education: "Q13.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how do you think you would have

done in terms of success in achieving goals without tutors or cram schools?"; "Q14.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how much impact do you think tutors and cram schools have had on your success in achieving your goals?" The responses to question twelve were generally negative, with the majority (85%) of students arguing that they would not have succeeded in one or more of the subjects that they were taking shadow education classes in if they had not taken the shadow education. Meanwhile, the responses to questions thirteen and fourteen were averaged to find the mean. The average response to question thirteen was five; the average response to question fourteen was seven. The mode for question thirteen was four; the mode for question fourteen was seven.

The final two questions were used to assess parental education levels in order to monitor the socio-economic impact on shadow education choice: "Q15.) What is your father's highest level of education?" and "Q16.) What is your mother's highest level of education?" Although this question was only asked of the positive respondents – that is, only those who attended shadow education answered this question – the purpose was not to determine whether parents' educational levels lead to shadow education or not, but to learn whether those in shadow education had any common socio-economic background derived from parental education levels that would contribute to an emphasis on education regardless of financial circumstances or if social aspiration would play a larger role. As is clear the sample size was small because the predominant purpose of the interviews was to establish qualitative data based on interviewee responses to questions. The quantitative data presented below therefore must be read in this context and as such no definitive conclusion may properly be drawn from the data when analysed from this perspective. However, even within the small sample size, it is interesting to note the high percentage of the parents who had completed at least a university degree. In particular, this data is interesting in the extent to which it informs the way in which the quantitative data is interpreted; knowing the educational achievements of the parents of young people clearly has an influence on the way in which the young people themselves perceive education. Although it is unusual to show

percentages where the sample size is as small as in this case, percentages are shown in order to highlight the relative value of each number.

Table 4.1.i

Father	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	7	26%
Completed university	10	37%
Professional degree	7	26%

Table 4.1.j

Mother	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	4	15%
Completed university	14	52%
Professional degree	6	22%

4.1.2 Focus Group

From the questionnaire respondents, a group of ten students were selected for the focus group. These focus group themes were then used to measure the hypothesis of the thesis and create semi-structured interviews with parents, teachers, and students. These themes were matched up against the largely quantitative responses from the questionnaire which was distributed to more students, parents and teachers in order to get a more aggregate impression of shadow education into which the individual cases of the focus group and semi-structured interviews could be contextualised. The major themes that emerged and were mentioned throughout the focus group were those posited in the hypothesis of this study: social, economic, and practical factors emphasised by the changing nature of schools in Hong Kong, parental and peer group pressure to participate in shadow education in order to be socially mobile. From these themes, then, the research progressed onto the semi-structured interviews in order to determine the relationship between social capital or its perception, and the role of shadow education. Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility? How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea? How does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations – both education and social – of the parents who participate in shadow education? These research questions that drive the semi-structured interviews were derived from the

literature review and focus group interviews in order to direct the remainder of the primary research investigations. The focus of the additional interviews would be drawing out more qualitative information related to the role of social, economic, and practical considerations in the perception of the function of shadow education in Hong Kong.

After the focus group concluded, I conducted an analysis of the language and themes that were used in the discussion. The major themes that emerged from the focus group we as follows:

Social

- Friends or peers involved
- School pressure
- Parental pressure
- High parental education rates

Economic

- Need tutoring to get a good place at school/university to get a good job
- Identified parents as socially ascendant

Practical

- Needed help with a particular subject or subjects
- Preparation for sitting national exams

These themes conformed to the expectations of the hypothesis: namely that issues of perception of self-efficacy, peer group social relationships, and socio-economic pressures contributed to the demand for shadow education amongst the students themselves. Some notable quotes from the focus group are included below:

Economic and Practical

Research participant 3: I want to train to be a doctor in England, so I thought I should take English lessons from the tutor. We speak Cantonese and English at home, and once the schools switched to Chinese, it was after my brother was in [secondary] school and so he was alright, but that's why my parents sent me to ESF and why we thought

tutoring was a good idea….we all thought that to get into an English university, after the switch to Chinese, I'd need proof that I knew English.

Research participant 1: Yeah, we had a similar thing. Once my parents sent me to ESF, we realised that to get my language to a high enough standard for the IB in English, I'd need some extra tutoring…English isn't the first language in my family.

Social

Research participant 4: It was just one of those things where my parents and I saw that everyone at ESF was taking some extra courses and it seemed like a good idea…they knew the good crammers and I just ended up with everyone else.

Research partiticpant1:…[when] we were signed up for the English lessons, it made sense to do the other classes they offered, test-prep and other ones that might help…all my friends from school ended up taking the same ones.

Research participant 3: My parents both went to university in England, so they really want me to go too.

4.1.3 Semi-structured Interview

The semi-structured interview was conducted with three parents, one shadow education instructor, and two students who had not participated in the focus group in order to apply the major themes discovered in the questionnaire and focus group and delve deeper into perceptions held by the three participatory groups. The choice of these participants was intended to flesh out the responses of the students in the questionnaire. The interview questions were drawn from the questionnaire questions as well as being directed by the findings of the focus group.

1) Hong long have you participated in shadow education?
2) Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are with formal education?
3) How many hours each week do you spend doing work in shadow education? Formal education?

4) How much does your family spend on your education? Do you think this is average, below average, or above average? Across Hong Kong? In your group of friends? Amongst your parents' friends?
5) Do you feel you have better skills or qualifications than other people at your school? Than other people at your shadow education provider?
6) How satisfied are you with your education?
7) Has this shadow education impacted your future life decisions? How?

These questions were followed by probing questions in order to illuminate how the respondents felt about certain aspects of shadow education, and therefore, what might be driving their participation. These were used to draw out additional information if the interviewees were not forthcoming with information and were therefore not asked of every participant. However, if the information was needed, these questions were asked according to the wording below in order to reduce bias. These probe questions included

- How do you think you/your parent has influenced perceptions of shadow education?
- How did interaction with older students involved with shadow education make you feel about shadow education and what it could do for you?
- How do you and your friends talk about shadow education?
- How do your teachers talk about shadow education?

The aim of these questions was to draw out the information that would help to respond to some of the secondary research questions, including the role of self-efficacy, the social dynamics of peer groups, school pressure on students to utilise shadow education institutions, and the perception of shadow education's role in the wider education system. They were intended to reflect both the themes drawn out of the focus group and a similar vein of questioning as the questionnaires in order to prevent researcher bias. However, unlike the majority of the questionnaire questions, these were left open-ended in order to encourage discussion of the individual experience and draw out the phenomenon. The reason for using the semi-structured interview format

was to pose these basic questions and then allow the interviewee to expand on their responses in order to draw out reactions to the role shadow education in their lives, their choice of shadow education provision, self-efficacy and peer/parent contributions to in-school and shadow education learning, and the perception of shadow education's impact on their chances of success. The hope was to contrast these responses to see what themes emerged from the parents, students, and teachers.

Some highlights from the interviews are included below:

Parent 2: We sent our son to ESF because we wanted the focus of his education to be international. Even so, tutoring seemed necessary to catch him up to the level of the other students and the IB exam.

Student 1: A lot of the time, the [shadow education] instructor asks what we're doing in class and we try to work on related topics. I think that probably sets the students who don't come to [crammers] behind. We also get to find out what people at other schools are working on.

Student 3: My friends and I all go to the same tutors. We're all worried about doing well on the exams.

Parent 1: I wouldn't have sent my daughter to a crammer, but she insisted that the other girls in her school were all going and that if she didn't get extra help, she would fall behind because the teacher expected them to get outside help and didn't spend enough time on things in class.

Parent 2: My nieces and nephews all went through the educational system before the change in government and they all went to university in the UK. But now that we have a new system, I wanted my son to be able to succeed here in Putonghua, so we thought it was important to get both the English education and the Chinese too.

The responses from these interviews will be discussed in detail in the analysis chapter below.

4.2 Secondary Data

Because the primary focus of this study is on the perceived function of shadow education within Hong Kong society, the focus of the primary research was intended to draw this out from students, parents and teachers. The small nature of the primary sample groups was intended to foster a sense of the group dynamic and social relations within a peer group that attend shadow education classes. This section will present some secondary research that will help to put my primary research into its wider economic and social context. The research presented here is taken from other studies that focused both on Hong Kong and wider trends.

The first two tables look at the reasons given by a wide student sample in Hong Kong for participating in shadow education and the reasons given by parents in the UK for choosing shadow education. This is relevant to this study because I am trying to determine the underlying reasons for choosing shadow education and the parity in the Hong Kong and British systems might influence the social reasons or perceived practicality of tutoring.

Table 4.2.a Main reasons given by Hong Kong students for taking supplementary tutoring

My academic performance is not very good	71%
I don't understand what the teachers teach in class	14%
To prepare for the public examination	8%
My parents want me to	2%
No one in my family can help me with my homework	1%
Because some of my classmates have private tutoring	1%
Other reasons	2%
Don't know/hard to say	2%

Source: Bray, *The shadow education system*, p. 43

Table 4.2.b Parents' reasons for arranging extra tuition in UK schools

Rank	Reason For Arranging Extra Tuition	No. of Parents	Percentage of Parents
1	To improve understanding of the subject	170	70.8
2	To increase self confidence	166	69.2
3	To help achieve the highest examination grades	141	58.8
4	To help ensure s/he obtains a place in secondary school/sixth form or university	97	40.4
5	To help my child keep up with work in school	90	37.5
6	Because my child does not get enough support from school	50	20.8
7	The family is not able to provide enough help	38	15.8
8	Because my child does not learn well from the teachers in school	37	15.4
9	It seems the natural thing to do	33	13.8
10	To increase the time s/he spends studying	30	12.5
11	I would feel guilty if I did not help my child in this way	24	10

Source: Ireson and Rushforth, *Mapping Shadow Education*, p. 21

4.2.c Institutions by level and ownership, Hong Kong, 2002/03

	Government		Aided		Private		Total	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary	41	5.4	657	86.7	60	7.9	758	100.0
Secondary	37	7.8	368	77.5	70	14.7	475	100.0

Source: Bray and Koo, *Postcolonial Patterns and Paradoxes,* p. 233

4.2.d Percentages of students who had ever had a tutor indicating benefits, by year group.

	Year 6		Year 11		Year 13		Total	
Benefits of having a tutor	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I get one-to-one help	113	39	197	65	238	73	48	60
Having a tutor helps me do better in school	175	60	124	41	153	47	455	49
Things are explained to me in more detail	167	58	156	52	227	70	550	60
Having a tutor gives me someone to talk to	58	20	30	10	32	10	120	13
They explain things that I do not understand in school	129	45	142	47	186	57	457	50
You can ask them any questions	150	52	127	42	162	50	439	48
You get more work done	119	41	95	31	122	37	336	37
You can learn at a quicker pace than at school	147	51	94	31	127	39	368	40
Having a tutor makes me feel more confident	173	60	92	30	145	45	410	45
I do not like having a tutor	24	8	10	3	7	2	41	5

Note: year 6 N = 290, year 11 N = 303, year 13 N = 326.
Source: Ireson and Rushforth, *Mapping Shadow Education,* p. 24.

Table 4.2.e Social stratification and private tutoring in Singapore

	Level			Ethnic group			House type		
	Total	Primary	Secondary	Chinese	Malay	Indian	Govt. flat 1-3 rooms	Govt. flat 4-5 rooms	Private house/ Flat
% receiving tutoring	32	49	30	32	25	43	25	33	50
% of tutees taking									
English	72	84	49	72	85	52	89	73	47
Chinese	48	55	33	59	3	4	32	50	64
Malay	5	6	2	0	19	28	4	4	8
Tamil	1	2	1	0	0	14	0	2	1
Maths	78	80	80	78	86	69	86	84	59
Science	48	52	48	47	65	35	57	49	34

Source: Bray, *The shadow education system*, p. 63

Table 4.2.f Administrative data: UNESCO Institute for Statistics Hong Kong

Population (1,000)	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Preschool age, 2006	192	98	94
Primary school age, 2006	454	231	224
Secondary school age, 2006	587	301	286
Total population, all ages, 2007	7206	3454	3752
Official school age (years)	**Entrance age**	**Graduation age**	**Duration**
Preschool, 2005	3	5	3
Primary school, 2005	6	11	6
Secondary school, 2005	12	18	7
Compulsory education, 2005	6	14	9
Net enrolment ratio (%)	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Preschool NER, 2005	59.9	60.6	59.3
Primary school NER, 2005	90.7	92.8	88.6
Secondary school NER, 2005	77.1	76.6	77.7
Gross enrolment ratio (%)	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Preschool GER, 2005	65.7	66.4	64.9
Primary school GER, 2005	97.9	100.3	95.5
Secondary school GER, 2005	84.6	84.3	84.8

Entrance and transition (%)	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Primary net intake rate, 2005	59.5	61.6	57.4
Primary gross intake rate, 2005	85.6	87.9	83.2
Primary entrants with ECCE			
Transition rate primary-secondary, 2004	99.9	99.8	100.0
Repetition and completion	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Primary repetition rate (%), 2005	0.9	1.0	0.7
Secondary repetition rate (%), 2005	4.3	5.0	3.6
Survival rate to grade 5 (%), 2004	99.5	99.1	100.0
Survival rate to last primary grade (%), 2004	99.3	98.6	100.0
Primary completion rate (%), 2005	101.7	103.9	99.4
School life expectancy (years), 2005	11.8	11.9	11.7
Teaching staff	**Pupil/teacher ratio**	**% trained teachers**	**% female teachers**
Preschool, 2005	15.7	92.5	99.2
Primary school, 2005	18.3	93.2	78.3
Secondary school, 1991	20.7		49.8
Public expenditure per student as % of GDP per capita			
Primary school, 2005	14.9		
Secondary school, 2005	19.9		
Total public expenditure on education			
As % of GDP, 2005	4.2		
As % of total government expenditure, 2005	23.0		

Data sources: Population: United Nations Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision*, March 2007. *Education:* UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Data Centre, http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/ReportFolders/ReportFolders.aspx, January 2008.
Source: childinfo.org

Table 4.2.g Hong Kong Secondary Education Statistics

	School year		
	2002/03	**2006/07**	**2007/08**
No. of Schools			
Local	475	503	503
ESF & other international	24	25	24
Total	*499*	*528*	*527*
Student Enrolment[(1)]			
S1-S3	251 556	255 992	253 311
S4-S5	150 705	161 461	165 376
S6-S7	59 028	63 322	63 727
Total	*461 289*	*480 775*	*482 414*
No. of Repeaters[(1)]	21 223	18 016	18 734
No. of Children from the Mainland Newly Admitted[(2)(3)]	1 545	5 507	2 842
Average Class Size[(2)]			
S1-S5	38.5	38.0	37.8
S6-S7	29.9	30.2	30.3
No. of Secondary School Teachers[(1)]			
Degree	22 781	26 984	27 759
Non-degree	2 888	1 650	1 401
Total	*25 669*	*28 634*	*29 160*
% of Trained Teachers[(2)]	87.8%	94.2%	93.9%
Pupil-Teacher Ratio[(2)]	18.3:1	17.0:1	16.8:1
Wastage Rate of Teachers (%)[(2)] [Percentage of teachers as at the beginning of the previous school year who left the teaching profession in the 12-month period			

prior to the beginning of the given school year]			
Overall	*5.3%*	*5.9%*	*6.6%*
Trained	4.0%	5.2%	5.8%
Untrained	14.0%	19.6%	20.1%

Notes :
Figures in this table do not cover evening schools and special schools. Unless otherwise specified, figures refer to the position as at the beginning of the respective school years.

(1) Figures include local, English Schools Foundation (ESF) schools and other international schools.

(2) Figures exclude English Schools Foundation (ESF) schools and other international schools.

(3) Figures refer to admission during the 12-month period prior to October of the given school year. For example, figure for 2007/08 refers to admission during October 2006 to September 2007. Figures refer to One-way Permit Holders only.

Source: Education Bureau of Hong Kong,

http://www.edb.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeID=92&langno=1

Table 4.2.h Distribution of Educational Attainment of Population Aged 15 and Over in Hong Kong

Percentages

Educational attainment	**2002**	**2006**	**2007@**
No schooling/ Pre-primary	6.9	5.9	5.5
Primary	20.8	18.6	18.4
Secondary(1)	46.7	46.4	46.4
Sixth Form(2)	4.7	5.3	5.6
Post-secondary			
Non-degree course	7.6	8.0	8.1
Degree course	13.2	15.8	16.1

Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

Notes : Figures are compiled based on the data obtained from the General Household Survey for the four quarters of the year concerned.

(1) Persons with educational attainment at secondary level refer to those with Secondary 1 to Secondary 5 education or equivalent level.

(2) Persons with educational attainment at sixth form refer to those with Secondary 6 to Secondary 7 education or equivalent level.

@ Figures are subject to revision later on.

Source: Census and Statistics Department

Source: Education Bureau of Hong Kong,

http://www.edb.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeID=92&langno=1

Table 4.2.i Government Expenditure on Education in Hong Kong

	Financial year (April - March)		
	2002-2003 [(1)]	**2006-2007** [(1)]	**2007-2008** [(2)]
Total expenditure ($ million)	55,595	51,935	55,066
As percentage of total government expenditure (%)	23.4	23.2	23.2
As percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (%)	4.4	3.5 [(3)]	3.4 [(3)]
Recurrent expenditure ($ million)	47,775	44,603	47,592
Spent on (%)			
Primary education	22.7	22.8	22.4
Secondary education	33.7	36.5	36.4
Higher education	29.6	28.1	27.4
Others [(4)]	14.0	12.6	13.8

Notes : (1) Expenditure figures have been adjusted to conform to the policy grouping adopted in 2007-2008.

(2) Revised estimates.

(3) Figures are subject to revision later on as more data become

available.

(4) Figures include government recurrent expenditure on kindergarten, special education, adult education courses run or funded by the Education Bureau, vocational education courses run by the Vocational Training Council and departmental support.

Source: Education Bureau Source: Education Bureau of Hong Kong, http://www.edb.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeID=92&langno=1

This secondary data will be important in setting Hong Kong within the context of international surveys of shadow education in order to understand what is historically and culturally contingent to Hong Kong and what are representative of more widespread trends as a result of the changing role of the state in education and education monitoring. Because the hypothesis of this study focuses on the particular role of social capital, peer groups and self-efficacy as a product of Hong Kong's postcolonial situation, it will be important to contrast the experiences described in the primary data to that gathered in the secondary data.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

After the presentation of the data collected in the primary research for this study, this chapter will examine the trends and responses in light of the literature and theories discussed in the second chapter. The results of the semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires, combined with quantitative and qualitative data gathered from secondary sources provided a picture of shadow education that seeks to apply a phenomenological methodology, rather than a primarily economic or policy-based approach. The reason for this shift in methodological approach was the desire to put specific behavioural choices into their sociological, historical, and economic contexts. This mixed approach also helped to answer the diverse research questions driving this study. The hypothesis for this study was that social factors – particularly social capital through the development of peer relationships both for parents and students and the role of changing post-colonial socio-economic pressures – have been discounted in the understanding of shadow education because of a persistent focus on economic factors. The study set out to answer four research questions:

1. Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility?
2. How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea?
3. Do issues of self-efficacy influence the demand for shadow education?
4. How does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations - both education and social - of the parents who participate in shadow education?

The firs research question was intended to place the study in the context of the previous literature on shadow education, evaluating the situation in Hong Kong in the economic terms generally used in shadow education research. This was intended to be the launching point for a more socially and historically contextual evaluation, using government and international organisations' education statistics, as well as the phenomenological research conducted for this study.

This analysis will investigate the primary and secondary research on behaviour in choosing to participate in shadow education in light of the literature reviewed in the second chapter. This chapter will analyse both the quantitative and qualitative data in light of the hypothesis to determine its applicability to the situation of Hong Kong. It will be organised into sections based on the major research question themes: social/symbolic capital, postcolonial context, and self-efficacy.

5.1 Social mobility

The students who entered shadow education from the ESF schools were all of similar economic means, although the school does provide some scholarships for students who need help paying for school fees. Socially, the question of who entered shadow education was investigated through questions two and four of the questionnaire. In order to get some information from the negative responses, the questionnaire then asked "Q2.) If not, which of the following options had to do with why you didn't? (Final question if you did not attend such an institution.)" The responses are recorded in Table 4.1.a below.

Table 4.1.a Reasons for not participating in shadow education

1	I am already doing well enough in school to achieve my goals
1	No shadow education facility seemed to suit my needs.
2	I don't have time.
3	I don't have the money.
3	It doesn't seem worth the money.
2	None of my friends are going.
1	My parents didn't want me to.

Because such a large focus of the research to-date has been on economic factors, these could not be ignored, and therefore the next question asked "Q4.) How big of a financial commitment was it for you and your family?" This question aimed to unlock the relationship between economic and social capital in order to understand whether families were using scarce resources to ensure family social mobility.

Table 4.1.c Financial commitment

3	Very big
6	Relatively big, but not prohibitively expensive
6	Not too significant
5	Not an issue
7	Do not know

In the interviews and focus groups, this line of questioning was followed further. Students often acknowledged that they knew that their parents were spending money on their education, but that it had been made clear by their parents that this was "money well spent." This indicates that regardless of wealth, the parents who choose to invest in aided schools and shadow education value some part of the education as being of economic or social value and therefore worth the investment. Some economic factors were cited in the focus group discussions as well, with two themes emerging from the discussion:

- Need tutoring to get a good place at school/university to get a good job
- Identified parents as socially ascendant

These themes indicate that social mobility is a concern for those who enter into shadow education. This follows the current literature on the subject.

These responses place the study in the context of the current literature on shadow education's focus on the economic role it plays in supplementing failing governmental education policies, either in correcting a market failure or in supplementing the educational provision when it is limited by national or local authority income. Kim looks at the economic function of shadow education, using the example of Korea, where shadow education is prevalent, arguing that "mushrooming of private tutoring is a natural market response to underprovided and overregulated formal schooling in Korea." (Kim 2004:1). Baker et al. concur with the underprovision argument as put forward by Kim and others in their paper on worldwide trends in shadow education; however, they argue that "institutional factors of education, including limited access and lower levels of funding, drive the use of shadow education, instead of high-stakes testing and national achievement incentives." (Baker et al. 2001:1). However, as the

government statistics on education provision in the results chapter demonstrate, Hong Kong is certainly spending a sufficient percentage of its GDP on education, and has good student-teacher ratios. This indicates that shadow education may have an economic function in Hong Kong that is not limited to 'filling a market gap.' However, the primarily economic focus in the literature aims at understanding what is perceived to be missing from the 'market' of government education provision, be it inadequate teaching to achieve high national standards (measured by high-stakes testing) or simply the inadequate allocation of resources to schools. Bray follows this logic, explaining that tuition centres often use incentives to draw 'customers.' Even in Hong Kong, Bray argues that "tutorial centres in Hong Kong commonly increase their attractiveness by offering the most recent technology…some centres offer prizes for academic success, and expand their markets by advertising through leaflets, posters, newspapers, magazines, cinemas and television." (Bray 1999:40). However, since it is clear from the students' and parents' responses in the surveys conducted here that social mobility is important regardless of economic value, this accords with Dang and Roberts report that "Standard economic theory would suggest that certain factors increase household demand for education: households' income, preference for education, and expectations about the returns to education for their children." (Dang and Roberts 2008:166). This is important in the economic theories of shadow education because it suggests that social mobility provided by education is dependent on several factors, not just household wealth. Ireson and Rushforth's study, while confined to British education, provides some insight into the social, economic, and psychological impetus for shadow education and may have more broad reaching application. (Ireson and Rushforth 2005). If social mobility is a factor in shadow education, it may be related to the specific societies that are using it. Ireson and Rushforth's data suggest that tutoring in the UK is much more prevalent amongst non-white students: "Indian students (45%) had most private tuition, followed by Chinese (35%), African (31%), Other Asian (29%), Pakistani (28%), Caribbean (27%) and Other White (27%)." (Ireson and Rushforth 2005:6). Because this study did not ask for ethnic background, what is interesting in light of this information is that an emphasis on shadow education amongst Asian students seems to carry across

to the UK, and may indicate that there are social reasons for participating in shadow education. Economic factors do play a role in the use and function of shadow education. However, this part of the study was of less interest as part of the hypothesis, and more intended to place this study in the context of those economic surveys of shadow education already conducted in order to argue that social, educational, and postcolonial contexts were of more direct importance to the parents and students in Hong Kong than the valuation of the economic worth of the shadow education investment.

5.1 Social capital

This study presents an alternative sociological approach to shadow education, examining the symbolic, status related implications of private tuition, rather than the purely economic role it has been demonstrated to play. As discussed in the literature review, ssymbolic capital is used "to explain the logic of the economy of honour and 'good faith'." (Bourdieu 2005:2). However, in the context of education, Morrison and Wilhelm's definition of this same quality not as social capital but 'human capital', writing that human capital includes "client relationships, a personal reputation for fair dealing, and certain forms of knowledge that, without further scientific development, cannot be codified" seems most appropriate, since it seems related to the growth and development of peer social groups and the relationships and networks they build in schools and in shadow education. (Morrison and Wilhelm Jr. 2004:1682). The role of symbolic capital seems to be the ability to leverage these networks; however, it again is not a purely economic form of capital, and these networks are not all intended necessarily for economic gain, but also for status within society. Students depend on these networks for social advancement within school, and in Hong Kong's ESF school, this seems to be tied to the participation of large numbers of the secondary school body participating in shadow education crammers, or sharing tutors. Bourdieu suggests that symbolic capital is earned amongst the professional classes by "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability that are easily converted into political positions as a local or national notable." (Bourdieu

1989:291). Thus reputation, respectability, and honour as conceived by both the narrow, immediate society and wider national expectations play a large role in the development of social and symbolic capital. What this means in terms of shadow education will be explored in greater depth in this analysis chapter once these theories have been compared to the questionnaire and interview responses.

Social capital is an important concept for this research, and was important in the framing of both the questionnaire and the interview questions. Robison et al. point out that "one important difference between social capital and some other forms of capital is that social capital exists in a social relationship." (Robison et al. 2000:5). It is possible that parents and students are using their participation in cram schools and other forms of shadow education in order to ensure their own upward social mobility through test results; however, it is just as likely that, like other conspicuous displays, shadow education has a social function beyond the educational realm. The quantitative and qualitative results indicate that this may be true. Although the idea that shadow education is purely conspicuous display seems to have been challenged by the data from the questionnaire (Q3 and Q4), the responses in the focus group and the interviews revealed that social motivations were part of the reason for choosing particular cram schools or particular subjects. One parent interview revealed that the student had asked for extra tuition because he felt he was falling behind the other students who were all (perceived to be) in the same cram school maths course. This mixes the issues of motivation and self-efficacy with the social relationships of the school setting. Given that roughly 70 per cent of the students felt that the school encouraged them to use cram schools and roughly 60 per cent felt the school encouraged the use of private tutors, it seems that there were quite a number of social pressures – peer, parent, teacher – on the students. However, does this qualify as falling under 'social capital'?

Given that Bourdieu writes that "a class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption – which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic,"

it is logical to see shadow education as part of the same social capital needed for status definition. (Bourdieu 1989:483). Therefore, it should be borne in mind that when parents and students are discussing the social pressures and social relationships relating to shadow education, it need not be the particular demonstration of wealth, nor does the expenditure have to be impractical, that makes shadow education a form of social capital. Again, table 4.1.d points out that the financial commitment for those who chose shadow education varies slightly depending on the reasons for choosing shadow education, but for those families for whom shadow education was a very big commitment or relatively big commitment, the reason was never declared to be because "friends were doing it."

Table 4.1.d

	Very big	Relatively big	Not significant	Not an issue	Do not know
Improve scores	1	4			4
Friends doing it			1	2	
To pass exams	1	2	2	2	
Parents chose	1		3	1	3

However, in the interviews, it emerged that many felt that they needed shadow education in order to improve their scores or pas their exams because that is what their friends, parents, or teachers were telling them. For example, one interviewee reported that, "when I started at ESF, I came from a different school where only the very wealthy students had tutoring…but at ESF, all of my new friends were in crammers for English and maths," while another focus group respondent made a similar comment, noting that, "it seemed like everyone was in [shadow education]." Since the attainment of social capital is often related to capital outlays – either monetary or social themselves, this seems to demonstrate that, although shadow education might not fall under the umbrella of conspicuous consumption because of the practical nature of the expenditure, it still should be regarded as social capital because of the symbolic and social (as well as financial) outlays involved in participation in shadow education.

To gauge the social awareness of shadow education as well as begin to test the hypothesis of social and symbolic capital, question six asked "How many other people in your class do you think attend cram schools or private tutors?" Since this question asked for an estimate from personal experience, there was no prompt of numbers in case that should change the perception of the immediate, unprompted response. Since the group were all from the same school, this enabled matching perception to (reported) reality in order to determine the influence of this perception on the participation levels. The responses to this indicate that social capital may be important in influencing self-efficacy perceptions amongst students who participate in shadow education. The students tended to perceive participation rates in shadow education as very high, with most students in the class knowing about those who they were in cram schools with, and estimating that the majority were taking part in some form of shadow education.

The final two questions of the questionnaire were intended to uncover possible social roles of education levels amongst parents as a determinant of shadow education. The final two questions were used to assess parental education levels in order to monitor the socio-economic impact on shadow education choice: "Q15.) What is your father's highest level of education?" and "Q16.) What is your mother's highest level of education?" Although this question was only asked of the positive respondents – that is, only those who attended shadow education answered this question – the purpose was not to determine whether parents' educational levels lead to shadow education or not, but to learn whether those in shadow education had any common socio-economic background derived from parental education levels that would contribute to an emphasis on education regardless of financial circumstances or if social aspiration would play a larger role.

Table 4.1.i

Father	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	7	26%
Completed university	10	37%
Professional degree	7	26%

Table 4.1.j

Mother	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	4	15%
Completed university	14	52%
Professional degree	6	22%

The results seemed to be roughly in line with nationwide and comparative data on education rates of parents, and therefore may be valuable for drawing a larger comparative picture. However, for the purposes of this study, the responses reveal that of the students who participate in shadow education, mothers have a high level of education (74 per cent completed university or professional degree) and while their fathers also have a high level of education (63 per cent), the picture is much more even for fathers. What does this indicate? The interviews with the parents and the focus group with their children seems to point to some issues that touch on each of the parts of this hypothesis: social capital, self-efficacy, and postcoloniality, all of which seem linked by the Hong Kong shadow education system. Parents' experiences of education seem to impact both their ideas of educational goals for their children, and their use of social networks to ensure that their children achieve these goals. Parents without high levels of education who still participate in shadow education seem less concerned with which subjects the students take, with one student explaining that "I asked my dad if I could attend cram schools and he said if I thought I'd need them to pass my exams, then I could." This demonstrates that parents with lower levels of education might regard shadow education in the economic way described in the literature review, i.e. as a means of social mobility through achievement on national tests.

Ireson and Rushforth's study found that students whose parents have both attended university are much more likely to employ shadow education of some kind, particularly leading up to examinations. This relates to the important role of parents in choosing shadow education. Ireson and Rushforth present a convincing argument for the social and psychological role of the parent or family in the choice of shadow education, arguing that "a parent's involvement relates to their personal construction of the parental role, their sense of efficacy for helping children succeed at school; and their reaction to the opportunities and demands presented by their children and their children's schools."

(Ireson and Rushforth 2005:8). However, there does not seem to be a direct link between *level* of education and views of shadow education. Rather, it seems that women who have had high levels of education will be more likely to expect both sons and daughters to achieve high educational attainment, while men from all levels seem to have certain levels of educational attainment in mind. One father who was interviewed stated that while he had only graduated high school because of personal and family circumstances, he had worked very hard in order that his children could go to university. While this may be an expected response, it was his use of language relating to social capital that was interesting. He pointed out that he knew that the other parents were sending their children to a particular cram school and therefore, when his son asked to have extra tuition, the father knew that he would send his son to this cram school so that he could have the same instruction as his peers and be sure that "they were creating important friendships." This language is important because it demonstrates that some parents see shadow education (and possibly formal education as well) as valuable for the relationships and future social contacts that they will provide for their children as they advance in their careers. The sociological aspect of shadow education is under-researched, however, and this study attempts to fill in the gaps in the literature regarding the role of relationships and networks in the perception of the value of shadow education. Bray does point out that "recommendations operate more effectively than formal advertising" in drawing new tutoring clients. (Bray 1999:40). He cites a Malaysian research report that "indicated that 71 per cent of respondents identified their tutors through friends." (Bray 1999:40). This has an important bearing on this study, which examines the role of peer groups and social capital in the choice and function of shadow education in Hong Kong. Given that current, economically-centred research has identified that "in Hong Kong and Taiwan, proportions of students in high-ranking schools taking tutoring were much greater than proportions in low-ranking schools" indicates that social factors might play an important, if under-observed role in the function of shadow education. (Bray 1999:42). As has certainly been demonstrated by the data in this study, many of the students' self-efficacy is determined by their perception of their peers' participation in shadow education. Had they attended schools

where tutoring and cram schools were not so prevalent, it may be the case that they would be less inclined to participate themselves. This leaves open a good area for further study. However, it might also indicate that the standards set for the high rank schools are beyond the scope of the average school day or teacher's ability, thereby necessitating tutoring to fill in the gaps.

Portes explains the important role of relationships in the earning of social capital, writing that, "to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage." (Portes 1998:8). In terms of education, the common bond of cram schools provides a basis for social networking, a supposition supported by Nahapiet and Ghoshal's explanation that social capital is the network of relationships used to ease interactions. (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). The shared experience of attending cram schools or shared private tutors fosters social relationships that reflect membership within a group – in this case a group that values education and perceived social mobility. Anderson et al. point out that those characteristics seen to make up social capital are those most often used to define it: "trust, relationships, associability, interdependencies and networks." (Anderson et al. 2007:248). This follows in accord with Bourdieu's definition of social capital above. Casson and Della Guista define social capital in economic terms as "'the capitalized value of improvements in economic performance that can be attributed to high-trust social networks'." (Casson and Della Guista 2007:221). While the research expected that the social capital would be the focus of parents' responses in the interviews, in fact it seemed to be much more related to the students' responses. They frequently pointed out that the other students in their classes were also going to the same tutors and cram schools and that they would talk about them after class. Casson and Della Guista's definition links the economic performance and growth to relationships and reputation. It is perhaps this emphasis on the economics of social capital that encourages the methods previously used in studies of shadow education: researchers seek to discover what role economic advantage plays in disrupting a seemingly level playing field in public education; or equally, they hope to find a demonstration of economic outlay

assisting in social mobility. However, in the context of this study, it appears that social capital is more related to students' perceptions of self-efficacy. Although the students seem to want to be in the classes because their friends are, ("It was just one of those things where my parents and I saw that everyone at ESF was taking some extra courses and it seemed like a good idea…they knew the good crammers and I just ended up with everyone else"; "[When] we were signed up for the English lessons, it made sense to do the other classes they offered, test-prep and other ones that might help…all my friends from school ended up taking the same ones") they did not indicate that this was the primary reason for their participation, which was actually generally based on their perceived need for more help to pass their exams (see table below).

Table 4.1.b Reasons for choosing shadow education

9	Improve my scores
3	My friends were all doing it
7	It seemed necessary in order to do as well as I would like to at final exams.
8	My parents chose it for me

Therefore, the choice of shadow education, while linked to the social aspects, seems primarily driven by self-efficacy in the context of a school setting where everyone else is participating in shadow education: students feel that in order to do as well as the rest of the class, they should get extra help. Social capital, then, is important as a secondary (or tertiary) consideration, but is informed by perceptions of self-efficacy, and issues of internal and external sources of motivation. This impression seems to be reinforced by parents, teachers, and social groups. This connection will be examined in detail below.

5.3 Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy is also another important issue that should guide the interpretation of the data. Given that, as cited in the literature review above, Barry Zimmerman writes that "as a performance-based measure of perceived capability, self-efficacy differs conceptually and psychometrically from related motivational constructs, such as outcome expectations, self-concept, or locus of control," the results of the interviews and questionnaires should take the role of self-efficacy into account when examining which classes people supplement with shadow education. (Zimmerman 2000:82). The

questionnaire and interview questions were directed at uncovering impressions of how necessary shadow education is to passing exams and pursuing life-goals. In order to test perceptions of school efficacy, self-efficacy, and perceived function of shadow education, question seven asked "Q7.) Do you think it has helped you attain your educational goals? If so, how did it do so (i.e. got into college, got a good job)?" The results demonstrated that shadow education is perceived to be important to the achievement of educational goals amongst students. Popular responses in the questionnaire included "helped to pass exams"; "helped improve performance at one subject"; "helped to get into university". The table below shows that a large majority of the students believed that it did help them to achieve their goals.

Table 4.1.f Do you think it has helped you attain your educational goals?

Yes	20
No	7

Bray's table (Table 4.2.a) in the secondary data above, reveals that around 70 per cent of students attend additional instruction because they feel that they are not good enough in a subject. Amongst focus group participants and interviewees, similar responses emerged. One focus group respondent commented that "ESF is a really good school, but I feel like I need extra help to keep up with the other students." A parent interviewee remarked that her son "felt like he was falling behind the other students" in English and Maths, so asked for a tutor.

This raises the important connections between social perceptions and self-efficacy. In this study, a picture emerges from the data that suggests that peers in particular, as well as teachers do contribute to the perception of ability amongst students, influencing their decisions to participate in shadow education. In order to determine whether pressure to use shadow education was derived from the schools themselves or from another source questionnaire question five asked "Did your school encourage you to go use cram schools? Private tutors? Did they know?"

Table 4.1.e School encouragement

	Yes	No
Cram schools	8	19
Private Tutors	11	16
Did they know	27	0

While the encouragement to attend shadow education institutions was varied, and tended not to come from the schools themselves in the first instance, the students did all believe that the school knew that they were attending this shadow education, which suggests that even if the school was not pressuring them to participate, it may have been unconsciously modeling its curriculum and classroom activities around the extra help it assumed its students were getting. This in turn could affect the perceptions of students not yet attending shadow education, encouraging them to believe that without it, they would not have sufficient levels of knowledge to pass the IB or other exams.

There are several different factors at work in these responses to the questionnaire, interviews and focus group. First, there is the social dimension of self-efficacy, whereby students, teachers, and parents gauge ability in reference to other students. Second is the issue of definitions of student ability that colour perceptions amongst the students themselves. This brings out the issues of learning disabilities discussed in the literature review. Peer interactions help to determine issues of efficacy and motivation as well. There is some evidence pointing to the idea that social goals such as participation in certain peer groups can affect academic goals in different conflicting and converging ways. (Barron and Harackiewicz 2001; Dowson, and McInerney 2003). As reviewed in the literature chapter above, the role of peer behavioural reinforcement and other sociological and psychological effects of peer group dynamics including the diversity of ability within the class and the teacher's ability to teach to all of these abilities through appropriate methods all seem to be important contributing factors in student development. Much research has been conducted on students' social reasons for wanting academic achievement. (Urdan and Maehr 1995; Wentzel 1999; Ryan 2001). This is important to this study because of the nature of cram schools and other forms of shadow education, which may be more selective in their student intake or may reflect a

more homogenous peer group. Just as the ESF schools will draw in a particular type of student, it is likely that peer groups from these schools will attend similar cram schools or have the same tutors because they choose to remain in networks and base their selection off of peer recommendations.

In addition to issues of motivation, shadow education might also be affected by issues of need or perceptions of inadequate support in the classroom, and this might be what is reflected in the students' and parents' choice of shadow education. This is linked with issues of self-efficacy and parental involvement and is complicated by the fact that schools in the British and Hong Kong system are based on a model of linear progress that does not necessarily adapt to a gifted or special needs non-normative schema. As discussed in the literature review, recognition of the pressures of assessment and lack of adequate educational support in government schools is a developing issue in emerging economies such as the 'Asian Tigers.' While ESF has a special needs school, some students may be overlooked, or they may have needs that are not addressed by the assessment of learning disabilities *per se*, but still struggle with completing assignments. As Christensen argues, "critical social analyses of schooling have identified a tension between the overt commitment of education as a means of maintaining equality and social justice, and the covert processes where schools sort, select, and stratify the student population." (Christensen 1992:277). Educational research in Britain is beginning to focus more on different models for approaching these needs. The Special Educational Needs Code of Practice demonstrates the current debate about the role of assessment in its guidelines for assessment. Current British guidelines say that identification of disability can be measured through several classroom performance assessments: "their performance monitored by the teacher as part of ongoing observation and assessment; the outcomes from baseline assessment results; their progress against the objectives specified in the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy Frameworks; their performance against the level descriptions within the National Curriculum at the end of a key stage; standardised screening or assessment tools." (National Curriculum). These assessment guidelines take as given

that there is a true average level of ability and that those who fall below this average, as defined by the National Curriculum's 'Key Stages' are developmentally 'slow' or behind other students, while students who grade above this average are equally marked out. A similar system in Hong Kong, based on the British model (particularly in the ESF schools) means that classification of students could impact self-efficacy and perception of abilities. However, the measurement of average might not take certain factors into consideration, and in situations where there is a dearth of public funding, schools might not have any ability to adequately support those who are identified by these assessments.

Something that pertains to the role of self-efficacy and participation in shadow education is the role of in-school support. While much of the current discourse in British educational research is focused on definitions, curricula, assessment, and social mobility, the essential role of support is often overlooked. Smith and Erevelles, presented in the literature review, suggested that extra help from teachers and teachers' aides may be perceived as exclusionary, and "special education classrooms and rehabilitation programs where they are trained to become compliant to the requirements of 'normativity'" are perceived as archaic and inhumane.(Smith and Erevelles 2004:31). Shadow instruction may be seen to fill this gap, particularly in situations where the disparity between 'average' and the student's performance is seen by teachers and parents (and potentially by the student as well) as being insufficient to require special aides in the classroom. Here too perceptions of self-efficacy can be fostered through out-of-school extra tuition, where peer groups will not negatively impact motivation. Emotional support through the promotion of self-efficacy is important because of the potential negative impact on the student who has been labelled by his or her learning weaknesses.

Perceptions of the shadow education system itself will also reflect the role of self-efficacy, since students responses reflect what they feel they get out of participation in the shadow system. Questionnaire questions eight and nine sought to explore this

aspect of the perceptions of shadow education, asking "Q8.) What was different about your tutor or cram school and your mainstream education programs?" and "Q9.) Was the teaching different? If so, in what ways?" This is where issues of peer groups, teacher support, self-efficacy, and proficiency came into the discussion. Responses varied, but coincided with the responses offered during the focus group and semi-structured interview. These included "the tutor answers my questions and gives me time to figure out the topic"; "we can cover material in more depth"; "I can ask for things to be explained better"; "teaching is focused on what I want to talk about"; "I don't have to be at the same level as other kids in the class." This reflects a similar type of response found in Ireson and Rushforth's study of UK students in shadow education, which is outlined in Table 4.2.d above and notes that the primary reasons students liked their tutors was because it makes them feel more confident and they can cover material in a way that suits their learning style. (Ireson and Rushforth 2005:24).

Aside from the reasons for choosing shadow education, another important factor in analyzing the role of self-efficacy is the level of choice students had in participating. If they were made to participate, then it may reflect social or parental experiences, and not necessarily perceptions of self-efficacy. The answers expected for question ten – "Who encouraged you to attend your shadow education program?" – reveal that while external factors did influence participation amongst some pupils, 33 per cent of the student chose shadow education for themselves.

Table 4.1.g

12	Parents
5	Teachers
1	Friends
9	Self

The question of what subjects were chosen was intended to reflect what the students felt they needed the most help in, as regards subjects in school. This question was left open for free responses in order to see what was the most frequently cited through self-assessment: "Q11.) What subject(s) did you chose to seek extra tutoring or cram schools for?" Since this question left open the option of multiple subjects, raw numbers

and percentages have both been included in the table. The students were allowed to answer as many subjects as they were taking.

Table 4.1.h

Subject	Number	Percent of the group
Math	21	77%
English	15	55%
Cantonese	2	7%
Putonghua	17	63%
Science	12	44%
History	2	7%
Geography	3	11%

This table shows that the highest percentages were in Maths, English, Putonghua, and Science. These subjects accord with the secondary data on subjects chosen by other students as their weakest. English, Chinese, Maths, and Science were also the most subscribed tutoring subjects in Singapore. (Bray 1999:63). What was important in the study of self-efficacy, however, was less the choice of subject and more the perception of the students' abilities in those subjects before and after tutoring. The next question asked about efficacy of the tutoring and the perception of self-efficacy in the subjects named above: "Q12.) Do you think that you would have succeeded in this subject(s) without the supplemental education?" This asked for a qualitative assessment of success, whereas the next two questions asked for a quantification of that assessment in terms of the impact of the shadow education: "Q13.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how do you think you would have done in terms of success in achieving goals without tutors or cram schools?"; "Q14.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how much impact do you think tutors and cram schools have had on your success in achieving your goals?" The responses to question twelve were generally negative, with the majority (85%) of students arguing that they would not have succeeded in one or more of the subjects that they were taking shadow education classes in if they had not taken the shadow education. Meanwhile, the responses to questions thirteen and fourteen were averaged to find the mean. The average response to question thirteen was five; the average response to question

fourteen was seven. The mode for question thirteen was four; the mode for question fourteen was seven. These results indicate that self-efficacy perceptions are low amongst the ESF's students who participate in shadow education. These perceptions seem to drive the students' desire to participate; however, this indicates that while the students have low perception of their abilities, they have high levels of motivation, either from themselves, outside sources such as teachers and parents, or (especially) from their peers. Interviews reaffirmed this hypothesis, with students remarking that they did not think that they were as clever as people in their class, and that they needed to attend cram schools because if they did not, they would fall behind others in their class who did. However, most parents noted that it was the students themselves who suggested shadow education, believing that they were behind their classmates. With a pupil to teacher ratio of 18.3:1 in 2005/6, 17.0:1 in 2006/7, and 16.8:1 in 2007/8 (Table 4.2.h), students in the government schools have plenty of teacher contact. (Education Bureau of Hong Kong). The aided schools are not included in that survey, but considering they are fee-paying, it seems reasonable to assume they would have an equivalent ratio. However, teacher interaction with the students was frequently cited by the parents in this study as a reason for adding shadow education. Students told their parents that they were falling behind their classmates who had private tutors or attended cram schools, and the teachers did not have the time to help them one-on-one to catch up. While teachers and parents sometimes suggested shadow education, it seemed mostly to derive from the peer groups either directly (students suggesting that they are falling behind) or indirectly (parents learning from other parents that students might be falling behind without shadow education). This suggests that self-efficacy and motivational issues might in some ways even be linked to social and symbolic capital, with the *perception* of ability in the classroom being affected and influenced by knowledge of participation in shadow education and peers' participation in shadow education.

These tables below were used in the last section to demonstrate the role of parental education in social capital issues; however, I indicated that the interviews with the

parents and the focus group with their children seems to point to some issues that touch on each of the parts of this hypothesis: social capital, self-efficacy, and postcoloniality, all of which seem linked by the Hong Kong shadow education system.

Table 4.1.i

Father	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	7	26%
Completed university	10	37%
Professional degree	7	26%

Table 4.1.j

Mother	Number	Percentage
Completed primary education	3	11%
Completed secondary education	4	15%
Completed university	14	52%
Professional degree	6	22%

The issues of self-efficacy came out specifically with regard to highly educated women and their daughters. One mother reported that she wanted her daughter to take private tutoring because she knew from personal experience that "girls need more help in maths" than they receive in school in order to "think that they are good at it." A student also reported that she was not very good at science but was "really good at humanities subjects" but since her parents had science backgrounds, they wanted her to "do better in maths and science." As discussed above, the effects of gender and gender expectations on students' goals and self-efficacy perceptions are impacted by ability, culture, and age. (Meece et al. 2006). Anderman and Young point out that the effects are more pronounced in primary school students than in secondary school students. (Anderman and Young 1994). While some scholars found no correlation between gender and students' reported goals amongst secondary school students, none of these studies controlled for the difference between avoidance goals, which are more likely to be practiced by male students facing examination, and performance approach. (Middleton and Midgley 1997; Greene et al. 2002; Dowson et al. 2006; Smith et al. 2002). Perceptions of abilities in maths, science, and languages seems particularly reflected by the choice of shadow education subjects and the students' feelings regarding them. However, as indicated by the data above, parents' perceptions can

equally influence both self-efficacy and the choice of subject(s) studied in shadow education. The role of parental, school, and societal expectations could affect female secondary school students, especially in developing countries. Student involvement in the learning is crucial to educational development, according to Beard and Senior. (Beard and Senior 1980). Personal interactions in learning environments help to motivate students and improve perceptions of efficacy, particularly when informal interactions with peers, teachers and parents reinforce what is being taught in the more formal lecture or classroom situation. This can be achieved through shadow education in ways that it might not be possible to do in the regular classroom, therefore giving confidence to students who lack self-efficacy beliefs in certain subjects, or in the cases described above, whose parents fear that they lack self-efficacy and so use shadow education to ensure continued performance in certain subjects they see as important.

This observation from the primary data can be supported by secondary data as well. Bray's study found similar results amongst Hong Kong students, as Table 4.2.a in the previous chapter pointed out. The main reasons for attending shadow education were because students perceived that their "academic performance is not very good" (71 per cent) and that they "don't understand what the teachers teach in class" (14 per cent). (Bray 1999:43). Although "because some of my classmates have private tutoring" received only 1 per cent of the responses, it is clear that perceptions of academic performance would be highly dependent on perceptions of other students' abilities. Studies of self-efficacy in education have revealed that self-perception and external markers of success that spur on feelings of self-efficacy produce motivation and achievement of educational goals. One example of such a study finds that "students' beliefs in their efficacy for self-regulated learning affected their perceived self-efficacy for academic achievement, which in turn influenced the academic goals they set for themselves and their final academic achievement," which would have an influence on participation in shadow education. (Zimmerman 1992:663). However, it was the hypothesis of this study that self-efficacy, peer group socialization, and parental pressure for social mobility through economic advancement are all contributing factors

to the function of shadow education. This socialization aspect of shadow education is supported by Bryce and Humes who argue in their study that group work helps students to feel involved and in control of some part of their learning process. They write that "there has been a growing realisation of the importance of feelings of self-esteem in pupils if they are to be motivated to learn and there has been an increasing awareness of the influence of the so-called hidden curriculum on pupils' (and on teachers') learning and behaviour." (Bryce and Humes 2003:429). Parent responses in the UK to Ireson and Rushforth's study (Table 4.2.b) indicated that parents also tended to cite motivation and performance ability as reasons for supporting their child with shadow education, with roughly 70 per cent saying that they wanted shadow education to "improve understanding of the subject" but just under that at 69 per cent was the reason "to increase self confidence." (Ireson and Rushforth 2005:21). Parents who are aware of their child's lack of confidence in a subject use shadow education as a means of increasing motivation and self-efficacy. This seems to be borne out by the data from the questionnaire, interviews, and focus group, all of which point to the social aspects – teachers, parents, and particularly peers – in determining students' perceptions of their abilities in the classroom and subsequent need for shadow education. Perceptions, in this case, seem to outweigh the students' actual abilities, and may contribute to already existing self-motivation.

5.4 Postcolonial context

One of the most apparent responses to the questionnaire, interviews, and focus group research is underlying postcolonial anxieties. Because of the change in the education system to reflect the new Chinese-oriented government, many parents are concerned that their children are not having enough exposure to the right subjects – be that English, Putonghua, or test preparation. With an economic orientation shift from civil service and finance to industry on the new national level, parents who have ambitions for their children might see a need to change the original orientation of their education. Although the data presented in the secondary data review above shows that the Hong Kong government spends over fifty-five million per student, and has a very high level of

participation from primary through secondary education, with good transition rates, and reasonable graduation levels (46 per cent), some parents still seem to be anxious about their children's prospects at attaining their educational goals in the new Hong Kong system. Equally, the UN statistics for Hong Kong point out that the survival rate to grade five is 99.1 per cent for males, 100 per cent for females; survival rate for last primary grade is 98.6 per cent for males and 100 per cent for females; and primary completion rate is 103.9 per cent for males and 99.4 per cent for females. (United Nations Population Division). These statistics suggest a government that is concerned with completion rates and values education. Why then would parents be concerned about postcolonial changes to the system? The area of the postcolonial analysis takes into account social, economic, and contextual information in order to understand why there would be anxiety about the changes over the past twelve years, and what those changes might mean in subtly influencing the participation in shadow education. While very few of the statements directly addressed this issue, interpretive phenomenological analysis was used in order to draw out themes and interpret the underlying meaning of questionnaire, interview, and focus group responses.

British Education, on which the ESF and previous Hong Kong system were based, focuses on key skills development in certain subjects which are seen as the core of what education policy advisers believe to be the most important factors in childhood development and lifelong human capital development. Like current Asian education models, the system is based on advancement between different developmental stages and testing and examination to ensure progress. Since progression is measured by achievement of anticipated goals, the measured 'learning' and comprehension of key skills and concepts at certain stages of development, the British system is framed around several stages of testing for which students, teachers, parents, and shadow education establishments prepare. However, despite these similarities, the role of education is different in China and Britain – both in perception and in government focus – which has led to some shifts in Hong Kong's system over the past decade. The shift in focus from British to Chinese priorities might also help to explain the changing role of

shadow education in Hong Kong, as parents are confronted with a system that is different from the one they knew, and which represents different educational priorities. As discussed in the literature review, the education system as established in Britain and its overseas territories was one that aimed at building a stable local bureaucracy in order to run its colonies efficiently and at creating a thriving merchant class of bankers and traders. (Mangan 1988). J.A. Mangan, cited above, points out that education was an important tool of empire, "with the use of formal education as a means of disseminating and reinforcing imperial images" and the evolution of "the assimilation, adaptation and rejection (partial if not complete) of metropolitan educational models." (Mangan 1988:5). In Hong Kong the imperial educational model emphasized testing at certain ages, school uniforms, grammar schools and other meritocratic models, and, like imperial education everywhere, was tied to the metropole of England, where parents aspired (or were expected to aspire) for their children to attend exclusive public schools or universities for the attainment of high level civil service or private sector jobs. In this way, the issues of social capital and self-efficacy may be tied to the postcolonial anxieties surrounding education in Hong Kong. For instance, status or social mobility in the British system would be attained through expanded social capital gained from relationships and common experiences shared of the British empire and its educational system: "this capacity on the part of individuals to converse with each other to a high degree of intelligibility and informality and to process cultural and economic information effectively…we might call their 'communicative competence'." (Szreter 2002:66). With a shared, imperial ground for communication, social capital was gained through relationships forged in education. With the handover of Hong Kong to China, this shared language of engagement is eroding and parents – especially those with older children or relatives who also went through the British system – feel at a loss to help their children navigate the new system because they cannot rely on their social capital and do not necessarily understand the new system.

However, despite the traditional British basis for the ESF educational system, the British handover of Hong Kong to the Chinese in 1997 has influenced the growth of Asian values and standards within the system. Currently, it is the policy of the Hong Kong

government to provide nine mandatory years of free education. These are broken down into six years of primary school and three years of junior secondary school, followed by two years of senior secondary school. The Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE), like the British GCSE, is the measure for these preceding years. The HKCEE examinations are followed by advanced secondary school for two years, concluding with another government examination, the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE). Since this system is so close to the British model, it is unclear why parents would be anxious about the postcolonial system until one looks closer at the changes in language of instruction and educational focus, examined below.

There are three different types of Hong Kong schools: government, aided and private. Bray and Koo point out that the difference in the three types of schools in Hong Kong may have an important impact on the direction that postcolonial education is taken in Hong Kong, since the three school types approach issues of testing and focus of education in different ways. For example, "in the aided sector, the majority of schools are part of the local education system and follow a curriculum that leads to the HKCEE and HKALE." (Szreter 2002:66). The ESF, discussed above, is also part of the aided sector, which means that the aided sector can play a role in the dissemination of English language courses in an environment which is otherwise turning towards Chinese instruction and history. This is an important consideration when observing the responses of the students and parents in the focus groups and interviews. Some parents seem to indicate that it is the choice of school (ESF) that reflects their postcolonial anxieties and not the shadow education. However, since many of the ESF students are studying Putonghua, maths and science in shadow education, this indicates that parents are aware of the shift in focus in the new Hong Kong educational curricula, and want their children to be prepared. Government educational policy within the strong Asian economies has been directed at fostering entrepreneurial, market-driven achievement to a much greater extent than the British model that Hong Kong was originally based on. This tendency to use authoritarian approaches to education for achieving state goals was recognised by many Western countries, and they tried to

combat this approach with the institution of UN rules to support the rights of children and “by the 1980s few schools in Western nations were as authoritarian as they had been a generation earlier.” (Heater 2003:113). Despite these slow changes, these approaches to education have not reduced in the face of economic development in the Asian ‘Tiger Economies’ which include South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and have in fact been seen as part of the goal to achieve further economic successes. These changes have been reflected in the choice of subjects studied in schools and in shadow education. The high participation rates of students in maths and science-based shadow education indicates that parents and students are aware of the overall emphasis on science and technology as the future directions of Hong Kong’s economy. Ashton argues that it is domestic human, not financial, capital that led to the development. (Ashton et al. 1999). He suggests that sustained and expanding levels of school attendance from the beginning of the implementation of post-war development plans increased alongside the economic and financial advances in parity with the demand for new skills. Emphasis on maths and science in particular has been reflected in the demand for shadow education to enhance these skills. Achievement rates in these subjects in particular have been the focus of examinations and therefore the emphasis of shadow education, as revealed by the responses to the questionnaire. This meant that by 1990, both Hong Kong and South Korea were “on a par with the industrialised countries of the OECD” in education and development. (Ashton et al. 1999:1). Hong Kong was in a unique situation because of the continued presence of the British government until the late 1990s. However, it is clear that the success of the policies that have been perceived to have created this economic growth has further hardened the role of the state in interventionist education policies, and that China would seek similar intervention in Hong Kong. Mark Bray and Ramsey Koo point out the specific case of language in Hong Kong’s postcolonial education. They point out that “Hong Kong’s Basic Law [Article 136]…states that: On the basis of the previous educational system, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall, on its own, formulate policies on the development and improvement of education, including policies regarding the educational system and its administration, the language

of instruction, the allocation of funds, the examination system, the system of academic awards and the recognition of educational qualifications." (Bray and Koo 2004:222). This educational advantage gained in the post-war period did give rise to economic success in Hong Kong and other regional economic powers, fuelling further educational developments as people have become more able to afford education for their children. However, it has also led to increased pressure as the advantages of the first generations dissipate and top professional careers are sought after by an increasing number of highly qualified students. Parents and students in this study revealed high levels of examination anxiety, with both students and parents reporting that their main reasons for participating in shadow education are to improve their understanding of a topic and pass their examinations. Many have proposed that this economic pressure is what has led to the rise in shadow education in Hong Kong.

The reevaluation of the linguistic situation in Hong Kong after decolonization may have influenced the perceptions of students, as demonstrated in some of the dialogue in the focus group. At one point the researcher asked a question to prompt discussion of self-efficacy – "Which courses did you feel you should take additional tutoring or cram lessons in?" – and the respondents answered with regards to hesitancy about language learning in the new climate. One respondent said that he was just about to start school when the rules about language learning changed, which is why his parents sent him to the ESF school. Bray and Koo add that once the British colonial state was dismantled in 1998, "The authorities rigorously screened the secondary schools' ability to teach in English, and pupils' ability to learn in English, and decreed that only one quarter of government and aided schools would be permitted to retain English as the medium of instruction. Officials claimed that the policy was introduced for educational reasons, but it was widely perceived as being primarily driven by political motives." (Bray and Koo 2004:225). While this was popular in some segments of Hong Kong's society, others were worried that they were losing out of the globalizing international economy without a strong English background. The anxiety about this change is reflected in some of the responses both to the questionnaire and the interviews. One focus group respondent

commented that “some of my friends whose parents had degrees from England and America sent them to tutors for [Putonghua] because they didn’t grow up learning it and they were falling behind.” Meanwhile, others turned from the old colonial power – Britain – to the new dominant metropole – Beijing. This entailed neglecting Cantonese for Putonghua, the official state language of China. Bray and Koo write that “By 2003/04, six primary schools in the government and aided sectors were using Putonghua as the medium of instruction, compared with just one in 1997; and four private primary schools taught in Putonghua compared with one in 1997. At the secondary level, the first school to teach fully in Putonghua was opened in 2002/03; and a further four schools used Putonghua for some subjects in addition to Chinese Language, Chinese Literature and Chinese History.” (Bray and Koo 2004:227). With changing ‘imperial’ focus and changing national priorities, parents who seek social mobility through education may be forced to turn to shadow education to make up for what they lack. Children whose parents speak English or Cantonese and would have had an advantage in the British imperial system now turn to external tutors for help with Putonghua. Meanwhile, the national priorities of Chinese development do not reflect the imperial priorities of Britain’s education system. Rather than training for a civil service bureaucracy or international finance, the focus is now on technical sector, scientific development and manufacturing. Question eleven of the questionnaire sought to explore where the students and their parents felt most comfortable and least comfortable academically. It was also left open for free responses in order to see what was the most frequently cited through self-assessment: “Q11.) What subject(s) did you chose to seek extra tutoring or cram schools for?” Since this question left open the option of multiple subjects, raw numbers and percentages have both been included in the table.

Table 4.1.h

Subject	Number	Percent of the group
Math	21	77%
English	15	55%
Cantonese	2	7%
Putonghua	17	63%
Science	12	44%
History	2	7%
Geography	3	11%

This question, used in the analysis of social capital and self-efficacy above, proved to be one of the most useful and revelatory of the study because of its applicability to each of the major themes of the hypothesis. With regard to postcolonial anxieties, the focus of students at the English language schools on Putonghua (63 per cent and the second most studied) and English (55 per cent and the third most studied) shows that parents and students are aware of the language issues that have come into effect since 1997. When asked about their choice of subjects, a number of students mentioned that as native English speakers, they felt that they needed to work on their Chinese because "it might come in handy…[for] a government job." Since ESF schools are intended to benefit students who do not speak Cantonese or Putonghua and therefore would not be able to attend local schools, most of the students at ESF are from English-speaking backgrounds. However, students whose parents or older siblings attended ESF are also given priority. (ESF). This might indicate, then, that parents whose first language was not English but who attended ESF schools or whose older children had attended ESF schools before the handover as a means of attaining and English-based degree might have passed on the English-language preference to their children. Some of these students were those who attended tutoring and cram schools for English, which was not their spoken language at home, but which their parents wanted them to pursue as a means of gaining transferable skills or attending English universities as they themselves had.

Although the following dialogue was a response to the question of why the students chose the particular topics they did in shadow education, what emerged was a

revelation about the impact of the change in government and the postcolonial system on various aspects of the students' choices to participate in shadow education:

Research participant 3: I want to train to be a doctor in England, so I thought I should take English lessons from the tutor. We speak Cantonese and English at home, and once the schools switched to Chinese, it was after my brother was in [secondary] school and so he was alright, but that's why my parents sent me to ESF and why we thought tutoring was a good idea….we all thought that to get into an English university, after the switch to Chinese, I'd need proof that I knew English.
Research participant 1: Yeah, we had a similar thing. Once my parents sent me to ESF, we realised that to get my language to a high enough standard for the IB in English, I'd need some extra tutoring…English isn't the first language in my family.

Probing about the experiences of older relatives often led to revelations about the changes in the educational system and changes in educational goals in the period after the handover:

Parent 2: My nieces and nephews all went through the educational system before the change in government and they all went to university in the UK. But now that we have a new system, I wanted my son to be able to succeed here in Putonghua, so we thought it was important to get both the English education and the Chinese too.
Student 3: My older siblings didn't have tutors, but I think that's because the exams are different now and my parents decided I should take the IB, which is a lot more work and so I need tutoring.

These responses highlight some of the postcolonial anxieties about the changing education system. Although they do not represent the majority of the responses, they do illustrate that at least some parents and students have turned to shadow education as a response to the changes in the education system that resulted from the handover of Hong Kong to Chinese authority. However, while the reasons that underlie these responses are held in common, the actual reaction varies: some parents and students

hope to succeed in the new, Chinese-centred system, while others turn to shadow education in order to retain their connection to the UK. The choice to send their children to an ESF school might derive from the change in English language instruction in the government schools. However, since many use the tutors or cram schools for Putonghua instruction, the postcolonial context seems more complicated than simply wanting to follow the previous method of English language instruction.

The content and teaching styles of the shadow education system provided further information on this subject. Questions eight and nine established the differences in the teaching styles in order to uncover what it was that students were hoping to get out of their shadow education experience. “Q8.) What was different about your tutor or cram school and your mainstream education programs?” and “Q9.) Was the teaching different? If so, in what ways?” Since these were more qualitative answers, individual responses varied according to personal circumstances. This is where issues of peer groups, teacher support, self-efficacy, and proficiency came into the discussion. Some of the popular responses to the question of what was different included “the teacher had more time to answer my questions”, “we moved at a faster/slower pace”, “we cover different material”, and “the [shadow education] is more about techniques than about information.” The teaching was reported to be generally different from the teaching in formal education because, with regard to tutors it was more responsive to student concerns and demands, and with regard to cram schools, it was more about teaching the techniques for passing exams than about the content of the exams. The choice of tutors and cram schools, then, indicates that students felt they needed both more individual instruction (focusing on the concepts to be tested) and test-taking skills. This indicates, as Bray and Koo point out, and as some economically-focused studies of shadow education have pointed out that the focus on high-stakes testing in the Asian system means that people rely on tutoring to bring them up to the level of the tests. However, given the amount of government expenditure on education, the high student-teacher ratios, and the success rates of Hong Kong students, it seems unlikely that this is filling an entirely economic, market-based function of filling in a gap left by government.

There are several ways this postcolonial, or neocolonial, situation might be perceived as contributing to the demand for shadow education. The first is as an increased arbiter of social or symbolic capital; the second is as a reaction to the increased expectations placed on students (to be proficient in three languages); and the third is as part of a new part of a vast Chinese state with even greater competition for top university places; and finally, with reduced links to the British university system, and a changing, Chinese-oriented curriculum, parents might feel they need to improve their children's chances through private tuition. Parents choose shadow education in languages (Putonghua or English) in addition to an English language school so that their child can attain career goals in the new postcolonial system: either reinforcing a link to a former colonial past, or opening up new possibilities with Putonghua tutoring so that their children can participate in the new Chinese environment. The first point – that parents are increasingly using shadow education as social or symbolic capital rests on the increased use of the other three reasons for using shadow education because through increased demand, shadow education gains the cachet of something with symbolic or cultural capital. The role of symbolic social capital may take on an even more pressing function in the postcolonial society of Hong Kong. As discussed above, the British education system is the foundation of the Hong Kong system. However, since decolonization following the 1997 handover of the country to China, new pressures are being placed on educators and families to meet conflicting standards and expectations. Similarly, the role of education is different in China and Britain – both in perception and in government focus – which has led to some shifts over the past decade. While much of the shadow education research focuses on the economic role of shadow education as a market correction for the failure to provide adequate resources, the shift in focus from British to Chinese priorities might also help to explain the changing role of shadow education in Hong Kong. With increasing use of cram schools, social capital can be created through the relationships and networks that the students and parents are engaging with outside of the mandatory, state school.

5.5 Conclusion

After the presentation of the data collected in the primary research for this study, this chapter has put the trends and responses in context using the literature and theories discussed in the second chapter and the secondary data for comparison to other groups within Hong Kong and other countries that have significant shadow education. The results of the semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires, combined with quantitative and qualitative data gathered from secondary sources provided a picture of shadow education that seeks to apply a phenomenological methodology, rather than a primarily economic or policy-based approach. The reason for this shift in methodological approach was the desire to put specific behavioural choices into their sociological, historical, and economic contexts. The hypothesis for this study was that the role and function of shadow education is predominantly social, working from the foundation that social capital is attained through the conspicuous display of attendance at cram schools or tutoring agencies and the relationships and networks that these schools provide both increases self-efficacy through positive peer groups and external motivators, and eases postcolonial anxieties caused by the rapid educational changes in the wake of the British handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997. This analysis has investigated the primary and secondary research on the choice to participate in shadow education in light of the literature reviewed in the second chapter. This chapter has looked at the qualitative, phenomenological impressions recorded in the questionnaire, interviews, and focus group in order to understand what role students and parents in Hong Kong perceive the shadow education system to have. It seems clear from the analysis that *w*hat this chapter has demonstrated is that social, sociological, and educational theories might be of more importance in determining involvement in shadow education than the purely economic or socio-economic studies that have come before. The example of Hong Kong is particularly rich for this kind of study because of the recent changes in the education system, the wealth of the country, and its postcolonial and neo-colonial situation. This discussion and analysis placing the study's primary data results from questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups hopefully demonstrates that the historical and social context of Hong Kong plays at least, if not more, of a role in the choice to participate in shadow education as pure economic practicality and

functionalism. While social mobility and economic considerations clearly influence the use of shadow education to some degree, they are not the only factors that can be used to explain the uptake of tutors and cram schools, and the social factors indicate that there is a role for shadow education in Hong Kong beyond simple economic calculation. Shadow education fills a role in education that is social and confidence-building, and also ameliorates some of the postcolonial anxieties of parents who grew up in a very different context than they find their children. While social mobility and economic gain clearly play a role in all of these considerations, the role of the shadow education system extends beyond the functionalism it is currently assigned in the literature.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to research the role which 'shadow education' plays in modern day Hong Kong. Shadow education, in the form of private tutoring and 'cram schools,' is not as easily approached by researchers as standard, government-sponsored education. This is because of its privately funded and privately regulated nature, the complexity of the factors that lead parents and students to choose shadow education providers, and the self-reported nature of success or failure measurements. There is little accountability that is transparent amongst shadow education institutions in Hong Kong and in fact, worldwide. In order to accomplish a comprehensive analysis of the nature, role and function of shadow education in Hong Kong, this thesis has sought to employ some alternative methodologies, including interpretive phenomenological analysis. The aim of this research was to uncover the psychological and sociological role of shadow education in Hong Kong, rather than the basic economic analysis it has received to date. In this way, it followed the precedent set by British researchers Ireson and Rushforth, who conducted a similar study of private tutoring in the UK. In order to understand the policy and social implications of shadow education, the system needs to be placed into a wider socio-political historical, economic and cultural context to reflexively frame both its existence and its acceptance amongst parents, students, education providers, and education policy-makers in Hong Kong. This study has hopefully provided both the context and the impact of shadow education in this particular example, but with wider application once the historical and sociological contexts are understood.

The results of the semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires, combined with quantitative and qualitative data gathered from secondary sources provided a picture of shadow education that seeks to apply a phenomenological methodology, rather than a primarily economic or policy-based approach. The reason for this shift in methodological approach was the desire to put specific behavioural choices into their sociological, historical, and economic contexts. This mixed approach

also helped to answer the diverse research questions driving this study. This thesis was driven by a number of research questions stemming from the overarching question of what drives the use of shadow education in Hong Kong. Proceeding from this question were the further underlying questions that contributed to the formation of a hypothesis: Who enters shadow education? What are the implications for social mobility? How well does the theory of social and symbolic capital support the shadow education idea? Do issues of self-efficacy influence the demand for shadow education? And how does Hong Kong's postcolonial status affect the expectations - both education and social - of the parents who participate in shadow education? These questions directed the hypothesis and the framing of subsequent questions. Sub-questions within each of these overarching themes of the research helped to direct the specific questionnaire, focus group, and semi-structured interview analysis:

What are the goals of the two educational systems? Why do students feel the need for shadow education? Are these two separate systems of education, or are they part of the same structure?

Does the government recognize and/or encourage shadow education? If so, what are the ramifications for its own standard education system? In what ways do the two systems complement each other? How much are students paying? Where is most of the money going? Do present relationships or the hope for relationship development contribute to participation in shadow education? In analyzing what role shadow education plays in Hong Kong, a necessary pursuit is the question of to what extent these multiple systems are integrated as one? What role do peer groups play? Does testing pressure influence demand? How do issues of motivation, teacher relationships, and special needs affect shadow education participation? Does the change in language instruction or educational focus influence parents' decisions to send their children to shadow education? If so, what are the ramifications for class structure if that is the case? Hong Kong is known for having one of the best educational systems in the world, in terms of statistical pass rates and demonstrations of knowledge afterwards. Is this at all reliant on a section of the student body seeking supplementary education elsewhere? These questions were answered by both quantitative methods (using statistics from secondary sources) and qualitative, phenomenological analysis in order

to provide a complete picture of one small sample set. Then these results were compared to the secondary data on international trends in order to establish external validity and wider scope for the study.

The research presented here has wider significance in the field of shadow education research and sociological research. In order to understand the policy and social implications of shadow education, the system needs to be placed into a wider socio-political historical, economic and cultural context to reflexively frame both its existence and its acceptance amongst parents, students, education providers, and education policy-makers in Hong Kong. For this reason, sociological and historical literature covering social capital and postcolonial studies will help to contextualise the data gathered in this study. By approaching the quantitative and qualitative data with a hypothesis that seeks to examine the nature of social relationships and postcolonial anxieties, I hope to provide an alternative to the primarily economic or functional measures of shadow education's role in Hong Kong's education system. This study will hopefully provide both the context and the impact of shadow education in this particular example, but with wider application once the historical and sociological contexts are understood. This study is original because it is applying postcolonial theory, theories of social capital, and current research into student motivation to the understanding of the use of shadow education in Hong Kong, positing a different interpretation of the social and sociological factors that influence its use in Hong Kong as opposed to previous research in Asian countries which primarily focused on socio-economic factors.

Because shadow education is not as easily approached by researchers as standard, government-sponsored education because of its privately funded and privately regulated nature, this research has attempted to look at the phenomenological, sociological aspects of shadow education participation. Since research on shadow education tends to focus on policy and economic factors, or on transnational trends and comparisons, in order to accomplish a comprehensive analysis of the nature, role and function of shadow education in Hong Kong, this thesis sought to employ some alternative methodologies. In order to understand the policy and social implications of

shadow education, the system needs to be placed into a wider socio-political historical, economic and cultural context to reflexively frame both its existence and its acceptance amongst parents, students, education providers, and education policy-makers in Hong Kong. This study has hopefully provided both the context and the impact of shadow education in this particular example, but with wider application once the historical and sociological contexts are understood.

This study has entailed a combination of questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups as a foundation for its qualitative research. Using phenomenological interpretive analysis it has looked into the 'local knowledge' systems of Hong Kong's education to analyse how the students and bodies involved in the shadow education institutions conceive of this educational phenomenon. It has also revealed statistical data on reported uses of shadow education, demographics and socio-economic backgrounds of those who use it, and how those entering these establishments perform to determine whether the function of shadow education is predominantly social, predominantly educational, or some combination of the two. This study argues that while the primary stated motive of parents who participate in shadow education is education, the role and function of shadow education is predominantly social, working from the foundation that social capital is attained through the conspicuous display of attendance at cram schools or tutoring agencies and the relationships that these schools provide both increases self-efficacy through positive peer groups and external motivators, and eases postcolonial anxieties caused by the rapid educational changes in the wake of the British handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

1.) Have you ever attended any form of 'shadow education' (i.e. private tutoring or cram schools)?

2.) If not, which of the following options had to do with why you didn't? (Final question if you did not attend such an institution.)

a.) I am already doing well enough in school to achieve my goals
b.) No shadow education facility seemed to suit my needs.
c.) I don't have time.
d.) I don't have the money.
e.) It doesn't seem worth the money.
f.) None of my friends are going.
g.) My parents didn't want me to.

3.) If you DID attend such a form of shadow education, what was your reason for doing so?

a.) Improve my scores
b.) My friends were all doing it
c.) It seemed necessary in order to do as well as I would like to at final exams.
d.) My parents chose it for me

4.) How big of a financial commitment was it for you and your family?

a.) Very big
b.) Relatively big, but not prohibitively expensive
c.) Not too significant
d.) Not an issue
e.) Do not know

5.) Did your school encourage you to go use cram schools? Private tutors? Did they know?

6.) How many other people in your class do you think attend cram schools or private tutors?

7.) Do you think it has helped you attain your educational goals? If so, how did it do so (i.e. got into college, got a good job)?

8.) What was different about your tutor or cram school and your mainstream education programs?

9.) Was the teaching different? If so, in what ways?

10.) Who encouraged you to attend your shadow education program?

11.) What subject(s) did you chose to seek extra tutoring or cram schools for?

12.) Do you think that you would have succeeded in this subject(s) without the supplemental education?

13.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how do you think you would have done in terms of success in achieving goals without tutors or cram schools?

14.) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 as the lowest and 10 as the highest, how much impact do you think tutors and cram schools have had on your success in achieving your goals?

15.) What is your father's level of education?
- a.) Completed primary education
- b.) Completed secondary education
- c.) Completed university
- d.) Professional degree

16.) What is your mother's level of education?
- a.) Completed primary education
- b.) Completed secondary education
- c.) Completed university
- d.) Professional degree

Appendix 2

Semi-Structured Interview (Six respondents)

1) Hong long have you participated in shadow education?
2) Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are with public education?
3) How many hours each week do you spend doing work in shadow education? Public education?
4) How much does your family spend on your education? Do you think this is average, below average, or above average? Across Hong Kong? In your group of friends? Amongst your parents' friends?
5) Do you feel you have better skills or qualifications than other people at your school? Than other people at your shadow education provider?
6) How satisfied are you with your education?
7) Has this shadow education impacted your future life decisions? How?

Probe questions

- How do you think you/your parent has influenced perceptions of shadow education?
- How did interaction with older students involved with shadow education make you feel about shadow education and what it could do for you?
- How do you and your friends talk about shadow education?
- How do your teachers talk about shadow education?

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