

Shadow education in the southeast of South Korea:
Mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education

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Abstract

This study examines mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education in the southeast regions of South Korea, Daegu and Changwon, in the multiple layered sociocultural and historical context of its society. When I was immersed in the mothers' world in those selected regions of South Korea in 2011 and 2012, expenditures on shadow education decreased for the first time. While there was still high demand for shadow education in order to secure "the foothold for better life opportunity", mothers I came across in the selected regions showed ambivalence about the prevalent pervasive shadow education. To fill the gap of literature on Korean shadow education, this study looked at mothers' motives for their children's shadow education and perceptions of social changes including education and family involvement. Their lived experiences and ambivalent feelings toward shadow education were scrutinized in order to understand the Korean shadow education phenomenon from the mothers' viewpoint.

The study found that mothers' perspectives on shadow education practices were extremely complex. It is argued that mothers' pursuit of shadow education has been their way to adapt to the rapidly changing education and society. The mother participants perceived their role in their children's education as being most critical and their ways to be involved in their children's education were ever changing. The gendered practice of providing shadow education to children was changed from the image of 'mothers watching from behind' to the image of 'mothers suggesting ways in front'. What remains the same is, however, the strong connection between prestigious universities and desired occupations. Academic learning was still foundation of all endeavors for school aged children. The complexity of mothers'

experiences of shadow education is also found in their ambivalence towards this prevalent phenomenon. Knowing the mothers' ambivalence and concern about educational migration, mothers wished to live in a society where true learning can take place for their children.

Unique contributions of this study are to understand mothers' experiences and perceptions of Korean shadow education outside of the capital, Seoul, and mothers' perceptions of the different genres of shadow education. Mothers in the selected regions in the southeast of Korea, Daegu and Changwon, viewed mothers in Seoul as more demanding and motivated to provide shadow education and they legitimized some of their actions of providing extraordinary amounts of shadow education. Their viewpoints of educational environment in different places also went beyond the national border. Seeking a different educational environment abroad was, however, found only in several upper-middle class families who could afford such education. Stratified shadow education also suggests the role of shadow education in reproducing social class through education. Lastly, this study calls for further studies of transnational shadow education through educational migration and other family members' experiences and perspectives of the shadow education phenomenon.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This research is an ethnographic field study that examines how purposefully-selected mothers experienced and perceived shadow education in the southeast of South Korea (Korea hereafter) between 2011 and 2012. Shadow education, supplementary lessons such as private tutoring, has been studied since the early 1990s and its significance has been recognized world-wide (Bray, 2010). In Korea, shadow education is highly visible, and more money is spent on shadow education in Korea than any other country (Bray, 2009; Byun, 2010). For these reasons, Korea has been the focus of many shadow education studies in the past decade (Dawson, 2010; Kim & Lee, 2008; Kim & Park, 2010; Kim, 2004; Lee, 2003; Lee, 2005; Lee & Shouse, 2011). During my field work in 2011, however, the expenditure of shadow education decreased for the first time in the 21st century (Statistics Korea, 2011). I regard this shift in the directions of thoughts of Korean mothers who are the primary purchasers of shadow education. For this research, I used a socio-cultural ethnographic approach to present the Korean mothers' motives for shadow education and their perceptions of social changes, including education and development and, finally, how these motives and perceptions are reflected in their decision making processes.

Context of Study

The topic of shadow education has recently caught the attention of educational researchers. This study defines shadow education as any educational activities or services practiced outside of school for school-age students, purchased by their parents, for the purpose of improving academic performance. Shadow education is so named as the related services, such as tutoring and education centers,

“mimic, or shadow formal schooling processes and requirements” (Baker et al., 2001. p.1). While educational researchers have examined the implications of shadow education, studies on shadow education itself have been scarce for its generally low visibility and individual privacy. Tutors do not necessarily report their income; students and parents may not feel comfortable talking about their shadow education practices (Bray, 2009). The importance of this topic, however, has been recognized due to the significant growth of related practices as well as the high implications of education and economy (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Bray, 2009).

Although shadow education is now found in all continents¹, this study focuses on the case of Korea for two reasons: first, the overwhelming demand for shadow education, and second the Korean government’s long effort to reduce the expenditure of shadow education. The Korean shadow education is identified as the most extreme (Byun, 2010; Bray, 2009). In 2006, the expenditure on shadow education by the Korean households was estimated as USD 24 billion, which was equivalent to 2.8% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that year (Kim & Lee, 2008). This amount is the highest on record and evidence of the high visibility and prevalence of shadow education practices in the Korean public. In 2011, however, the expenditure on shadow education marked its first minor decrease to about USD 21 billion in 2010 (Statistics Korea, 2011). This shift draws an attention because it is the first decrease of the expenditure on shadow education measured.

¹For, instance, the nations with high expenditures on shadow education practices are as diverse as Turkey (USD2.9 billion in 2004), Greece (USD \$1.3 billion in 2007), France (USD \$497 million in 2005), and Egypt (USD14 million in 2002) (Bray, 2009). The growth of shadow education in America is also remarkable. Forexample, the growth of tutoring business in major cities of Canada has been measured between 200% and 500% over the past 30 years (Davies & Aurini, 2006). High participant rates to shadow education are also found in developing countries, such as in Bangladesh (51.7% of urban elementary school students) and Kenya (68.6% of grade 6 pupils) (Bray, 2009).

The Korean government has been trying to reduce the consumption of shadow education. Most notably, Park Jung Hee (1963-1979) abolished entrance exams for high schools and implemented High School Equalization Policy (HSEP)² which randomly assigned students to high schools, as an effort to reduce the practices of shadow education (Byun, 2010). Jeon Doo-Hwan (1980-1988) banned shadow education as considered as social ill for corrupted educational ethics and a source of social inequality³ (Lee, 2003). This ban was one of the president election pledges promised by the military government of Jeon and was enforced to alleviate the social tensions resulting from shadow education (Seth, 2002). However, in 1998, it became ineffective as shadow education was viewed as a practice of individual freedom for education rather than a public matter (Lee, 2005) and the visibility of shadow education dramatically increased in 1990s and 2000s.

The issues of shadow education in Korea remain controversial. On one hand, shadow education guides students to be engaged in academic learning and to receive needed help. At the national level, Korea has experienced impressive economic success through human capital development known as the “miracle on the Han River” (Kim et al., 2009; Kim, 2010; Sorenson, 1994). Seth (2002) argued Koreans’ “education fever”, preoccupation with the pursuit of education, drove the extraordinary development. In this process, shadow education had very positive aims such as assisting students’ learning and developing human capital. When students understand subjects and enjoy mainstream classes with the assistance of shadow education, it can be beneficial (Hallak & Poisson, 2007).

²High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) is “the most long-standing policy” in Korea which is still “effecting 28 cities and three quarters of high schools” (Byun, 2010, p. 83-84).

³During Jeon’s administration, shadow education was illegal for school teachers or university professors and professional instructors to provide private tutoring to their students.

On the other hand, Korean shadow education is viewed as a social concern. Several concerns related to the Korean shadow education phenomenon are summarized as students' overwhelming workloads (Lee, 2002) and their dependency on shadow education (Lee, 2005). Moreover, critics pointed out issues of educational inequality and ethics (Baker et al., 2001; Bray, 2009; Hallak & Poisson, 2007; Lee, 2005). As shadow education became a social norm, some teachers began to assume their students would learn outside of class and students paid less attention to their in-school lessons (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2003). Parents felt burdened to provide shadow education and people despised the overspending on shadow education by affluent families (see Nelson, 2000).

Problem Statement

A hole in understanding the Korean shadow education is the lived experiences of local Koreans and missing perspectives of Korean mothers. Although Korean mothers pursue shadow education and are concerned about the related practices, it remains a mystery to know how they experience and perceive the controversial shadow education phenomenon. Previous studies explained the reasons for the dramatic increase of shadow education as limited access to education (Baker et al, 2001) and prestige-oriented view of college entrance (Lee, 2003). Other international scholars noted the cultural value which emphasizes education and diligence as a reason (Zeng, 2002; Bray, 2009; Kwok, 2003; Seth, 2002). Some argued that shadow education is a consequence of the low quality of mainstream education in Korea (Kim T., 2004). What lacks in the literature are local experiences and perspectives of shadow education, particularly of those who purchase the related services.

Amongst the local participants of Korean shadow education, this study focuses on the experiences and perspective of mothers in the southeast of Korea. Without investigating mothers' decision making processes of shadow education, understanding the Korean shadow education phenomenon is not complete. Mothers in Seoul purchased shadow education services for their children as a way to manage their children's after-school activities (Park, 2006; Ellinger & Beckham, 1997). It is critical to focus on Korean mothers, not only as they act as the major decision-makers of shadow education practices, but also as women's voices in developing countries⁴ have been silenced (Parpart, 1995). In other words, mothers' voices should be heard in order to contribute to the dialogue of shadow education and development.

In addition, the literature on Korean shadow education lacks the regional diversity. Studies on Korean shadow education were often conducted with national data. Few ethnographic studies were conducted, and when they were, the studies focused only on Seoul, the capital of South Korea (see Park S., 2007). Other regions besides Seoul may have different cultural characteristics and values in terms of education. This study, hence, intends to extend the regional horizon of shadow education research within Korea.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to better understand the Korean shadow

⁴Although it is imprecise to call Korea a developing country, while she was developing, women's voices had been silenced. Korea is one of the most fast-developed, or transformed countries in the world (Ellinger & Beckham, 1997). It is notable that she transformed from one of the poorest, devastated nations in 1950s to one of the richest, donating countries in 1990s. Miracle on the Han River.

education through the perspectives and experiences of mothers in the southeast of Korea, Daegu and Changwon⁵, in order to contribute to the literature on shadow education and development.

Research Questions

In an effort to make sense of the change of Korean shadow education in the personal histories and socio-economical context of the mothers' lives and Korean national development, this study asks these three research questions: 1) What are the mothers' motives for shadow education in Daegu and Changwon in Korea? 2) How do the mothers make their decisions regarding their children's shadow education? and 3) How are the mothers' perceptions of the changes in Korean education and society reflected in their decisions?

Significance

The current changes of Korean shadow education set a stage for an examination of the local experiences and perspectives of the phenomenon in the context of development. The demand for shadow education dramatically increased in 1990s and 2000s (Dang & Rogers, 2008) after the access to and quality of public education system was better established than before (Kim, 2002). As a turn to a new era in the Korean education development, the expenditure on shadow education decreased in 2011. Learning about the mothers' motives for shadow education and their decision making process has potential to engage policy makers and reformers in

⁵Daegu is a fourth largest city in Korea with high level of 'education zeal' (*gyo-yuk-roel*). Particularly, SusungGu, one of the eight counties, is referred as 'Gangnam-Gu', a county in Seoul metro area that is notorious for education zeal in Seoul. Changwon is the central city of Gyeongnam province, in the southeast of Korea. It is known as a city 'great to live in' with high quality of residents' life with easy access to Pusan, the second biggest city in Korea.

a discussion of development for quality life as well as social costs for rapid education

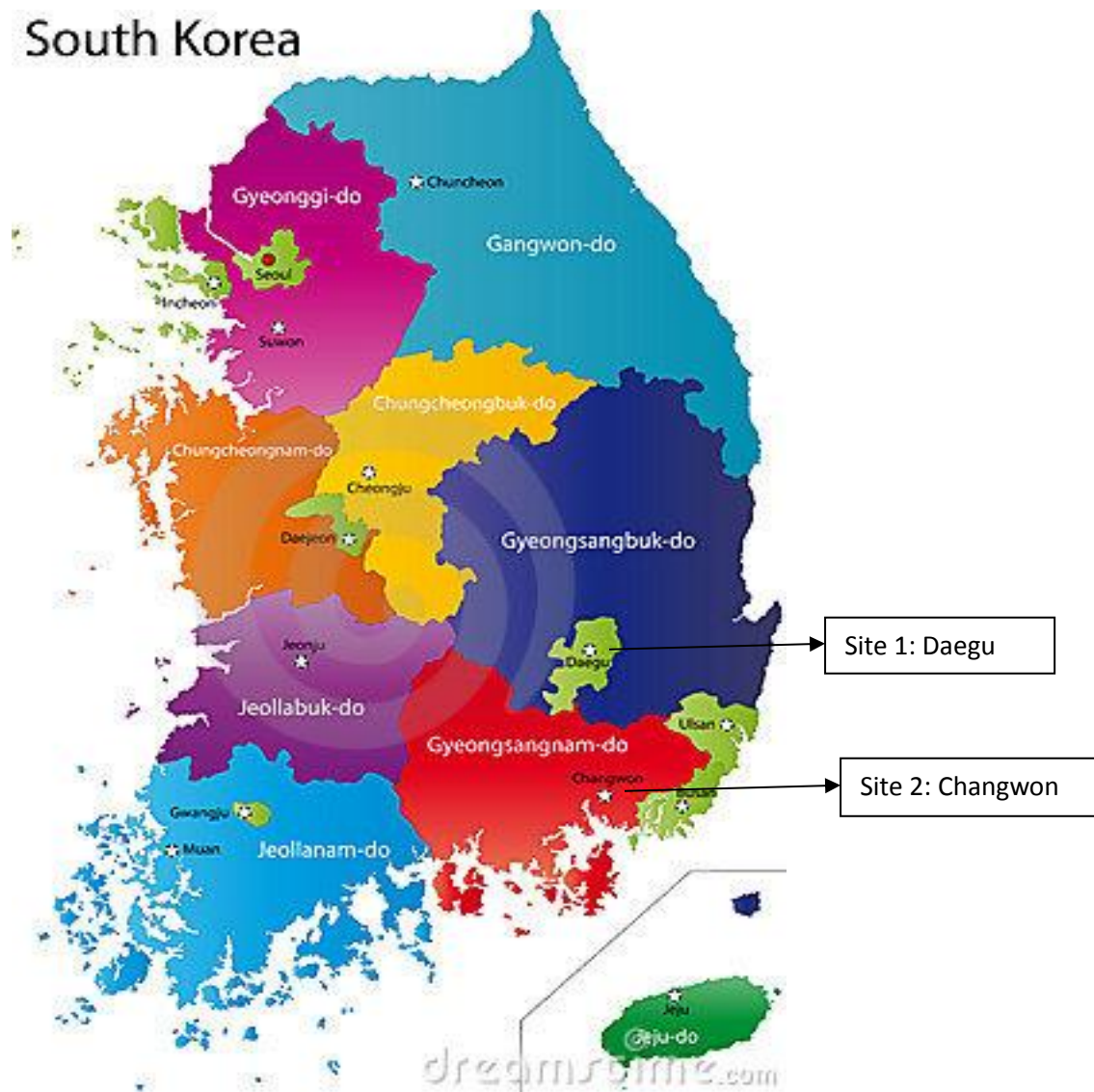


Figure 1. Map of South Korea

development. Ferguson (1997) pointed out that “the theoretical concept of development seems to have very little to do with discussions of social change, acculturation, and applied anthropology” (p. 157). With a focus on mothers, this study will add to the analysis of the cultural adaptations of locals to social changes to the literature of both shadow education and international development. More importantly, the silence of women’s voices in the developing stage of a country will

be broken in this study as I will deliver mothers' viewpoints on education and development.

In addition to the contribution of mothers' perspectives in development rhetoric, this study is unique by adding their perspectives of regional differences in terms of the demand and practices of shadow education in Korea. Although regional differences were acknowledged as important (Kim & Park, 2010), there is no study examined mothers' perspectives of shadow education phenomenon in different regions in Korea.

Terminology

The topic of this dissertation is the Korean shadow education through the experiences and perspectives of mothers in Daegu and Changwon in the context of development. I refer 'shadow education' to any academic activities practiced outside of school by school-age students for the purpose of academic improvement. It is, however, important to note that the shadow education system greatly influences the dynamics in mainstream schools and the society as a whole (Bray, 2009; Kwok, 2003), even though the metaphor of shadow education is used because it only exists for and reflects the mainstream school system (Baker et al., 2001). The term of shadow education is characterized to educational practices that are supplementary, academic and private (Bray, 2010). Purchased lessons for piano and violin were considered shadow education when the purpose was to promote children's academic achievement at school⁶. Shadow education usually costs money, yet this study

⁶Some mothers who participated in my study shared their motive for purchasing music lessons as to help their children concentrate on learning academic subjects better. Although the piano and violin lessons were non-academic, they were included in shadow education activities due to the stated academic purpose.

included one exception to include volunteer tutoring. This exception was made when I recruited a mother of low socio-economic status whose daughter I came to tutor for English subject. The kinds of shadow education were diverse as educational services at home such as private tutoring (*gwa-eo*), correspondent study package (*hak-seop-ji*), or on-line internet lectures (*In-Gang*), and educational services outside of home such as, education centers (*hak-won*), study-room (*gong-bu-bang*). Government-initiated educational services such as after school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) and child center (*A-dong center*) are also included in this study.

How the Korean mothers make decisions for their children's shadow education is framed within the concept of *governmentality*, which refers to "how we think about governing others and ourselves in a wide variety of contexts" (Dean, 1999, p. 209). Park (2006) illustrated the desired image of "manager mothers", who are highly engaged in their children's after-school learning in shadow education markets, in the midst of South Korea's neoliberal transformation. The concepts of neo-liberalism and neo-liberal subjectivity, drawn from the work of Michelle Foucault (1991), are defined as economical and political ideologies centered on the values of global economy. In a neo-liberal society, individuals are to become autonomous and to govern themselves as a way to be responsive to their circumstances (Park S., 2007). The concept of neo-liberal subjectivity refers to this mode of governance in which subjects of the society are entailed to govern themselves (Abelmann, Park, & Kim, 2009). These concepts are adapted as frameworks for the analysis of my study of how and why mothers made certain decisions for their children's shadow education according to their perceptions of the social changes in education and development in South Korea.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is my subjectivity and bias about shadow education and Korean mothers. My bias affects to the research reliability, how likely it is for my study to be replicated. In order to deal with this issue, I apply a couple of research strategies, such as using “audit trail strategy”, which explains the process of my data collection and analysis, and how important decisions were made in order to make the study findings convincing and authentic (Merriam, 2009, p. 223). Although I help readers see the entire work of my research by being as explicit as I can in the process of research, the Korean shadow education could be illustrated and interpreted differently if conducted by someone else. Secondly, this study only provides the analysis of mothers’ experiences and viewpoints on the shadow education phenomenon, and it misses viewpoints of other family members, such as fathers and children, as well as other participants of shadow education, such as tutors. I suggest examining other stake holders’ and participants’ experiences of shadow education for future research.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation paper is divided into eight chapters. Following this Chapter, Chapter Two summarizes the literature relating to the shadow education development in Korea along with the Korean education development. This chapter explains the background information of Korean shadow education phenomenon in detail, including education development and its related policies. The main point of this chapter is to acknowledge the significant social context of Korean shadow education,

such as Korea's rapid development and Korean citizen's exceptional demand for education. The literature around the issues of class and gender is also included as crucial to understand the Korean shadow education phenomenon.

Chapter Three identifies where I situate this study both methodologically and epistemologically. Situating in the interpretivism and critical paradigm, Chapter Three elaborates on how my critical ethnography in southeastern Korea will benefit the research of shadow education.

Chapter Four introduces eight out of twelve participant mothers with a great depth. It introduces the cases of these mothers to demonstrate the diverse backgrounds of the participants and well as their diverse motives for their children's shadow education. The purpose of Chapter Four extends beyond the introduction of my participants to denounce the stereotype of Korean mothers who are viewed as overly-engaged in their children's education.

Chapter Five and Six present the themes that emerged in the four following categories: the mothers' perceptions and experiences of 1) their feeling of obligation to provide shadow education as a primary care giver, 2) their understanding of different kinds of shadow education, 3) different time periods of shadow education, and 4) shadow education in different regions. Chapter Seven has discussion around the findings and Chapter Eight has implications and conclusion of the study.

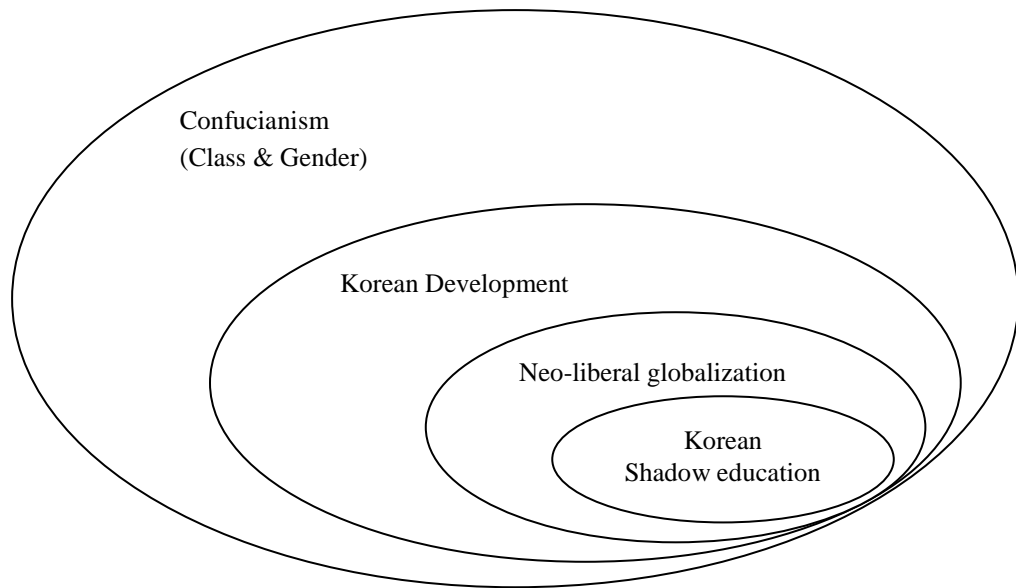
Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical and socio-cultural background of the study topic, mothers' involvement in shadow education in the context of South Korea. It first starts with the conceptual framework to briefly illustrate how I understand the study topic and organize this literature review. This conceptual framework is multi-layered with these following three: 1) Korean development economic and education development, 2) neo-liberal globalization and shadow education, and 3) gender and class issues related to Korean shadow education. The first section is about the distinct characters of Korean education development, such as rapid Korean education system expansion and the risen value of educational credentials in the society, as well as the notion of *education fever*. In the second section, the dramatic increase of shadow education in 1990s and 2000s is explained in the neo-liberal globalization framework. The last section summarizes the most outer layer, the literature around the Korean Confucian issues of class and gender in modern day Korea.

Conceptual Framework

The Korean shadow education phenomenon can be understood in three, layered contextual frames: Korean Confucianism (class and gender), Korean national development, and neo-liberal globalization [See Figure 2. Conceptual Framework]. These multiple layers provide clarity in understanding Korean society's complex value system and the meaning of educational practices, as well as how the social and educational systems operate in Korea.

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework



First, in Korea, it is considered a norm for a student to spend most of his or her time learning, which reveals the important value of education in the society. The connection between education and Confucianism is unmistakable, as it associates education with social respect. This value of high respect for educated people is an important historical and cultural factor in understanding the Korean shadow education phenomenon. This value relates to the notion of *education fever*, how Korean society as a whole is pre-occupied with pursuing education. In addition, the Confucian family orientation, such as family feeling obligated to support children's education and respecting the advice of parents and family elders, plays as significant role in understanding the Korean shadow education phenomenon. The role of mothers in children's education is consistently reiterated in the literature (see Park, 2006). The Confucian tradition of using exams to select the best intellects is reflected in the Korean shadow education phenomenon (see Zeng, 2002). For example, exams are still used for desired governmental positions, similar to *keju*, the ancient civil service examination in China. In ancient times, there was a distinctive status system, and civil service exam was an opportunity to gain higher status for common people.

This particular practice of the use of the exam shows the egalitarian value of earning opportunities for all. These Confucian values are permeated in the Korean society in all frames, including Korean education development and neo-liberal globalization.

Secondly, I conceptualize Korean shadow education in the context of development including Korean formal education development as well as its economic development since the Korean War. It is necessary to consider the development of formal education as shadow education only exists for mainstream education system: hence, this literature review elaborate son how shadow education has been practiced alongside the development of formal education in Korea. Gaining high marks in school exams for the entrance to prestigious schools is mentioned as a purpose of shadow education. In addition, Korean economic and market development must be included in this conceptual framework. Abelmann (2003) pointed out the consensus on the “compressed pace” of Korean modernity among Korean sociologists and ethnographers, such as Hagen Koo, Kyung-Sup Chang, and Hae Joang Cho (p. 281). From one of the poorest countries in the world in the 1960s, Korea has transformed itself into the world’s fourteenth most economically developed nation, joining the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1996. This dramatic development brought individual households higher earnings and new consumer opportunities, including the services of shadow education.

Lastly, neo-liberal globalization is considered the most current socio-economic and political trend that has influenced the Korean shadow education phenomenon. Song (2009) argued that this new economic and political trend included changes in “social ethos” (p. x). She defined neo-liberalism as “an advanced

liberal mode of social governing that idealize efficiency and productivity by promoting people's free will and self-sufficiency" (p. x). One social impact of neo-liberalism on Korean shadow education includes the dramatic increase of shadow education expenditure in the 2000s (Bray, 2009) and the shift in educational rhetoric from emphasizing uniformity to emphasizing diversity for the global economy of the 21st century (Park, 2006). As illustrated in the literature, the impact of neo-liberal globalization on Korean education also includes marketization and decentralization. Korean neoliberal globalization has further impacted Koreans' daily lives in terms of their educational and consumer practices. These impacts include the demand for citizens to become more responsive and suitable to a market-oriented society, and the discourse on educational marketization and decentralization promotes even more consumption of educational services.

Keeping these layered frames in mind, the following section will share the great details of each frame. I will start with the Korean development frame which includes formal and shadow education development, explanations for the growth of shadow education, and the dilemma of Korean shadow education. The second section is about the neo-liberal globalization and shadow education in Korea. Finally, the last section will show important issues of class and gender in Korean shadow education, in fact, the largest context frame for understanding Korean shadow education in the socio-cultural and historical approach.

Korean Development

Formal and Shadow Education Development

The formal education system in Korea expanded rapidly after 1953 when the Korean War ended (Sorensen, 1994; Kim & Lee, 2001; Lee & Brinton, 1996; Kim, 2002). With a significant emphasis on human capital development, both public and private sectors greatly invested in education. The public sector particularly played a vital role in elementary and secondary education in the beginning of the development period, the 1950s and 1960s (Lee, 2002). The first development plan that emphasized compulsory education was launched in 1954 and a 95.4 percent enrollment rate was reached in 1959 (Kim, 2002). The great commitment to rapid education expansion continued during the Lee Syngman administration (1948-1960). Syngman's plan aimed to create 5,000 classrooms per year (Kim T., 2004). As a result, the number of primary school teachers increased four times from 20,000 in 1945 to 79,000 in 1965 (Kim T., 2004). In 1960, elementary education became free and compulsory; in 1985, middle school education became so as well (Kim, Kim & Han, 2009). As a result of this national commitment to provide basic education to all Korean citizens, formal education became more accessible to Korean school-age children.

While the government focused on primary and secondary education from 1950s to 1970s, the private sectors contributed to the development of higher education later as the national average income increased (Lee, 2002). About 95% of the higher education institutions are private and only the other 5% are supported by the government (Kim & Lee, 2006). All higher education institutions rely on students' tuition as their main means of the revenue (Kim & Lee, 2006), and the financial support for higher education from the government has been minor. In 2007,

83% of high school students advanced to higher education, which was a dramatic increase from 27% in 1980 (KEDI, 2008). In contemporary Korea, most children attend K-12 schools with high rate of advancing to higher education. This rate is the highest in the world (Ashton et al., 2002) and also an indication of Koreans' high demand for academic education.

Besides government and private sector contributions to education development, previous scholars also mentioned Korean parents' contribution to education development (Seth, 2002; Zeng, 2002; Lee, 2002). Shadow education, in particular, is a way to acknowledge the parents' support for their children's education. If the parental support for their children's education is measured by the amount of money spent on shadow education, it totals no less than the amount spent by the government or the private sector (Lee, 2002). By 1998, the expenditure on shadow education by individual families had increased to nearly the same amount as the expenditure by the government on public education development (Lee, 2003). The measure of expenditure has only grown since then, and it has reached an enormous amount. In 2006, the estimated expenditure on shadow education was increased to \$24 billion from \$12 billion in 2003, which made Korea the world's largest shadow education market (Bray, 2009). In contemporary Korea, shadow education is being heavily utilized by parents at all levels of their children's education⁷.

Explanations for the Growth of Shadow Education

⁷More specifically, 83% of elementary, 75% of middle school, 56% of general high school and 19% of vocational high school students received shadow education services (Lee, 2005). It is important to note that the highest rate is at the elementary level indicating the increasing popularity of shadow education practices beyond the purpose of high-stake exam preparation (Park, 2006).

Earlier, the related explanations for the growth of Korean shadow education were described as socio-cultural and economic reasons, with notions such as education fever as well as economic return and educational credentials. Shadow education was in demand because of the high socio-cultural value of education, and Bray (2009) states that shadow education in East Asia is “embedded in the culture” (p. 24). The Korean preoccupation with shadow education mirrors the notion of *education fever* (Seth, 2002; Lee, 2005; Lee & Shouse, 2011). Education fever refers to “parental zeal or passion for providing their children with better chances for admission into prestigious universities” (Lee, 2005, p. 99). Lee (2005) argued that the prevalence of shadow education was a result of education fever. Similarly, other scholars pointed to Korean parents’ devotion to their children’s education as one of the most important driving forces of shadow education practices. For example, Korean parents believe education is an important parental responsibility (Kim, H. 2004), and they are more than willing to endure burdens for their children’s education (Seth, 2002). Scholars argued that the rapid formal development in Korea since 1945 is mainly due to this parental education fever which yielded high quality human resource development (Seth, 2002; Kim et al. 2005).

Educational economists argued that, based on human capital theory, investment in humans through education brings economic return to individuals and states (Becker, 1993; Schultz, 1961). In this perspective, shadow education is a way of investing in students’ learning and enhancing their academic development which will lead to higher possibility of employment with a better income. However, this finding suggests that human capital theory with educational return is not applicable to all contexts, as countries have diverse economic circumstances. Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) found that the economic return of education was the highest in

low-income and mid-income countries, but not so much in participated OECD countries. For the case of Korea, the educational return was high only in the beginning of development and Korean shadow education is evaluated as not very cost-efficient (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2007; Kim & Lee, 2001; Kim 2002). According to the Korean Education Development Institute, the total expenditure on shadow education in 2003, about 2.3 % of the GDP, drained at all levels of evaluation: individual, household, and national⁸(Kim, 2007). Bray (2009) similarly mentioned the inefficiency of Korean shadow education as it “leads to an inefficient allocation of talents” and “diverts resources from more productive uses” (pp. 31-32).

Although return on educational investment is not consistently high, education credentials are required for social advancement and professional promotion, which is a serious matter in Korea, where achieving socially respected credentials is highly valued. In a society, such as Korea, where most people have degrees of similar academic level, educational credentials do not necessarily guarantee social advancement (Abelmann, 2003). In this line, Dore (1976) illustrated how formal schooling was becoming a process of degree-earning for modern jobs with industrialization and showed that there were more candidates qualified than jobs available. Koreans, in particular, pursued educational credentials from prestigious schools and universities (Lee, 2006). John Meyer (1970) explained this tendency for schools having a “social charter that signals to the world, to significant gatekeepers, the entitlements that graduates of a particular school can expect” (cited in Cookson, 2002, p. 62). These studies of Dore (1976) and Meyer (1970) explain how Koreans

⁸At the individual level, the investment in shadow education is “high cost and low benefit” as it “offers low contribution to productivity” (Kim, 2007, p. 3). At the household level, shadow education was considered an economic burden, (Kim, 2007) and, at the national level, it caused “unnecessary transition costs” and “enormous opportunity costs” (Kim, 2007, p. 3).

become occupied with obtaining more education due to the increased legitimacy of educational degrees in the context of rapid development and the importance of paying attention to what those educational degrees signify in the society.

Many scholars viewed shadow education as a means of assisting students to prepare for high-stakes exams for admissions to prestigious universities (Zeng, 1999; Kim H., 2004; Dawson, 2010; Kim, 2007; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Zeng (1999) argued that shadow education is a consequence of having competitiveness-driven education systems in East Asian countries. According to his argument, countries with a Confucian tradition have distinct cultural systems which value educational credentials for the purpose of keeping a hierarchical society. Similarly, Mok (2006) stated that many characteristics of contemporary Korean education are historically explained. For example, it is related to the education system of the Chosun dynasty (1312 -1910) “when one of the main purposes of education was to select political and social elite to support the ruling class” (Chung, 1999 cited in Mok, 2006, p. 67). In particular, Korea adapted *keju*, the meritocratic exam system from China, for the purpose of selecting the most intelligent civil workers (Zeng, 1999). This exam was an opportunity for common people to gain prestige and ascend in social status through obtaining high marks on examinations. According to this perspective, shadow education represents the desire of people to succeed through competitive education as well as their determination and desire for the prestige and socio-economic disposition associated with educational credentials in a hierarchical society.

More recently, the importance of examining the relations between the shadow education and formal education systems is further raised in the development context

(Dawson, 2010; Kim & Lee, 2001; Kim T., 2004). Dawson (2010) argued that private tutoring systems “mirror” the formal education system. He states that private tutoring systems exist for the “holes” in the formal education system and the holes, or shortcomings, of formal systems in Korea are being under-supported⁹ and over-regulated by the government. Kim and Lee (2001) similarly argued that shadow education is a market response for “an under-provision of education per student” in developmental states (p. 2). Baker et al. (2001) also found a “lower level of funding” for education as one of the significant factors for the growth of shadow education.

Furthermore, Kim T. (2004) mentioned the low quality of education administration in Korea as a reason for the increasing demand for shadow education. He criticized the rigid regulation and over emphasis on the uniformity of Korean education. In particular, scholars mentioned the effects of school equalization policies, governmental interventions that abolished school entrance exams for secondary schools¹⁰ and equalized the educational resources in schools¹¹ (Lee, 2004; Kim H, 2004; Byun, 2010; Kim & Park, 2010, Dawson, 2010; Lee & Shouse, 2011). The goals of these equalization policies were to reduce the economic burden of shadow education on parents and to ensure equal quality of education for Korean students throughout all regions (Byun, 2010). However, the effectiveness of the high school equalization policies is controversial. Some scholars argued that equalization policies have negative effects, finding higher demand for shadow education amongst

⁹Lee (2002) pointed out that the Korean government’s investment in education was relatively low. In 2005, the Korean government invested 4.0% of the GDP in education while the average of other OECD nations was about 5.8% of GDP.

¹⁰School equalization policies (for middle schools in 1962 and high schools in 1974) were implemented to reduce competition for elite secondary schools and other social problems, including shadow education (Dawson, 2010). Especially, High School Equalization Policy (HSEP) is “the most long-standing policy” in Korea which is still “effecting 28 cities and three quarters of high schools” (Byun, 2010, p. 83-84).

¹¹Instead of applying for specific secondary schools of their choice, students were randomly assigned to schools with these policies.

students who attend high schools affected by the equalization policies (Lee, 2004; Kim & Park, 2010). Some others argued that the equalization policies were effective in reducing financial burdens for parents of lower SES, and hence concluded the policies were marginally effective in favor of a socio-economically disadvantaged group (Byun, 2010).

More importantly, in the sociological realm, institutional theories explain that the high demand for shadow education in Korea has become a social norm (Lee & Shouse, 2011; Lee, 2003). As examined earlier, educational credentials became essential in Korea due to the rise in the legitimacy of the mass schooling system. With high value on education and equal opportunities for learning, high-stakes exams were utilized in the process of selecting students for higher education levels. In other words, the development of shadow education parallels the development of a formal education system that places great emphasis on ‘meritocratic achievement’ (Lee, 2003; Kim & Lee, 2001). Lee (2003) argued that shadow education came to be considered a focus of education and a social norm when it came to achieving academic excellence and success in Korea. Lee & Shouse (2011) found that the “socially-constructed meaning” of “students’ desire for prestigious matriculation” had influenced parents’ expenditure on shadow education (p. 212-213). This finding suggests the demand for shadow education is more symbolic than an academic necessity¹².

The Dilemma of Korean Shadow Education

¹²In fact, high-achieving students tend to seek shadow education more than low-achieving students in Korea (Byun, 2010; Kim & Park, 2010). In a cross-country study, it was found that shadow education was used for ‘enrichment purpose’ rather than ‘remedy purpose’ in only a few countries, Korea, Romania and Thailand.

The demand for shadow education was explained within the framework of mass education development in which access to schools and the legitimization of educational credentials from schools increased. In the context of Korea, the importance of obtaining educational credentials has dramatically increased with rapid development and education fever. Shadow education became a social norm with people's "unusual level of interest in education" within the rapid educational and economic development (Kim et al., 2005, p.8). Some scholars hypothesized that education fever and shadow education practices contributed to high achievement of Koreans¹³ and students from other East Asian countries (see Baker & LeTendre, 2005). Some others, however, raised concerns of educational learning and child development as well as social reproduction through shadow education in Korea. In order to provide a more holistic and realistic picture of the Korean shadow education phenomenon, the following section provides a summary of the dilemma of Korean shadow education.

Although shadow education can help students learn better and contribute to human capital development by generating economic resources, the shadow education phenomenon has been a controversial issue since the development of modern education in Korea. Critics argued that shadow education requires careful investigation and monitoring as it may negatively influence schools and students' growth and learning, and undermine social trust and educational equality (Bray, 2009; Dawson, 2010; Kim & Lee, 2001; Lee, 2005; Byun, 2010). Korean scholars pointed to the downsides of pursuing shadow education, on student learning such as it jeopardizing students' physical and psychological health as well as students'

¹³For example, in the Programme for International School Assessment (PISA) of 2004, Korean students ranked first in problem solving, second in reading, third in math, and fourth in scientific literacy out of the 40 participant countries of the OECD (OECD, 2004 cited in Lee, 2005)

dependency on shadow education¹⁴. The school curriculum and shadow education dominate students' lives, and students do not have time for other activities besides studying (Bray, 2009). In addition, students may become overly dependent on shadow education for academic learning. Despite Korean students' high academic performance, it has been identified that, comparatively, they have a low sense of self-capacity in their own academic learning¹⁵ (Lee, 2005). This negative attitude toward self-learning, as a result of pursuing more shadow education, is a concern of many Korean educators.

In the worst cases, students and teachers neglect school lessons because of students' dependency on shadow education. Bray (2009) identified that students concentrate on attending educational institutes and are absent in their mainstream classes prior to major entrance exams in Turkey and Azerbaijan. Similarly, in Korea, teachers and students are less engaged in school activities because they assume that 'real learning' takes place after school (Lee, 2002). In other words, shadow education can impact mainstream education system when students become overly dependent on shadow education (Bray, 2009; Lee, 2005). This assumption may most negatively impact the learning of students who do not attend shadow education institutes (Lee, 2002). This negative influence of shadow education on the attitudes of students and teachers also resonates with the notion of *school collapse*, meaning that learning does not take a place in classroom (Kim, 2003). Shadow education does not only *shadow* the formal education system, it also affects it.

¹⁴High school students are required to stay at school until ten pm for nighttime self-study (*ya-gan-ja-yul-hak-seup*) after their regular school hours, and students who seek shadow education receive related services after that time (Lee, 2002).

¹⁵This low sense of self-capacity in learning is related to education fever and the high demands for shadow education. In a related study, 52% of parents and 46% of students indicated that they felt difficulties studying independently (Kim & Kim, 2002, cited in Lee, 2005).

It is true that students learn in both public schools and shadow education places reinforce each other and the influences of the two systems are correspondent. However, scholars questioned the effectiveness of shadow education. Byun (2010) analyzed the incongruent effectiveness at different educational levels with three tiers of the effectiveness: positive, moderate, and negative effects. According to his summary, there were positive effects at the primary level and moderate effects at the secondary level in one data set from the Korean Youth Panel Survey. A different study from the Korean Education and Employment Panel, however, showed moderate effects at middle school and negative effects at high school level (Byun, 2010). Similarly, Baker and LeTendre (2005) postulated that shadow education was a reason for Japanese and Korean students' high performances on international assessments of mathematics. The cross-national analysis of their TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) data, however, showed that there was "no relationship between the extent of shadow education in a nation and its average mathematics score" (Baker & LeTendre, 2005, p. 65).

The dilemma of Korean shadow education can be taken further to the related educational policies. In the 1960s and 1970s, in the midst of educational expansion, parents provided their children with shadow education to help them be able to attend prestigious middle schools and high schools (Lee, 2002). President Park Chung Hee (1963-1979) abolished the middle school and high school entrance examinations and applied a random lottery in 1996 and in 1974, respectively, [see Table 1. Shadow Education Policies] expecting it to lead to less demand for shadow education. However, since university entrance exams were not abolished, high competition remained for the university entrance examination and the demand for shadow education did not decline. Another educational reform, initiated by President Jeon

Doo Hwan (1980-1988), was the ban of certain kinds of shadow education. This policy was proposed during his campaign as a political promise to gain public support, as shadow education was considered a serious social problem (Lee, 2003). With this new set of restrictions, only college students and registered *hakwon* (for-profit education centers) lecturers could provide shadow education (Lee, 2003). In other words, students could not be tutored by school teachers, university professors, or professional instructors. Until the 1980s, shadow education from school teachers and university professors was viewed as educational corruption which undermined social trust (Seth, 2002). Despite this ban, many affluent parents found ways to provide illegal shadow education services, and the fees for those illegal services significantly increased considering the high risk for the tutors (Seth, 2002). Hence, the ban not only failed to meet its goal but the educational corruption backfired.

The benchmark of the political shift was when the nation's Constitutional Court declared in 1990 that the restrictions on private lessons were unlawful as they violated the personal freedom and right to education (Seth, 2002). This declaration demonstrated a political and social shift in the perception of shadow education from being viewed as a social ill to a legitimate social norm. Most recently, the Korean government attempted, once again, to reduce the demands for shadow education by improving the quality of the public education system. In December 2008, the Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology promulgated 'Policies and Plans for 2009', [Appendix A], including an educational policy named Curb Private Educational Expenditure (CPEE). The larger goal of this policy was to increase the reliability of Korean public education. The focus was on the defects of the formal education system rather than the system of shadow education.

Presidential Administration	Policies and Reforms	Descriptions	Assumption	Shadow Education Practices in Society	Political Culture
Park, Chung-Hee (1963-1979)	No Entrance Examination & Equalization Policies	Abolished middle school entrance exam in 1969 high school entrance exam in 1974 Implemented lottery system to assign students to schools	Guaranteed access to the secondary education and equalized quality of the secondary schools will reduce the shadow education	Parents hired private tutors for their children to get into prestige secondary schools	Efficiency & Equality: Maximizing educational access to secondary education with limited educational funding Equalizing education to all
Jeon, Doo-Hwan (1980-1988)	Ban of Shadow Education	Prohibited private tutoring from school teachers or university professors Allowed only university students to tutor and registered education centers to group teach	Shadow education is a social ill for corrupted educational ethics and a source of social inequity	Parents still supplied legal and illegal tutors in order to help their children to get into a prestigious university	Equity: Ensuring equal educational opportunity for all Korean secondary students
Kim, Young –Sam (1993-1998)	University Entrance Criteria Reform	Promoted universities to broad criteria for student selection Diversified the subjects of CSAT (College Scholastic Test)	Heavy Focus on the CSAT score is the cause of shadow education	Parents supplied more tutors for more subjects Parents arranged more activities for the new university entrance criteria	Quality & Choice: Enhancing the quality of college entrance assessment Promoting autonomy to universities to select students
Lee, Myung –Bak (2008 -2013)	CPEE: Revitalizing Public Education	Invest public schools for better quality Provide after-school lessons with highly qualified instructors at school	Poorly funded public education is the cause of shadow education	Parents supplied academic and non-academic supplementary lessons with widened options from educational market	Choice & Quality: Valuing parents' choice to select what is best for their children for their education Providing high quality education to gain trust

Table 1. Shadow Education Policies

The largest part of the Korean education dilemma is the dissatisfaction Korean citizens feel toward the modern education system (Kim, H., 2004; Kim, T, 2004; Lee, 2005). On one hand, Korean education is introduced as an exemplary case to many other developing countries for its rapid and efficient educational expansion (KEDI, 2007). On the other hand, however, the citizens of Korea do not rely on their public education system and, instead, take the responsibility of educating their children through shadow education. Kim et al. (2009) elaborated on “the paradox of Korean education” in which students achieve high marks in international assessment, yet parents are dissatisfied with schools and teachers. Scholars noted that parents are dissatisfied with the mainstream schools as schools cannot be relied upon to prepare their children for high-stakes exams (Lee, 2005). The Korean education system, a once successful education system which met development goals, started to break down (The Economist, Dec. 17th, 2011).

Neo-liberal Globalization and Korean Shadow Education

Shadow education practices have dramatically increased with the socio-political changes of neo-liberal globalization in the new millennium in Korea. Shadow education participation rates increased from 15% in 1980 to 73% in 2002 (Park, 2006) and the number of registered education centers increased from 1,000 in 1990, to 13,000 in 2000, and to 65,000 in 2010 (Lee, 2003; Korean Association of Hakwon, 2010). In the meantime, the public schools were diagnosed as “collapsing” (Seo, 2003; Kim, 2000, 2003). The following section addresses the political and economic changes in Korea around this time, known as neo-liberal globalization, and the great impact of those changes on the Korean education system and shadow education. The literature around neo-liberal globalization contributes to

better understand the Korean shadow education phenomenon for its dominant rhetoric in Korean education. Social changes of neo-liberal globalization in Korea include the changed practices of governance from emphasis on authoritative public organization to self-governing individuals as well as privatization and marketization in the rhetoric of educational administration which further emphasized individuals' rights and freedom.

Neo-liberal globalization is a range of economic, political, and cultural ideologies and practices originating from classic liberalism which values individualism and open markets. Classical liberals believe human beings “were naturally inclined to act in a self-interested way...that were thought to coincide with the interests of the whole society, which in turn was understood to exist for the benefit of the individual; self-regulation or regulation by market were, therefore, far better than any kind of regulation by the state” (Harris, 2007, pp. 6-7). Neo-liberalists view the public sector as “bureaucratic, inefficient, and unproductive” and the private sector as “efficient, effective, productive and more responsive and flexible to change” (Harris, 2007, p. 19). This favoring of private sector and individual rights and freedom caused two practices: “cutting public expenditure on social services” and “elimination of the concept of the ‘public good’, or ‘community’, and replacing it with ‘individual responsibility’” (Martinez & Garcia, 2000 cited in Ross & Gibson, 2007, p. 3). Neo-liberalism rendered “newly responsabilized individuals” who are suitable for and responsive to a market-oriented society (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 253).

Neo-liberal globalization influenced the Korean education system in multiple ways. The popular characteristics of neo-liberal education are decentralization and marketization (Mok, 2006). In general, the rhetoric of educational administration and educational reform

has been promoting decentralized practices. In addition, neo-liberal globalization has involved “market principles” in education (Harris, 2007, p. 21). These principles can be summarized as follows:

“The state controlled education system has failed; market systems are the best means of achieving the most efficient and cost-effective service; marketization increases consumer choice and empowers the family, parents, or individual as consumers of education; and the competition generated by markets creates the incentives for providers and customers to do more and be more successful” (Harris, 2007, p. 21).

In a neo-liberal society, the rights of consumers are prioritized over the authority of the government. In Korea, this shifting priority is clearly reflected in the Constitutional Court’s abolition of the restrictions on private lessons in light of personal freedom and right to education (Seth, 2002). With values on personal rights and freedom to choose, students and parents are considered customers of educational services and teachers and academics the service providers (Harris, 2007).

Historically, neo-liberal education emerged from criticisms of previous educational development, which involved centralized planning and rigid regulations (Carnoy, 1999). Centralized education systems began to be considered inefficient, because they were too bureaucratic and restricted the choices of citizens (Harris, 2007). In Korea, such criticism of the formal education system became apparent with the notions of *school collapse* (Kim, 2000) and *classroom collapse* in the 1990s (Chosun Ilbo, 1999; Sisa Journal, 1999 cited in Kim, 2003). Kim (2003) illustrated how Korean students had become less engaged in school activities and shown little interest in the classroom since 1997. This crisis also is related to

“drop-outs (13.6%)”, “class avoidance (8.3%)”, and “interference with classmates’ learning (11.8%)” (Lee et al., 2001 cited in Kim, 2003, p. 141). Despite the success of educational expansion in the early stage of Korean development, the centralized educational administration failed to thrive and became a target of criticism for being ineffective. The “authoritarian regimes (1962-1992)” ended and the post-authoritarian era started in 1993 with the neo-liberal transformation of Korea (Park, 2006, p. 192).

Many scholars have argued that neo-liberal globalization is an inevitable theme in educational policy and development studies (Mok, 2006; Apple, 2001; Crossley, 2000), and Korea has not been an exception. In terms of the origin of globalization, Dale (1999) stated that it “emerged from the particular set of circumstances that attended the decline of the post-war economic and political settlement, that centered on the set of international financial agreements and institutions collectively known as Bretton Woods agreement” (p. 3). After the cold war, international organizations and regimes began to form for diverse purposes, such as international politics, education, and finance; however, the major focus of globalization was an economic stance which resonated with the neo-liberal value of the market. Harris (2007) explained the “hegemonic position” of neo-liberalism with “globalization of capital” and “the rise of international finance” (p. 4). As a result of the globalization of economic capital, nations were allowed to invest and produce with no geographical boundaries (Carnoy, 1999).

Despite the miracle of rapid economic development, Korea experienced financial crisis, also referred to as ‘IMF’ that stands for the International Monetary Fund organization. The economic crisis, from December 1997 to July 2001, started when “South Korea

accepted the terms of an IMF bailout precipitated by a lack of dollars with which to repay debts to foreign financial institutions” (Song, 2009, ix). It rendered socio-economic chaos including mass lay-offs and unemployment (Song, 2009) and made “the new state’s citizenship” project more imperative in the “post-authoritarian context of South Korea” (Park S., 2007, p. 193). In this post-authoritarian state, citizens were expected to be ‘newly’ creative and flexible as well as competitive in global market. In particular, president Kim Young Sam (1993-1998) of the first civilian government reformed the university entrance criteria according to the previously described neo-liberal rhetoric (Kim, 2002). Other related educational reforms included de-regulating educational funding and diversifying school curricula (Kim, 2002). While the authoritarian state’s educational reforms focused on “equality” and “standardization”, recent educational reforms adopted a more “decentralized and diversified curriculum that can promote the excellence and creativity of students” (Park S., 2007, p.192).

Neo-liberalism is not a “retreat of state” or “less government”, but rather a “new modality of government” (Park S., 2007, p. 204). Many scholars used Foucault’s concept of *governmentality*, or the *art of government*, to explain “how neo-liberal subjects come to understand themselves as responsible for their own regulation and management of themselves” (Walkerline, 2003, p. 239; see Davies & Bansel, 2007; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). Governmentality is broadly defined as “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or effect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon, 1991, p. 2) and the major shift of governmentality in the neoliberal society is that “new modes of government work at the level of individual subjectivity” (Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 248). Individuals in a neo-liberal society have a specific kind of subjectivation in which they are expected to be responsive

to the social changes and trends (Harris, 2007). The underlying assumption in this approach is that economic and political changes in society yield changes in how individuals produce the image of a desirable and ideal being. In the times of neo-liberalism, individuals are involved in “creating subjectivity that fits within the prevailing political rationality” (Fitzsimons, 2002).

The important values of neo-liberal education related to the neoliberal self-governing subjectivity are “efficient self-management” and “productivity and excellence” (Abelmann et al., 2009, p. 232). Park S.’s (2007) portrait of “manager mothers”, consumer subjects preoccupied with assisting their children’s after school programs, epitomized this management of self in the neo-liberal society of Korea (Park S., 2007). Her observation illustrated that these manager mothers “chauffeur their elementary school children to private after-school programs, providing quick meals inside the cars to save time” (Park S., 2007, p. 187). The neo-liberal Korean society demands and requires that mothers find the right information for their children’s talents and manage their children’s time and schedules. This portrait also reflects the demand for citizens to become creative, autonomous, and flexible in the neoliberal era. This demand is well reflected in the rhetoric of the Korean Ministry of Education: “20th century society demanded uniformity and homogeneity, but the society of 21st century is different because it needs people who can think more creatively and more flexibly” (Park S., 2007, pp. 191-192). In the context of Korea, social demand transferred the responsibility of children’s education from the public to individuals, particularly mothers, which will be elaborated in the following with details.

The Issues of Class and Gender in Korean Shadow Education

In the context of Korean development, parental involvement in education traditionally reflects feelings of ambivalence due to the value of egalitarianism (Kim & Lee, 2001; Nelson, 2000; Seth, 2002; Park, 2006; Lett, 1998). As examined earlier, shadow education was historically viewed as an undesirable social ill. The main reason for the social condemnation was parents' excessive expenditure on shadow education. According to Nelson's (2000) ethnography on Korean consumerism, the rising cost of shadow education was so unmanageable that in one case an individual was arrested for charging too much money, 8.5 million won (about US \$10,000), for tutoring. In other words, the price range of shadow education had been enormously widened and a few reports of such outrageous fees planted a doubt. In some cases, such expensive tutors were in famous higher education institutions with political influences. In 1998, the president of a prestigious university had to resign for providing illegal shadow education services to his daughter (Kim & Lee, 2001). At that time, shadow education from school teachers or university professors was legally prohibited. The excessive costs of some shadow education practices and the distinct positions of the shadow education providers contributed to the ambivalence of Koreans toward shadow education.

Moreover, Park (2006) argued that the discourse of this ambivalence found in Korean shadow education is gendered. In Korea, mothers are more responsible for children and their education than fathers (Abelmann, 1997; Park, 2006; Lett, 1998; Ellinger & Beckham, 1997). Those mothers who are highly involved in their children's education are more likely to be found in families of higher social standing and mothers of higher classes tend to stay

home rather than work, whereas mothers of middle or lower classes tend to work outside of the home (see Yoon, 1993). It is also known that in Korea, well-educated mothers tend to stay home and devote themselves to educating their children and supporting their husband (Lett, 1998; Kim, 2010). Lett (1998) noted that women of a higher class and with more education were less likely to work after marriage in Korea, so that they could be more engaged in “status-production work”, such as educating their children (p. 61). An ambivalent tone is further found in this image of mothers of upper-middle classes. Park (2006) described ethical questions arising out of the high-class mothers’ status-production work, such as “white envelopes” (*chon-ji*), bribes to have their children to be favored in the formal education system (Robison, 1994 cited in Park, 2006, p. 95). This kind of practice was considered a clear indication of class privilege, referred to as mothers’ “skirt-wind” (*chi-mat-ba-ram*) in which Korean mothers maneuvered their children’s education. Excessive shadow education is also considered an example of mothers maneuvering their children’s education with socio-economic power of their privileged families.

In the neo-liberal transformation, however, the traditional notion of “skirt-wind” is updated to “manager mothers” (Park, 2006). Within the discourse of “manager mothers”, mothers of all classes are encouraged to research shadow education programs available in the market and manage their children’s schedules of after-school education programs. However, the ambivalence that the mothers experienced was illustrated by a heavier burden placed on mothers for their children’s education with the rise of educational market (Park, 2006). In particular, mothers of economically lower strata felt more burdened and expressed more ambivalence towards the stratified shadow education prices and practices (Lee, 2005; Park, 2006); this likely is a result of the discrepancy in the kinds of shadow education

services available based on wealth and other resources of families (Park & Abelmann, 2004). Hence, distinctions between the socioeconomic classes in gender specific examples should not be ignored in Korean shadow education studies.

The Korean shadow education phenomenon represents how important education is for the status-conscious Korean families. In general, Koreans are conscious of status because of the long history of hierarchical society with education as a symbol of high status. Lett (1998) stated that “because education is so important to the status of the family,..., it is and always has been the family rather than the government that has carried the primary financial burden for the education of their young” (p. 160). Families put in effort and make sacrifices willingly to support their young children’s education considering the prestige associated with education. This status-consciousness of Korean families explains the finding of Baker and LeTendre (2005) that shadow education is used for the purpose of academic enhancement rather than for remedial purposes in South Korea, while, in most other participant countries, shadow education was used for remedy purposes. In other words, shadow education is desired, and often expected, to be provided by *all* families for the prevalent social value of education and its symbol of prestige, yet one should consider that not all Korean families are able to afford shadow education.

Many researchers of Korean shadow education raised their concerns over educational equality issues (Bray, 2009; Byun, 2010; Dawson, 2010; Kim & Park, 2010; Kim H., 2004; Lee, 2003). As mentioned previously, shadow education may not be affordable for all families. Researchers found that the higher the family socio-economic background and the higher the education level of the parents, the more shadow education the children had. (Kim

H., 2004; Kim & Park, 2010). Bray (2009) explained that this is because the process of evaluating shadow education practices requires certain knowledge and ability to obtain educational pedagogy and market information as well as economic resources. In this sense, only parents who have knowledge of and access to information can provide quality shadow education. In addition, it also brings a concern of exacerbating an ‘achievement gap’ between the rich and poor when shadow education is provided more to high-achieving students than low-achieving students, like in Korea (Kim & Park, 2010; Kim H., 2004; Lee, 2003; Baker & LeTendre, 2005).

Conclusion

This literature review started with the correlated development between the formal education and shadow education systems in Korea and as well as the existing explanations for the growth of shadow education. It highlights the empirical evidence related to the dilemma of Korean shadow education and Korean citizens’ complex ambivalence regarding shadow education practices. The dilemma is that shadow education has been considered a consequence of failing formal education after great success in creating equal access to education as well as improving students’ academic achievement. It also outlined parental motivations for pursuing shadow education as a result of their dissatisfaction with the formal school system and the competitive environment created by such a school system. .

There is a debate over the use of shadow education and its place within the Korean education system. The critics pointed out the potentially negative influence of shadow education on formal education and students’ reliance on shadow education for learning. Others pointed out that Korean parents are dissatisfied with a formal education system in

which competition is the priority in order to prepare student to be successful in authoritarian Korean society. Finding inconclusive effectiveness of shadow education manifests that education is an action of taking a risk in order to avoid loss of potential.

The concept of neo-liberal subjectivity is explained in order to understand more deeply the extreme demands for shadow education in Korea. The existing literature on shadow education mostly focused on the individual characteristics of parents. I argue that there is the need to address the gap in the literature concerning how mothers, as educational managers for their children, form their perceptions and make decisions regarding shadow education in the context of a rapidly changing Korean society¹⁶. The existing literature of Korean shadow education, reviewed in this chapter, suggests that it is necessary to examine diverse perspectives and experiences of Korean mothers, and especially how they form knowledge of the role of education and shadow education within the context of socio-economic and political development. Such research will complement the existing literature and contribute to a better understanding of the complex dilemma of Korean shadow education.

¹⁶The most distinct economic and political change is the rise of educational consumerism and the shift of Korean educational reforms from ‘authority’, ‘access’ and ‘equality’ to ‘individual right and freedom’, ‘quality’ and ‘diversification’.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to explain how I designed and conducted my research. This chapter starts with how I came to choose this topic and what I found out from my preliminary study. This chapter also contains research design section with explanations of research paradigms in order to indicate where I stand in broader research realm. My rationale for choosing ethnography as methodology and used methods are explained. Finally, I introduce my research sites and participants with details, including how I met each participant and how I made my decisions for the research sites and participant recruitment. I also elaborate on my research relationships with the participants as well as the process of making important decisions of data collection, management and analysis procedures.

Preliminary Study

This study is inspired by having casual conversations with my family members in summer 2009 and is also framed by my preliminary study of interviewing four Korean mothers during the following year. The topic of shadow education continued to surface as I conversed with my family members while I was visiting South Korea where I spent most of my life until I came to the United States for my graduate studies in 2002. My cousin, a father of two young children, informed me his concern regarding potential need for ‘certain kind’ of shadow education for his children to be better off in the mainstream education. He stated that this ‘certain kind’ of shadow education is private tutoring business which is mysterious for common people. A week later, I visited my grandmother, and my aunt brought up the topic of shadow education again. She informed me that some parents spent extraordinary amount of money on shadow education for their children’s education emphasizing that she

did not have that kind of money for her son who was in the last year of high school, which was considered as the most critical moment of his academic path.

After I came back to the United States, I conducted telephone interviews with four mothers in Daegu. My cousin who had the conversation about shadow education phenomenon with me in the earlier summer assisted me with finding participants who were willing to share their experiences and thoughts about the prominent shadow education practices. The interviewees who agreed to participate were mothers in the neighborhood of my cousin. The purpose of the interviews was to explore the mothers' experiences with shadow education practices as a consumer and their reflections on their practices, particularly on their decision-making moments. I asked both descriptive and perceptive questions, and the interviews lasted approximately for one hour. I again discovered the immense level of mothers' interests and concerns in this topic.

The mothers I interviewed showed their concerns related to this phenomenon and their hopes for their children's future, success and well-being. They displayed their ambivalent feelings toward the high demands for shadow education as presented in the mother's testimony below.

“I am concerned about this shadow education phenomenon. For mothers, it is a burden. This shows how learning school curriculum in advance¹⁷ is the aim rather than teaching for our children. In my case, too, I came to provide shadow education for nine subjects which are a big burden to my child. In our case, it is her wish so I want to provide it. The social atmosphere requires shadow education [as everyone is ought to participate in shadow education]. I hope this situation gets better. I hope our children can learn with less stress and our mothers can raise their children with less

¹⁷ Learning school curriculums in advance (선행): it is the most commonly practiced shadow education which literally means ‘walking ahead’. In this kind of practice, students learn school curriculum one or two years in advance.

economic burden of shadow education” (Interview, March 11, 2009, a mother of a second-grade child).

Mothers also shared their stories of their decision-making processes that often required discussions with their children and other family members, sometimes even including extended-family members. They often compared their actions to other mothers of similarly-aged children. One mother, for example, distinguished herself from the “other mothers with more money”. Mothers compared the shadow education practices in different districts of Daegu, identifying that a better quality of shadow education services is available in near the center of Daegu. It became apparent that the mothers interpreted shadow education practices as a means to communicate and assert their social status within their immediate and extended society. These preliminary findings and the literature review shaped the research design of this study that is explained in detail in the following section.

Research Design

This research is designed to explore the raised themes from my preliminary study including their perceived ‘social status’ and ‘regional differences’ in relations to shadow education practices in Korean society. The ‘parental concerns’ and their ‘decision-making processes’ regarding shadow education are other important themes. Reflecting on the literature and preliminary findings, a qualitative research approach employing ethnography best serves the purpose and to answer the research questions. The goal of this study is to better understand the Korean shadow education in the perspectives of mothers. Questions to be answered *how* and *why* shadow education is so popular even with the concerns shown in the excerpt above. The following section explains rationale for the chosen methodology and

methods in order to meet this goal and answer these research questions. I start it with the differences between quantitative and qualitative studies in rationalizing my choice for qualitative research approach in this study.

Qualitative Research Approach

Most of the previous studies around the issues of the parental expenditure on shadow education employed quantitative method analysis (see Kim T, 2004; Kim H, 2004; Lee, 2003; Kim & Park, 2010; Lee & Shouse, 2011). These studies provide statistical analysis of the relationship between family variables, such as parental education levels, or family income, and family expenditure on shadow education¹⁸. Most recently, scholars showed interests of how people think about educational prestige and proved the causal relation between people's viewpoints of education system and parental expenditure on shadow education (see Lee, 2006; Lee and Shouse, 2011). Those previous studies show Korean shadow education is more likely used by parents with educational and financial resources and to their relatively high-achieving school-aged children. However, what lacks in these previous studies is parents' viewpoints of Korean shadow education, particularly the dilemma, or ambivalent feelings, toward shadow education as found in my preliminary study. Furthermore, these quantitative studies do not provide information about the decision-making processes related to the purchased shadow education services.

Differently from the previous studies, this study takes a qualitative research approach with a goal to better understand the parents', especially mothers' experiences and

¹⁸Studies found that the more educated the parents with more economic resources, the more money that they were likely to spend on shadow education (Byun, 2010; Kim & Park, 2010; Lee, 2003; Kim H., 2004).

perspectives of shadow education in Korea. While quantitative research, as of those previous studies, is used to “test objective theories by examining the relationships among variables” (Creswell, 2009, p. 4), qualitative research, such as of this study, is used as “a systematic, empirical strategy for answering questions about people in a particular social context” (Locke et al., 2005, p. 96). In other words, qualitative research approach is used for my focus on the ‘local people’ within the ‘social context’ of the Korean shadow education phenomenon. The need for a study of parents’, particularly of mothers’, was illustrated in the previous chapter as how much mothers were involved in managing their children’s educational activities (see Ball, 2003 & Park S., 2006; 2007). My conceptual framework in the chapter also showed how the shadow education phenomenon is conceptualized in the layered contextual frames (of Confucius, Korean development, and Neo-liberal globalization). Within this framework, this study zooms in the mothers’ world to provide details of how and why shadow education is in demand with ambivalence.

Naturalistic Inquiry

The most distinct character of this study is that it is designed to capture the local perspectives, particularly of the mothers’ stories in the historic, socio-cultural and economic context of Korea, as they occur ‘naturally’. Patton (2002) noted that “qualitative designs are naturalistic to the extent that the research takes place in real-settings and the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (p. 40). Without standardized or pre-determined structure in its design, this study focuses on the important local people, mothers’ lives and stories and their perspectives on Korean shadow education phenomenon. To study mothers’ perspectives, I emerged myself into the world of motherhood through during my

fieldwork in Korea. I had ample chances to build rapport and become close to the mother participants of this study; they are twelve mothers of school-aged children in the two selected regions. I saw and heard what they did and said about Korean shadow education phenomenon. This direct engagement “makes possible description and understanding of both externally observable behaviors and internal states (worldview, opinions, values, attitudes, and symbolic constructs)” (Patton, 2002, p.48).

This naturalistic inquiry well matches with how I conceptualize the Korean shadow education phenomenon and where I stand in research paradigm, or how I view the world. Research paradigm is defined as “a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world” (Patton, 1980, p. 37). It is a basic belief system that leads to actions of a researcher (Denzin & Guba, 1994). A paradigm reflects what a researcher believes about how the world works and where to look for knowledge to legitimize the researcher’s endeavor. Therefore, acknowledging one’s own paradigm not only better informs about underlying assumptions, but also about the relationship between knowledge and chosen methodology. According to Lincoln and Guba’s (2000), there are three components of paradigm, 1) ontology – the nature of reality, 2) epistemology – the nature of knowledge, and 3) methodology – how we gain knowledge. My research aligning with “relativist ontology”, in which reality is locally and culturally constructed as “realities are apprehensive in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994 p. 110). The nature of knowledge is transactional and subjective as research “findings are *literally created*” in the process of interactive investigation between researcher and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994 p. 111). Finally, the methodology is chosen as ethnography focusing on the cultural

context of the shadow education in South Korea.

I believe humans construct the reality through the culture and norms and a social phenomenon is better understood by articulating fragmented variables in extended contexts. As Patton (2002) stated “naturalistic inquiry preserve natural context (p. 62), this approach allows considering specificity of the historical, socio-cultural and economic context. This aligns with Schwandt’s (1994) statement that “the world of lived reality and situation-specific meanings that constitute the general objects of investigation is thought to be constructed by social actors.” (p. 118). As examined earlier, Korean education development is exceptional and so is Korean shadow education phenomenon. The complexity of the Korean shadow education phenomenon is understood with an emphasis of its historic and socio-cultural context as well as its specificity of the time, place, and people involved in the phenomenon. By taking this naturalistic approach, my aim is to illustrate how and why mothers in particular regions perceived their society, and more broadly, the world in their decision-making processes of shadow education.

Research Methodology- Ethnography

I chose ethnography as research methodology in order to contribute to the literature on Korean shadow education, particularly for the lack of local experiences and ambivalent perspectives as well as the mothers’ decision-making processes. Ethnography is a qualitative research methodology developed by anthropologists who study a cultural group.

Anthropologists, like James Peacock (1986), presumed that cultural values and meanings can compel people’s behaviors and the main focus of ethnography is on the culture of a human society and behaviors. Culture is defined in various ways, however, I agree with how

Merriam (2009) synthesized the definition of culture as “the beliefs, values, and attitudes that structure the behavior patterns of a specific group of people” (p. 27). Ethnographers decode hidden cultural assumptions to provide explanations of human behaviors. An important contribution of ethnography is expanding our thinking in understanding social phenomenon by reflecting on what is taken-for-granted within a group of people.

By applying ethnography as a methodology, I make several assumptions regarding the nature of human beings. I assume humans are capable of making symbols and maintaining their shared culture using the symbols. Levinson stated that “we are perhaps the only species to regularly use symbols to understand and act upon the world, and we are probably the only species to systematically transmit the rules of symbol use to succeeding generations” (Levinson et al., 2000, p. 2). Symbols are important because not only do they construct meaning, but also they allow humans to share those meanings across generations. Vygotsky (1978) emphasized the inseparability of the use of symbols and human behaviors with an argument that children acquire symbols through culture and social interactions. The importance of examining the use of symbols in understanding human behaviors is highlighted with the linguistic superior hypothesis - language, as a unique symbol system of human, shapes reality and human behaviors (Whorf, 1956).

There are several distinct features of ethnography as a research methodology which are the key for my rationale of choosing ethnography methodology. First, ethnography is descriptive and holistic. Ethnographers provide descriptive analysis taking a holistic approach believing that it takes the whole to understand a certain human behavior (Mead, 1964; Peacock, 1986). Ethnographers describe and interpret their microscopic findings with

“thick descriptions” (Geertz, 1973). This notion of “thick descriptions” resonates with the importance of background information, or context, which can be described by ethnographers in their endeavors to understand the meaning of human behavior. In the words of Geertz (1973), “culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly-described” (p. 14). Writing ethnography is, however, more than merely describing a cultural context or behavior; it takes the researcher’s interpretation regarding the descriptions as well as extensive data sets which support the interpretation (Merriam, 2009).

Secondly, ethnography is not only a product but also a process (Merriam, 2009). Ethnographers conduct their research in the field interacting with the people of their study. Tedlock (2000) stated that ethnography is “not simply the production of new information or research data, but rather the way in which such information or data are transformed into a written or visual form” (p. 455). It is a continuation of fieldwork in which personal experiences of ethnographers connect with an area of knowledge (Tedlock, 2000). Consequently, ethnography “is located between the interiority of autobiography and the exteriority of cultural analysis” (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). In addition, ethnography is a process for its other related features. Goertz and LeCompte (1984) summarized four features of ethnography as a process, as “a way of studying human life”: 1) use of phenomenological data from the participants, 2) being naturalistic and empirical, 3) holistic approach, and 4) being eclectic (p. 3). Ethnography is a process before a product as it involves experiences of interacting with participants in natural settings and applying various methods and techniques. Ethnography is also a process as experience is intersubjective, social and procedural

(Tedlock, 2000).

Thirdly, ethnography focuses on understanding the perspectives of participants. Most researchers who choose to do ethnography are interested in finding the *emic*, the insiders', point of view, and the enculturation process in education (Demerath, 2009; Levinson et al., 2000). In order to achieve a greater understanding of the insiders' perspective, ethnographers "immerse themselves in a community or institution for long periods of time" and they "participate in the life of that community or institution attempting to interpret patterns of behavior" (Levinson et al., 2000, p. 3). For this goal of understanding the *emic* point of view, ethnographers must spend sufficient time in the cultural group being investigated (Merriam, 2009). This cultural immersion is referred to as ethnographic fieldwork or participant observation.

However, the extent and the nature of the ethnographers' participation is a critical issue. Criticisms of ethnographers have formed around lack of participation by researchers, and around their failure to identify their own prejudices and political and cultural backgrounds in their analysis (Tedlock, 2000). Tedlock (2000) argued that the controversies around the participation of ethnographers resulted in the shift from "participant observation" to "observation of participation" (p. 465). The difference is that in the later "ethnographers both experience and observe their own and others' co-participation within the ethnographic scene of encounter" (p. 464). Analysis of the ways and extent of ethnographers' participation must be included; related issues will be discussed in next section about research relationships during fieldwork.

Research Relationships and Process

Ethnographer Ceglowski (2000) asserted that ethnography is based on various relationships, such as relationships among community members, the researcher's relationship with research mentors, and the researcher's relationship with the participants. Research relationships are critical in qualitative studies as "the researcher is the instrument of the research and the research relationships are the means by which the research gets done" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 83). Maxwell (2005) described the relationship with research participants as a complex challenge that requires continuous negotiation. Rose (1990) considered how to have relationships with research participants that is beyond abstract. Ethnographers must decide on the way and the extent of his or her involvement in the participants' lives, knowing that it influences the participants' reactions to the ethnographer (Wilson, 1977). The ideal relationship with participants is the "relationships that allow you to ethically gain information that can answer your research questions" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 83). Acknowledging the importance of "observation of participation" (Tedlock, 2000, p. 465) and ethnography as a combination of autobiography and cultural analysis, it is critical to discuss what experiences and perspectives that I bring into this research study.

This study evolved from my personal life experiences and academic interests in cultural aspects of international development and education. My parents were born a few years after the Korean War and I am the oldest among their two children. My mother told me how poor she was growing up and she had little time to study to feed a cow and work in the field. In contrast, I had plenty of time to study and studying was the activity most expected of me to be engaged. When I was in the third year of my girl's junior high school, my

teacher told me that I should study hard to get into an academic high school because my parents worked hard. My mother suggested private tutoring because she was busy and not sure how to help with my academic study. When I had a trouble with math, my mother hired a college student, who was a son of my mother's friend, to tutor me. However, I was not particularly motivated to study math for the high school entrance exam, so the tutoring did not help me with getting better grades for math.

When I was growing up, my role model was my aunt, my father's youngest sister, who was a flight attendant in Hong Kong. I was inspired by her job that led her to travel around the world and the pay was good. In hoping to become one day like my aunt, my academic focus came to be in foreign languages and literature. I was motivated to study English and French throughout my secondary school life. When I finished my university degree program in 2002, my aunt invited me to study abroad in the US, where she lives. I was thrilled when my father agreed. While living with my aunt's family, I noticed some misunderstanding between my aunt and her children. She emphasized getting good grades from school as a way to encourage them to study harder, but my cousins were often discouraged by her remarks. Wanting to help my cousins understand their mother better, as well as wanting to better understand my own cultural background, I decided to explore Korean mothers' life experiences of education.

In 2008, the first year of my PhD program in Comparative and International Development Education (CIDE), I was immediately attracted to the topic of shadow education in Korea for its remarkable standing in the world-rankings: the most expenditure spent on shadow education in the world (Bray, 2009). Shadow education was related to the

topic of parental/community contribution to international education development (Bray, 1996). Parents privately invested in their children's education; this investment was also acknowledged as their way to bring social mobility to the family (Abelmann, 2003). It was during my first year of the PhD program when I thought of connecting my interests in exploring more about Korean culture and the shadow education phenomenon. In my second year, 2009, I went home and had conversations with my cousin, my mother's oldest brother's first son. I listened to his concerns about shadow education even though his two young daughters were not even in school yet. According to his information, there was a particular kind of shadow education that a parent needs to provide if he wishes his child to be able to attend Seoul National University, the most prestigious higher education institution in Korea. Hence, recruiting mothers who purchased different kinds of shadow education was considered to know about their particular motives for the shadow education. After I came back to the US, I knew what I wanted to write about for my dissertation: mothers' experiences with shadow education in the context of Korean development.

This research will be a meaningful journey for me. Korea is my home country, where I spent most of my life. As I am a "native" ethnographer "doing ethnographic fieldwork at home" (Meneley & Young, 2005, p. 5); my responsibility is to advocate the mothers' voices, which have not been heard by policy makers or educational planners. In particular, I present what mothers informed me of in the past: their logics, hopes, and worries about their children's education, particularly for their emphasis on perceived regional differences of shadow education in South Korea. The participant mothers are from the southeast part of Korea, the hometown of my parents and my hometown where I mostly grew up. This is particularly meaningful as I bring the voices of mothers in southeast region of Korea where

no attention was given in the previous studies. Listening to the diverse voices of Korean mothers will also provide insights to help understand the complexity of Korean shadow education by examining diverse practices of shadow education and multiple voices of Korean mothers within the regions, which I will explain in the following section.

Research Sites and Participants

The fieldwork of this study is conducted in Daegu and Changwon, in the southeast region of Korea between January 2011 and August 2012 [See Figure 1: the Map of South Korea]. When designing the research, the sites were to be somewhere outside of Seoul, the capital of Korea in order to expand the geographic boundary beyond. No ethnographic study has been conducted outside of Seoul although shadow education is a nationwide phenomenon. Daegu is the fourth largest metropolitan city in South Korea with high level of ‘education zeal’ (*gyo-yuk-roel*). Particularly, Susung-Gu, one of the eight counties, is referred as ‘Gangnam-Gu’, a county in Seoul metro area that is notorious for education zeal in Seoul. Changwon is the central city of Gyeongnam province, southeastern Korea. It is known as a city that is ‘great to live in ‘with high quality of residents’ life with easy access to Pusan, the second largest metropolitan city in South Korea. Those research sites were selected as an attempt to add regional diversity to shadow education research in South Korea. Other regions besides Seoul may have different cultural characteristics and values in terms of education. This study, hence, intends to extend the regional horizon of shadow education research within South Korea.

Within the two selected research sites, a total of twelve mothers participated in this study [See Table 2: Participants of the study]. I used my personal network in both sites when

looking for participants. First, I could recruit the three mothers who participated in my preliminary study: Jin Jang-Mi, Kang Yu-Kyung and Moon Jin-Sook. Besides those three, my cousin introduced three more participants in Daegu who were viewed as having relatively low demand for shadow education. They are Park Eun-Ju, Jung Soon-Yung and Jang Im-Bok. In Changwon, my friends introduced my other three participants: Song Baek Hwa and Kim Ji-Yung, young mothers with high education demand, as well as Min-Ji's mother, high demand low class mother. Finally, I came to know the rest of participants at my work place. They include Yi A-Ra and Sae-Ran's mother, well-educated lecturers with living abroad experiences, as well as Choi Sun-Ja, university freshman who took my English class.

My Relationships with the Participants

I was introduced to most of my participants by my cousin and my friends in Korea and the participants saw me as someone from the US. I explained that the purpose of my study was to know about mothers' experiences and perceptions of the Korean shadow education phenomenon. My cousin introduced me to a total of six mothers in Daegu, three mothers in my preliminary study and three more mothers in the beginning of my field work. When I was introduced to the six mothers, I was identified as his younger cousin studying abroad in the United States. Some of the mothers asked whether I went to college in Korea or in the US. When I answered that I attended a university in Korea, they said that I should know this topic well. For that remark, I explained that I particularly wanted to know mothers' experiences and thoughts, as I was not a mother. Sometimes, I was viewed as an outsider, especially when they asked me about education in the U.S. including such questions: How difficult is it to study in the US? Do US children have shadow education?

Case	Name/ Age	Children	SES	Kinds of Shadow Ed.	Demand Level (\$cost/ per child)	Education	Job	Marital Status
1	Jin, Jang-Mi 39	1 Daughter (Elementary) 1 Son (Preschool)	Middle	Study Package	High (\$500 /month)	Associate	Stay-at-Home	Married
2	Kang, Yu- Kyung 43	2 Sons (Middle and High)	Middle	Private Tutoring	High (\$500 /month)	High School	Stay-at-Home	Married
3	Kim, Ji-Yung 38	2 Daughters (Elementary)	Upper- middle	Education Centers	High (\$1000/month)	BA	Teacher	Married
4	Choi, Sun-Ja 47	1 Son (Middle) 1 Daughter (University)	Upper- middle	Private Tutoring	Moderate	BA -enrolled	University Student	Married
5	Jung, Soon- Yung	1 Son (Middle) 1 Daughter (Elementary)	Lower- middle	After-school Curricular Study Room	Low	Associate	Nurse	Divorced
6	Park, Eun-Ju 42	1 Son (High) 1 Daughter (Elementary)	Middle	Study Package After-school Curricular	Low	High School	Stay-at-Home	Married
7	Min-Ji's mother 55	1 Daughter (High -vocational)	Lower	N/A	Moderate	Elementary School	Pensioner for Disability	Single Mother
8	Sae-Ran's mother 48	1 Daughter (High)	Middle	Education center Private tutoring	High (\$650/month)	PhD	Professor	Divorced
	Yi A-Ra 47	3 Daughters (Elementary.- University)	Upper- middle	Education Center Private Tutoring	Moderate	PhD	Lecturer	Married
	Song, Baek- Hwa 40	2 Daughters (Elementary)	Middle	Education Centers Study Package	High (\$1000 /month)	BA	Team Leader/ Education Company	Married
	Moon, Jin- Sook	2 Daughters (Elementary & High) 1 Son (Elementary)	Lower- Middle	After-school Curricular Child Center Study Package	Moderate	High School	Stay-at-Home	Married
	Jang, Im-Bok 47	2 Sons (Dropout & Middle) 1 Daughter (Elementary)	Lower- middle	After-school Curricular Child Center	Low	Associate	Daycare Assistant	Married

Table 2. Participants of the Study

I was someone who was exposed to a different education system in a foreign land.

I was also helped by my friends from my hometown, Changwon. I asked them to find mothers with exceptional experiences with regards to their children's shadow education. One friend introduced me to Song Baek-Hwa, my friend's team leader at a well-known educational company, *Noon-nop-pi*. My friend informed me that Song Baek-Hwa had strong opinions about education and was easy to talk to. Another friend introduced me to Kim Ji-Yung, a colleague of my friend is an elementary school teacher. According to my friend's observations, Kim Ji-Yung talked a lot about shadow education and seemed busy taking her children here and there for diverse shadow education services. I was hoping to compare and contrast the mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education for one being in mainstream education and the other working in the shadow education realm. To them, I was a person who they could talk about education pedagogy and educational and social issues. I was also their colleagues' friends who needed their help to complete her degree program.

In March 2011, I started my job as an English lecturer at a University in my hometown. I recruited three mothers from my work place to include highly educated mothers and mothers of a higher SES. I ended up recruiting Yi A-Ra, an upper-middle-class moderate-demand mother, Sae-Ran's mother, a middle-class moderate-demand mother, and Choi Sun-Ja, an upper-middle-class moderate-demand mother. I shared an office with Yi A-Ra, a Japanese language lecturer, and Sae-Ran's mother, a Chinese language professor. They saw me as a new colleague. Sae-Ran's mother is an immigrant from China, and she is the only non-Korean participant in my study. I wanted to add an ethnic minority mother's experience with shadow education. As there are many other immigrants in Korea, Sae-Ran's

mother does not represent all the immigrants in Korea. Both Yi A-Ra and Sae-Ran's mother have lived abroad and were accustomed to conversing with people who studied abroad in the office of international education at the University. Yi A-Ra lived in Japan for eight years while supporting her husband pursuing a PhD degree. She pursued her PhD in Korea after her family came back from Japan. Sae-Ran's mother was a Chinese language teacher before coming to Korea. She earned her MA and PhD degrees in Korea and has been working as a Chinese language lecturer. She became a professor in the beginning of 2012.

My last recruit was Choi Sun-Ja and Min-Ji's mother with my special motive to compare and contrast Korean shadow education phenomenon experienced by mothers of two extreme SES ends. Choi Sun-Ja was one of my students in a College English course I taught in the University I worked for. Choi Sun-Ja, in her late 40s, stood out in the classroom with other young students. After the semester, we got to know at a personal level over tea and lunch. She viewed me as a young English lecturer, fresh from the US, where she planned to send her son to study abroad. She told me a lot about her past life experiences, and asked questions about my life in the US before coming back to Korea. Wanting to recruit a mother of a lower SES, a friend suggested contacting a social worker at a community welfare center. Through the community welfare, I was able to recruit Min-Ji's mother. In return, I agreed to volunteer as her daughter's English tutor. She viewed me as a powerful person who could help her daughter get into a desired college. She showed me her frustration for her daughter's learning at school. Whenever I visited her house to tutor her daughter, she vowed deeply to show her gratitude.

Purposeful sampling

This study employs purposeful sampling which is a type of non-probability sampling mostly used for a qualitative study methodology. According to Marriam (2009), “purposeful sampling based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned (p. 77). Purposeful sampling is used to select “information-rich cases” from which I can learn considerably about the research topic the mothers’ experiences of shadow education in selected regions (Patton, 2002). When beginning finding the participants, selection criteria were set for the potential mother participants, following LeCompte and Preissle’s (1993) suggestion. They used the term “criterion-based selection rather than purposeful sampling in which researchers “create a list of the attributes essential” and find matching participants (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 69-70). My criteria include 1) the mothers’ child(ren)’s age(s), 2) their socio-economic status (SES), 3) the kinds of shadow education purchased by the participants and 4) their level of demand for shadow education. The following will explain why I created this list of the four attributes and how it impacted selecting the participants of my study.

In terms of the participants’ child(ren)’s age(s), I wanted to recruit mothers of both elementary and secondary school students. The twelve purposefully selected participants have two to three children and only two of the participants have only one child. Six participants had children in both elementary and secondary educational level. Three had only in elementary school and the other three mothers had only secondary school students. By selecting diversity in children’s ages, I wanted to find out about the differences in the

mothers' experiences specific to the motives for shadow education services for their children in different educational levels. It is known that university entrance exam is greatly emphasized in Korea (Zeng, 1999) and sequentially this may create more demand for shadow education amongst secondary school students, yet there is high demand for shadow education from mothers of elementary school students (Lee, 2005).

I tried to recruit mothers of different SES groups contrasting the mothers' lives in terms of their SES. Categorizing the participants' SES was drawn from how the participants viewed themselves and my personal interpretation of my observations. I noted how the participants phrased their SES during our casual conversations and formal interviews. My observations include display of their wealth, such as their attire, cars, and apartments in order to crosscheck their perceptions of their SES and how I might view their SES. I categorized the participants in a class of middle, upper, or low¹⁹ [See Table 2. Participants of the Study]. Six participants are categorized as middle class. Three participants are categorized as upper-middle SES, two as lower-middle class, and one as lower class. Shadow education is not only an educational activity for students, but also mothers' economic practices. By varying the SES, I hoped to interpret multiple dimensions of shadow education phenomenon experienced by mothers of different socio-economic backgrounds.

The kinds of shadow education purchased by the mothers were also considered to compare and contrast the different experiences of the mother participants. My motive in diversifying the kinds of shadow education is to find out what kinds of shadow education are purchased by mothers of particular SES and how it relates to their perceptions of education

¹⁹ The details of this categorization are discussed in later chapter with descriptions of 8 selected cases of the participants.

and success. When conversing with my relatives before my preliminary study, they mentioned how particular kinds of shadow education are purchased by particular kinds of people. The shadow education services purchased by the participants vary including education centers (*hak-won*), study-package (*hak-seup-ji*), private tutoring (*gwa-oe*), after-school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*), study-room (*gong-bu-bang*), educational therapy (*chi-ryo-gyo-yuk*), and child welfare center (*a-dong-center*). Later, I found that particular kinds of shadow education were purchased by mothers not only for their SES matters, but also for their child(ren)'s particular characteristics²⁰.

Lastly, the level of each participant's demand for shadow education was also considered in the recruiting process. The demand level was categorized in the three following groups: high demand, moderate demand, and low demand. It is determined by the money spent on shadow education as well as their eagerness to provide more shadow education shown throughout their interactions with me. My motives considering mothers' demand level as a criterion is to compare and contrast mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education based on their demand levels. In the society where "education manager mother" is a norm, I wanted to know how mothers of low demand mothers differently view their current situation, including their children and their society.

Each participant mother has a unique background²¹. The participant age varied from late thirties to mid-fifties. Their education level also varied from one mother who graduated from elementary school to two mothers who had earned a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

²⁰ Chapter 5 has the detailed elaboration on the relations between mothers choices of particular kinds of shadow education and SES and their child(ren)'s characteristics.

²¹The uniqueness is displayed in chapter 4 with eight selected cases of individual participant.

degree. Among the rest, three mothers finished high school, three mothers finished two-year technical college, and three mothers finished four-year University with Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree. Some mothers worked outside of their home while the others were stay-at-home mothers. Working mothers' jobs include a school teacher, a company worker, a nurse, a lecturer, a professor. Three single mothers were recruited; two of them were divorced, while one never married. One of the single mothers is a Chinese immigrant while all of the other two single mothers are Koreans.

Research Methods

This ethnographic study used three research methods: interviewing, participant observation, and documents. My primary research method is interviewing Korean mothers who are purposely selected according to the shared criteria above. Interviewing is particularly useful when a researcher's interest is in participants' minds, such as their thoughts (perspectives), feelings and intentions, which are not often observable (Patton, 2002). It is the most useful method as my intention for this study is to know about the participant mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education in Korea. First formal interviews with each participant followed the prepared Interviewing Protocol [see Appendix B], and further interviews were developed based on the findings of the first interviews. In other words, each participant mother was asked different questions based on their answers to the interviewing protocol questions. In all interviews, I employed "semi-structured" interview techniques with open-ended and flexibly-worded questions as I wanted to "respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent and to new ideas on the topic" (Merriam, 2009, p. 90). Most of my participants had two to three one-on-

one interviews with me and each interview lasted for about one hour. Each participant had at least one one-on-one interview with me. Group interviews were occasionally conducted when were requested by the participants to feel comfortable in the beginning of the process of getting to know my participants. Casual conversations with individual participants and small groups were also recorded as useful data.

In addition, participant observation is another research method used in order to add vividness to my data. Differently from interviewing, observation allows to record behaviors as occurring on site (Merriam, 2009). Participant observation was used in two settings, one as I worked as an English language instructor in a University, and also as I volunteered as a private tutor for Min-Ji whom I encountered through a regional welfare organization in my effort to recruit a low SES mother. From the opportunity of working in the University, I had opportunities to interact with college students in my hometown and also other instructors and professors of foreign languages and education. I collected observation data around the university students' lives and their study techniques as well as the occurring of campus events. Casual conversations with my students and colleagues are recorded in my daily journal. Secondly, my participant observation as a volunteer tutor is recorded. This observation may be different from the ones by working with a child of high SES mother, however, I could have opportunities to interact with not only a mother participant but also with her child. Conflicts between the two generations evolved in the setting, otherwise not recorded. I recorded their behaviors, my interactions with them, and their living environment. This record became helpful to discuss socio-economic positions and kinds of shadow education when compared the descriptions of qualified tutors provided by other participant mothers who provided relatively expensive private tutoring and myself as a

participant observation.

Because of my position as an English instructor who was studying abroad in the United States, I had a merit particularly to gain entry. Many of my participants were interested in knowing about the learning environment and schools in the United States. They replied to my requests to interview favorably and they wanted to ask me many questions about skills for studying English language. The students who took my courses were interested in learning English to find a decent job after graduation. In order to approve their English language proficiency, they took exams or participated in short-term study abroad or volunteer programs to Philippines, UK, Australia, or United States. Three mothers whom I recruited in Changwon, where I resided and taught, showed their strong interest in sending their children to study abroad in the United States. They asked me logistical questions such as the costs of study abroad and living environment in the United States. Their children were in elementary school and junior high school. During my fieldwork, one mother actually sent her son to the United States to study abroad.

Finally, I collected related documents of Korean shadow education during my fieldwork. Documents are defined as “a wide range of written, visual, digital, and physical material relevant to the study at hand” (Merriam, 2009, p. 139). Documents, also referred as artifacts, are collected as “they are material manifestations of the beliefs and behaviors that constitute culture” (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 153). Document data collected include visuals, such as posters of shadow education advertisement as well as the words, or phrases of education centers’ websites or board signs. I referred to the various articles of shadow education issues published in on-line news websites and public records, such as educational

journals published in Korea. These documents are collected based on my personal judgment of usefulness in depicting the situation of shadow education in a more holistic way. I found the document data particularly helpful to provide background information about educational policy and reform related to the Korean shadow education. In addition, it was useful to learn about the marketing strategies of shadow education businesses.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a process of making sense of the collected data to answer the research questions (Merriam, 2009). With an intention to learn about mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education in South Korea, I three simple initial research questions about the nature of shadow education and how and why mothers pursuit particular kinds of shadow education. Later, during the fieldwork, I further defined my research questions in order to organize and manage my collected data better. The defined research questions are 1) What are the mothers' motives for shadow education in Deagu and Changwon in Korea? 2) How do the mothers make their decisions regarding their children's shadow education? and 3) How are the mothers' perceptions of the changes in Korean education and society reflected in their decisions?. In this following section of the paper, I will explain the process of my data analysis and the organization of my data analysis chapters (Chapter Four, Five and Six).

Chapter Four is data analysis regarding the answers of the first two research questions, mothers' motives for shadow education and their decision making processes. In this chapter, I illustrate how mothers have diverse motives that are different from each other. This chapter may also serve as an introduction of the participants; I walk you through how I

met each of them and what interesting background they have. The background information includes their selected shadow education experiences, their upbringing and family stories, as well as their concerns and interests about education and learning. This chapter also explains how I categorized the mother participants into groups based on their socio-economic status and demand level for shadow education. This categorization is formed by my analysis of the participants' testimony and my observation with a hope to understand the links between the mothers' socio-economic status and their demand level for shadow education. I had a hunch that mothers of higher socio-economic status would have higher demand for shadow education.

In Chapter Five and Six, I elaborate on the diverse kinds of shadow education and mothers' perceptions of social and educational changes in relation to their current choices of particular shadow education service. The first part focuses on the participant mothers' relations with other family members with a focus on gender. Discussing the gendered shadow education practices as mothers' responsibilities, I wanted to find out whether the mothers make different decisions based on the gender of their child(ren). Shadow education practices were examined in the unit of extended families, discussing the assumed roles for each member in a gendered way. The rest is about the mothers' perceptions of shadow education practices at different times and in different places. Places are compared at local, national and international levels. The images of shadow education practices in the mentioned places reinforce their current shadow education practices. This part also describes how those images provide diverse feelings of anxiety, comfort, and hope for their children's education.

Chapter Seven and Eight are discussion and conclusion chapters around the

summary of the themes of motherhood and places drawn from the previous analysis chapters. These chapters are designed to answer all of my defined research questions. In particular, the first part is about the mothers' motives and decision-making processes of whether or not purchasing particular shadow education service. The second part is about the mothers' perceptions of social and educational changes in South Korea. My assumption was that mothers purchased shadow education services in order to meet the needs of their children that are constructed by the society. In other words, mothers may purchase different kinds of shadow education for different time focusing on the mother's expended life experiences and stories illustrated in a comparative way between the generations of their children and themselves.

Limitations

I experienced challenges during the data collections processes which yielded several limitations of this study design. As more data were collected, the process of collecting and analyzing data became more spontaneously and it came to be difficult for me to know the simple line, for example, whether their life experiences and stories are related, either directly or indirectly, to their current decisions of whether or not purchasing shadow education services for their children. In other words, I had difficulty to find focus as I was expanding the portent to find answers of my research questions. It was inevitable to make my best judgment about the relations between mothers' narratives on life experiences and their decisions of shadow education. I tried to be explicit when making my subjective judgments. The analysis of this study, hence, contains not only what I heard from the participant mothers but also what I personally thought about what was going on. Not that including my

interpretation is problematic, but I clarify that my interpretation may be different from others. Throughout this paper, I intended to reveal my position as a researcher and to elaborate on my relationships with the participant mothers hoping to enhance the uniqueness of this study.

What I found helpful to stay focused and organized was to redefine the research questions in a narrow way. In the beginning of my fieldwork, I found it interesting that most mothers had provided diverse kinds of shadow education from one to another or several. Mothers compared and contrasted different kinds of shadow education that they had purchased for their children. So the first focus was intentionally set on mothers' motives and decision making processes of providing certain kinds of shadow education. Then, I found that how they perceived the social and educational changes had greatly influenced their current purchases of shadow education services. Mothers shared their upbringing and school experiences as students as well as their career life before and after marriage. They also compared their lives growing up and their children's. Hence, the narrowed down focus of this research study became to be the mothers' decision making processes and perceptions of social changes over time illustrated in Chapter Six.

Another limitation of this study is that the lack of diverse kinds of data used for the analysis. Pursuing the study purpose, to learn about mothers' experiences and perspectives of shadow education, I delved into the interview and conversation data most heavily for data analysis. The analysis turned to be more like narrative analysis, as I wanted to share the stories of mothers and their experiences of shadow education phenomenon. With this emphasis on the narratives and stories of mothers, this study lacks cultural descriptions of

the phenomenon as I first designed the study as ethnography. In addition, the analysis strategy used is comparing the narratives as used in grounded theory. For example, I constantly compare the cases of individual mothers in Chapter Four. This kind of comparative method is used by many qualitative researchers who are seeking to build a substantive theory from the data (Merriam, 2009). However, this study does not necessarily intend to provide a grounded theory. I rather intend to advocate the mothers whose voices were not heard in the educational development realm to share them with educational policy makers and researchers as well as interested general readers.

Chapter 4: Individual Cases

In this chapter, I introduce the eight mothers who are the participants of this study. This chapter explains how I met each of them and their first impression as well as the way I categorized them in terms of their SES and demand level for shadow education. These participant mothers are categorized in both subjective and objective ways; I considered how each mother described their own SES standing along with others' judgments including my own. Each mother's particular life story is added to show what unique educational and occupational experience she brought to the study. There is not a particular order for introducing the mothers; however, I wanted to compare and contrast diverse kinds of chosen shadow education and motives of the mothers for the particular shadow education. In other words, the mothers' decisions for their children's shadow education were elaborated on in a comparative way. For example, the motive of the Mother Case 2 for shadow education is compared with the one of Mother Case 1. By comparing and contrasting the mothers' experiences and diverse motives for the particular kind of shadow education, I aim to answer my first research question: What are the mothers' motives for shadow education in Daegu and Changwon? My ethnographic study suggests that the mothers' involvement in shadow education differed based on the combinations of their educational and occupational experiences, their children's motivation, and their family SES situations.

Case 1 – Middle-class, High-demand Mother of Younger Children: Jin Jang-Mi

“No one told me [about how to manage time and develop academic skills], but I tell my children... that I lacked this... because I had been there.... So I know [how important education is]”(interview, August 29, 2011).

I came to know Jin Jang-Mi before my fieldwork. For my preliminary study in 2009, we talked on the phone for an hour about her children's shadow education. She had one son in preschool and one daughter in the second grade at that time. As a stay-at-home mother, she spent most of her time with her children. When I met her at my cousin's house in the spring of 2011, she was out-going and passionate. In her brightly colored clothes, she greeted me with a big smile. She brought her son to play with my cousin's youngest daughter. Jin Jang-Mi and I went into another room for a conversation. Our casual conversation was about how her daughter spent her after-school hours and what interested, as well as what concerned her, regarding her children's shadow education.

Jin Jang-Mi's daughter, Chae-Rim, was busy with shadow education activities, after-school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) and study-packages (*hak-seup-ji*), each day. Chae-Rim had Piano and Logic on Mondays; Computer and Arts on Tuesdays; and Chinese, English, Korean, Math, and Science on Wednesdays; Arts on Thursdays; and Piano on Fridays. Jin Jang-Mi pays about \$500 per month for Chae-Rim's shadow education. Computer was an after-school curricular and all the other subjects were study-packages, called *Homeschool*. A total of nine subjects were covered in those shadow education activities. Jin Jang-Mi perceived that Chae-Rim enjoyed learning with shadow education because it was 'learning like playing', designed to help her daughter develop thinking skills rather than memorize facts. Chae-Rim had a short free time before dinner. Chae-Rim, a quiet and introverted personality, usually sat around the house and read books. When I visited her house, I saw one entire side of the living room with an arrangement of children's books. More books were arranged on a wall in the kitchen. They lived in a three-bedroom apartment, only about a five-minute-drive from my cousin's apartment.

Jin Jang-Mi not only dedicated most of her time to take care of her children, but also to learning how to help them learn better. She attends educational lectures at a nearby university, once or twice per year, provided for mothers. These lectures were free of charge as they were covered by her daughter's shadow education company. She observed how her children learned and interacted with others on a regular basis. Whenever any related questions came up, she kept it in her mind to ask the experts at the lectures the next time. She also communicated with her children's shadow education teachers so that she was updated with what and how her children were learning. She kept in touch with other mothers of children in the same-age-group to discuss their children's education. One of the group members was my cousin's wife, who was also a full-time stay-at-home mother of two young children. They exchanged news of such educational lectures and educational information from books and other resources.

Although Jin Jang-Mi was determined to help her young children succeed with education, she was concerned about the academic stress that her children will experience as they grow older. When her first child started going to a nearby public elementary school, she quickly recognized the heavy load of academic work and realized that shadow education was necessary because it was socially and culturally required. She emphasized that

“The Korean government creates these policies and interventions to lessen shadow education activities, but it is just not possible for our children to play in nature and learn from outside experiences. Even school teachers expect that our children learn through shadow education, so they would just brief the instructional contents in class” (interview, March 6, 2010).

For example, in schools where most first graders knew how to read, there was no point in teaching reading basics. She emphasized how she fully discussed the possibility of taking

shadow education activities with her children and had them decide whether or not to take the services. Although it was her suggestion, her heart ached (*ga-seum-a-peu-da*) looking at children burdened with severe academic pressures.

I came to know more about Jin Jang-Mi's personal life as I met her twice more in 2011. She was born in 1973 in Daegu as the third of four children, with two sisters and a brother. Her father was a soldier with a strict character and, because her mother was ill, she was mostly cared for by her grandmother. She described her character as a double-edged sword, cold and warm. She is cold like her strict father and reserved mother, yet warm like her loving grandmother. She had emotional struggles with her parents for two reasons: one, she was constantly compared to her high-achieving sisters and her parents encouraged her sister to give up arts. Whenever she and her sister wanted to engage in singing and drawing, her parents were strongly against it, saying, 'Why do you want to learn such things?' After school, she played with her younger brother and did her homework and studied with her second older sister. She claimed that shadow education was not common where she grew up. After she graduated from high school, she had to make a choice between going to college and working to help her family. She chose the latter and regretted it as she was paid much less than her college-educated peers. Later, she took the college entrance exam and attended a two-year professional college and earned an associate degree.

Jin Jang-Mi stopped working in a synthetic textile company after she married her husband. She described her husband as her best friend. She and her husband were the same age and knew each other for ten years before they got married. Her husband owns and manages an ice-cream business and is often very busy with either working, or seeing friends.

Their plan was that he works ‘outside’ and supports Jin Jang-Mi ‘inside’ to take care of the children and their education. However, she shared her frustration about him for not spending enough time with their children. When the children wrote about their family for their homework, there was only one sentence about their father, ‘He is outside making money’. While Jin Jang-Mi was trying to convince her husband to spend more time with their children, they happened to watch a documentary TV program about the correlation between a father’s relationship with his children and the children’s leadership skills. The show illustrated that children who had a closer relationship with their father showed better leadership skills. After watching the show, he tried to spend more time with his children and to become more approachable.

Without hesitation, I categorized Jin Jang-Mi as a high-demand mother because she invested a lot of time and money in her children’s education. She was also willing to provide more shadow education if there were good opportunities. She attended seminars and lectures related to child development. As she was sharing about her own educational experiences as a learner, she lamented the absence of academic guidance in her own childhood. She said, “No one told me (about how to manage time and develop academic skills), but I tell my children...that I lacked this...because I had been there...So I know [how important education is]” (interview, August 29, 2011). She was hopeful that her children can achieve better than she did in school and she wanted to be helpful. She believed that education is a ‘base’ for a life, like a tool; she said, “If you know more, you can give it to your children and better contribute to a company and the society” (interview, August 29, 2011).

Case 2 –Middle-class, High-demand Mother of Older Children, Kang Yu-Kyung

“One day, when Dong-Hyun came home after a test, he cried and said, ‘I saw mom’s face on my exam paper and got a wrong answer’. My world collapsed and I cried all day”(interview, April 9, 2011).

I met another high-demand mother of a middle-class SES family in Daegu: Kang Yu-Kyung also participated in my preliminary study in 2009. I met her for the first time the day after I met Jin Jang-Mi. Unlike Jin Jang-Mi, whose children are still young, Kang Yu-Kyung has two children in secondary education: one in middle school and the other in high school. Kang Yu-Kyung was tall and lean in her gym clothes in mixed colors of black and gold. She took off her high heels and came into the house of my cousin with a bright smile. Her hair was short and her eyes glittered with silver eye shadow and distinct black eye-liner; she looked young, bold and energetic. She put her big sporty bag on the floor and we sat down at a tea table facing one other. She started our conversation by commenting that the US president Barak Obama had complimented Korean education. I replied that Korea seems to be doing well. Later, however, she criticized the competitive educational atmosphere in Korea and showed her sadness over the learning environment. She emphasized that people should be able to do what they wish to do, rather than competing only for academic achievement.

Kang Yu-Kyung spent about \$1000 per month for private tutoring (*gwa-oe*) for her two sons in secondary education level. They both had Mathematics and English tutors and met two or three times a week for each subject. Her first son, Dong-Hyun, was a high achiever, and she believed that it was because he was focused when he studied and the tutoring was working for him. On the other hand, she expressed her disappointment in her

second son, Ju-Hyun, who was not as high achieving as Dong-Hyun. Ju-Hyun was interested in sports and wanted to become a baseball player. Despite her earlier statement that one should be able to do what he or she wishes to do, Kang Yu-Kyung disapproved of Ju-Hyun's dream. Her reason was that it was too late to become professional and the training was not only hard but also too expensive. According to her information, professional baseball player candidates normally receive professional training starting from elementary school in Korea. Because Ju-Hyun was already in middle school, it required double the amount of training. They had arranged a meeting with a middle school baseball coach and found out that the total amount for the special training needed until he could become a professional player is estimated at \$300,000. As Kang Yu-Kyung criticized previously, this is a perfect example of the Korean social and education system that makes pursuing something other than academic extremely expensive in Korea.

As I met with Kang Yu-Kyung three more times, I got to know about her emotional troubles with her high-achieving first son, Dong-Hyun. Kang Yu-Kyung confessed that she did all she could do to ensure the best educational opportunities for him when he was little. She searched for the best pre-school and kindergarten in town. As a stay-at-home mother, it had been her most important task to provide the best education for her children, within their given economic situation. When her first son reached the intermediate level of elementary education, she had a critical moment:

“When Dong-Hyun was little, I sent him to three to four education centers. I asked him ‘Do you want to learn computer?’, ‘How about English?’, ‘Do you want to go learn drawing?’. He never said ‘no’ to me and followed my lead well. And he did very well. He got no wrong answers. One day, when Dong-Hyun came back home after a test, he cried and said ‘I saw mom’s face on my exam paper and got a wrong answer’. My world collapsed and I cried all day”(interview, April 9, 2011).

She shared how heart-broken she was when she realized that she caused him so much academic stress. She cried and asked her son, “Didn’t you say that you wanted to do this study package (*hakseupji*) with mom?” He replied that he wanted to because he did not want to disappoint her. She tore all the worksheets and study materials that she had purchased and promised to him not to stress him out with academic matters. From that moment, she made no further comments on his grades and studies; instead she hired a professional tutor to assist her son with academic learning.

Although Kang Yu-Kyung argued that one must be able to have a job that he or she truly enjoys, she emphasized the importance of education for her children as a ‘base’ for all endeavors. Like Jin Jang-Mi above, Kang Yu-Kyung devoted herself to finding the best educational services for her sons:

“Studying is necessary. If one does not study, he can feel defeated in the society. When talking about sports players, like Park Ji-Sung (soccer player), Park Chan-Ho and Lee Seung-Yoep (baseball player), one may think they did not study, but they did. Have you heard how many books Park Ji-Sung read? No matter what you do in the future, what you study is the base for it” (interview, August 30, 2011).

What makes Kang Yu-Kyung different from Jin Jang-Mi, though, is that she has experienced the critical moment that her son, Dong-Hyun, was confronted with the academic pressure facing a young child when he saw her face during exams. While Jin Jang-Mi was positive about her devotion, Kang Yu-Kyung regretted how she caused so much stress for her son, Dong-Hyun, to do well in academic achievement. I categorize Kang Yu-Kyung as a high-demand mother because she still emphasized the importance of academics for Ju-Hyun. I also categorized her as a high demand mother because even though she knew she caused her

son stress, academics were still so important that she hired a professional tutor for Dong-Hyun after the critical moment. It was an eye-opening moment for her to realize that she had been stressing out her son Dong-Hyun, yet she could not give up on keeping her son's academic achievement high. The alternative for her was to hire a tutor for him, rather than to leave him alone for his studies. While Kang Yu-Kyung had a good relation with her son she used the tutor as a connector between her and her son to prevent emotional conflicts related to academic issues.

The two middle-class high demand mothers, Jin Jang-Mi and Kang Yu-Kyung, have experienced the feeling of 'less' for not having a university degree in their careers before marriage. Jin Jang-Mi said that she felt 'less' when her two older sisters did so much better than she did in school. She had to endure negative comments from her family, blaming her lack of university education for the family's inability to raise their socio-economic status. Later, after her two-year professional degree, when she worked for a synthetic textile company, she felt 'defeated' again to discover she was not only treated differently but also paid much less compared to her colleagues with four-year university degrees. Kang Yu-Kyung, on the other hand, did well in school, but her family did not support her wish to get university education. She grew up in a family as one of three daughters and four sons. Her brothers received higher education; she and her sisters did not. At that time, higher education was 'not for daughters' in her family. After finishing her high school education in a small town, she came to Daegu and joined Hyundai Department Store. Seeing her friends in college, she felt 'less' not being able to pursue her dreams of becoming a teacher and an actress.

Kang Yu-Kyung came back to her town to work for a medium-sized enterprise and met her husband. When they got married, she was twenty-five years old. With her marriage, she stopped working and became a stay-at-home mother. She said that quitting her job was ‘taken for granted’ to fully devote herself to her new family. I grouped Kang Yu-Kyung’s family in the category of middle-class because her husband’s business was thriving and expenditures on her sons’ private tutoring services were significant. Yet, her family was hesitant to support Ju-Hyun’s dream for lack of money and doubt of his talent. Pursuing something other than academics in Korea, such as sports and arts, costs more and accompanies high risk for its extreme competitiveness. She did not have a sense of living an upper-middle class life, like Kim Ji-Yung and Choi Sun-Ja (below) and other participants categorized as upper-middle class SES. Especially, Kang Yu-Kyung persuading her second son to give up his dream of becoming a baseball player contrasted to Kim Ji-Yung’s support for her young daughters’ in discovering and developing their musical and artistic talents, and Choi Sun-Ja’s support for her son’s dream of becoming a car designer in the US.

Case 3 –Upper-middle-class, High-demand Mother of Younger Children, Kim Ji-Yung

I am not sure what’s right and what’s wrong. When you see Kim Yun-A (figure skater), one can be successful with figure skating only. Yun Hyung-Ju became a famous pop-opera singer. He was not good in school, but it must be nice to make money by doing what he enjoys (interview, June 10, 2011).

Kim Ji-Young is thirty-seven years old and the youngest participant in my study. She had two daughters: Ju-Ah in fourth grade and Hae-Rah in sixth grade in elementary school. She is an elementary school teacher in the outskirts region of Changwon city. It was on a beautiful spring day in May 2011 when I visited her in the school. I drove for half an hour on a six-lane freeway, passing green houses and a few newly-erected tall apartments. I crossed a

stream and saw her school surrounded by tall trees. The building was in the shape of letter “H”, having a skyway bridge between the two building wings. Entering the building, I felt the surge of the children’s energy, hearing their loud voices and finding them running around in the hall. Kim Ji-Yung greeted me in a flower-printed, beige dress. After letting her second graders out to the school library, we sat down at a child’s desks for our first formal interview.

In her classroom, we talked for an hour about what she has experienced for her children’s shadow education. Her children went to education centers (*hakwon*) for English and piano every weekday. For different seasons, they went to different educational centers for other activities such as TaeKwonDo (martial arts), drawing, and singing. She shared how eager she was for her children’s English education when her daughters started their formal schooling:

“People say that children must learn English language at an early age, before 12 or 13 to have the native-like pronunciation, so I had sent my daughters to English education centers since they were young. I even found an English immersion kindergarten for my younger daughter” (interview, May 13, 2011).

As Kim Ji-Yung has been in charge of developing English curriculum in her school for the past four years, she had opportunities to attend training sessions for English language acquisition. She mentioned her passion developed from learning about ‘the critical age’ for language acquisition during one of those training sessions. Reflecting back, however, she said that she did not find much difference in her daughters’ English language acquisition, as her older daughter was as good as her younger one.

She emphasized her high-achieving daughters’ personalities and aptitudes for potential shadow educational opportunities. Even though she was eager to provide multiple

choices for shadow education, she expected different outcomes of the shadow education services. Ju-Ah, her second daughter, with the English immersion education, missed points on English tests because her personality distracted her focus, (*ju-eo-ryuck-ee-yack-hae-seo*). In contrast, Hae-Rah, her first daughter, was good at focusing, and did not miss any points on English tests. Based on her assessments, Ju-Ah was more talented with language learning while Hae-Rah was better at math. Kim Ji-Yung was interested in deciding their career paths based on their different personalities and talents. Tailoring shadow educational services to fit the daughters' personal styles, her motive for shadow education was to help them find their talents, preferably in arts, in order to find potential career development paths for them.

Kim Ji-Yung was especially keen to provide opportunities for her children's development in music and art. Playing violin herself, she expected her children to appreciate music and to master a musical instrument when they were still young. Based on her own learning experience, it becomes more difficult to learn musical instruments as one gets older. The logic to have her young daughters become skilled musicians was not only for them to enjoy the aesthetics of music, but also to learn to deal with stress. She indicated that music was a way to reduce her academic stress when she was in university. Later, in our second interview, she shared her wish to have her children to develop their careers in arts:

“We hear that any career in Arts costs a lot, but our country is not poor [any more]. I am a public school teacher and so is my husband. For a life, I wish my children to be able to find comfort in their careers like as they sing, play musical instruments, or paint. I am not sure what's right and what's wrong. When you see Kim Yun-A, one can be successful with figure skating only. Yun Hyung-Ju became a famous pop-opera singer. He was not good in school, but it must be nice to make money by doing what he enjoys” (interview, June 10, 2011).

As a young child, Kim Ji-Yung was most influenced by her mother's encouragement

for academic achievement. She described herself as ‘just an average child’ in elementary school. When she entered secondary school, she got better at school with her mother’s warnings, such as ‘it gets much harder in middle school’ and ‘it gets much harder in high school’. In the competitive academic environment, she said that she had to spend 30 minutes on learning some things which others would be fine spending only 10 minutes. When Kim Ji-Yung experienced academic struggles, her mother encouraged her with superstitious remarks such as “Your fortune says that you were born as patient and responsible. You are able to overcome hardships. Even if you stand at the edge of a cliff, you can lift off”(interview, June 10, 2011). At the end of high school, her marks were good enough to enter a college of education which often requires higher marks than other fields of studies in South Korea.

Kim Ji-Yung described her mother as ‘a hard-working woman who did not know how to spend money on herself’. Her mother only had formal education in elementary school, yet she taught herself and passed qualification exams equivalent to a high school degree. Kim Ji-Yung often found her mother reading books and newspapers and sharing the contents with her and her sister at dinner. At the same time, her mother worked as a milk deliverer, and later, she took over an educational center (*hakwon*) from her aunt, her mother’s sister-in-law. In comparing her mother and aunt, she declared that she had never seen her mother buying anything, such as clothes or accessories, with which her aunt used to indulge herself. When Kim Ji-Yung was young, she and her sister thought educational centers were for dumb students who are really poor at studying. She said, “We didn’t go to educational centers because we thought such places were for students who were not good. My sister and I did not understand those students who went to my mother’s educational

center” (interview, June 10, 2011).

Even at the time when we had the interview, Kim Ji-Yung’s mother was involved in Kim Ji-Yung’s sister’s children’s education placing high value on learning and growing. According to Kim Ji-Yung, her sister did not have time to take care of her children or to be involved in their education because she was a busy medical doctor. She predicted that her sister will have to learn a lot about parenting when she goes abroad to the US as an exchange doctor, without her mother’s assistance. As her mother put so much emphasis on academic learning rather than working around the house, she and her sister found themselves not fully capable of being mothers and wives. When I asked about her father’s involvement in her education, she had nothing much to say. She said, “He didn’t do much. You know each family has its story. My father was not a happy person because his brother died so young” (interview, June 10, 2011).

I categorized Kim Ji-Yung as a high-demand mother not only because of my friend’s remark of her that she was highly involved in her children’s shadow education, but also for her eagerness to have her daughters learn English as well as art and music. She showed great enthusiasm to send her daughters abroad while her sister will be in the US. She asked me many questions about learning English and study abroad in the US, such as, ‘How can I best help children to acquire English as a second language?’, ‘How important is learning English grammar for young children like mine?’, and ‘How can my children enroll in American private education system just for a year or two?’ (casual conversations, May 13, 2011). Unlike Jin Jang-Mi and Kang Yu-Kyung, the middle-class high demand mothers described previously, working-mother Kim Yu-Kyung has her own reason to send her children to

shadow education which she described as '*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*', putting them in the loop of education centers. As a full-time working mother, she has to send her children to educational centers of some sort, for subjects such as piano and English, so that she has time to do administrative work at school. All the three mothers above, however, showed their emotional conflict over purchasing and supporting their children's shadow education: Jin Jang-Mi's worry about the future academic stress for her young children, Kang Yu-Kyung's emotional conflict with her son over shadow education, and Kim Ji-Yung's uncertainty over shadow education for English emersion program. In the following case, you will see a confident mother with a decision of sending her son to the USA for early study abroad.

Case 4—Upper-middle-class, Medium-demand Mother of Older Children, Choi Sun-Ja

Having a couple of years off from schooling wouldn't hurt my son as he can resume when he becomes clearer with what he wants to achieve in his life.
(interview, June 23, 2011)

Choi Sun-Ja is the most relaxed participant mother who was free from her children's school performance. In fact, she was a student herself, a freshman taking my College English course in Spring 2011. After the semester, she approached me to consult about her English study. Two weeks after the completion of our course, she called me and asked if she should retake the course. We arranged a lunch to talk and met the next day. To get to her favorite restaurant in a coastal area of Masan city, she drove a black sedan in which I sat comfortably in the passenger seat. After a half-hour drive, we arrived at a restaurant that looked like a traditional Korean house. We took off our shoes to enter a room, and sat on the ground with a wide, flat wooden table in between us. Instead of discussing her grade, she started to share her life story, how she became a non-traditional adult student (*myun-hak-do*) and how much

she wanted to become fluent in English. At the end, she told me that she wanted to learn English so she could go to the US for her son's education. During our first meeting, her thirteen-year-old son was in the process of applying for early study abroad (*jo-gi-yu-hark*) in the US secondary education system.

Choi Sun-Ja appeared to be more 'relaxed' than the previous high-demand mothers because she did not care as much about her children's grades and ranks in the mainstream education system. She rather talked more about her children's passion and practical use of learned knowledge. The year before she became a university student, she and her daughter traveled around Korea because her daughter wanted to major in photography. As they traveled, her daughter practiced taking photos of beautiful landscapes and scenes in different places in Korea. Similar to Kim Ji-Yung, Choi Sun-Ja was interested in helping her children find what they would like to do in the future; in other words, to find out their potential career paths (*jeok-sung*). Choi Sun-Ja distinguished her family from other middle class families, saying that her daughter knows that 'her family is different' from other ordinary families. Her daughter often drove an expensive car to Seoul when she was planning to study photography there. Her daughter, however, failed to get into the particular university famous for the photography major and declared that she did not know what she wanted to do. Choi Sun-Ja said it was fine for her to take time off to figure out what she wanted to do, because her family was able to support her. In 2011, she and her daughter started their studies in Food Science and Psychology, respectively. Choi Sun-Ja chose her major because she has a dream of becoming a vegetable sommelier, an expert of vegetables from growing to cooking. Her daughter was majoring in Psychology 'just until she figures out' what she wants to major in when she studies abroad in the near future.

Choi Sun-Ja puts her efforts into creating an ‘educational environment’ for her children in a unique way. For example, she arranged a home-stay with an old Korean couple living in the United States, for her son to study abroad in the US at an early age. She said she was satisfied with the arrangement because the neighborhood itself was very academic. It is a college town where most neighbors’ occupations are related to education, like teachers and professors. Even though her son was interested in vehicle designs, and not in academic field, she seemed to find comfort in being able to make decisions like this for her son. In comparison to educational opportunities in Korea, she said that her son would be able to share his designs in the US more than in Korea. Her understanding was that it is hard to share an individual’s ideas or designs in Korea, as compared to the US, where the society is more open to new designs of individuals.

She was happy with her family’s decision for her son because supporting his education abroad was ‘worthy for a parent from a small village like her’. She talked about her friend from the village and how they both agreed, “What can we, as people from a village, expect more than having our children do well?” (casual conversation, October 27, 2011). Her friend from the village studied abroad in one of the most prestigious universities in the US and married a Korean woman who studied in the UK. They are now founders of private schools in Korea and inform Choi Sun-Ja of educational trends. When she made educational decisions, like sending her son abroad, she not only discussed it with her friends who have related experiences, but she also consulted with a fortuneteller. The fortuneteller works at a university and teaches Philosophy. Choi Sun-Ja believed in her destiny (*sa-ju-pal-ja*), as predicated by her birth time, date, and year, which the fortuneteller explained based on his statistical analysis of Zodiac signs. According to her destiny, she was born with

richness and would earn more money when she starts her career. The fortuneteller even said that her husband's business success was because of her good fortune and their fortune would increase when she starts her own work as a vegetable sommelier in the near future. In her children's Zodiac, there are potential chances to succeed when they go abroad. Even though her son did not do well academically in Korean schools, he could do better abroad where things are more open and competitive. For her daughter, she would meet her husband abroad and he would help her succeed there. Believing in those Zodiac sign interpretations, Choi Sun-Ja seemed content and hopeful.

In the past, Choi Sun-Ja was a full-time stay-at-home mother for more than twenty years. She had been a full supporter of her husband and children, taking care of their diet and making sure all of their other needs were met. She said that she had been keeping herself busy mainly with the following three tasks, "keeping harmony with in-laws (*ga-jok-hwa-hap*)", "assisting her husband (*nam-pon-nae-jo*)", and "educating her children (*ja-nyeo-gyo-yuk*)" (interview, June 23, 2011). Her morning duty was to prepare a meal for her husband who eats at 6:30 am every day. She described her husband's character as a sword, always punctual, which made her punctual as well. He worked from 7 to 10 am, met people for lunch, worked out at 4 pm, and went to learn English in the evening. When they first met at work, she came to like her husband for wearing ironed pants with creases and studying a second language after work. Right after their wedding, she was enrolled in a correspondence college (*tong-shin-dae-hak*), but she stopped the program with her first child's birth. She dreamed of going to college when the child became of age to go to college. In 2011, it became true.

Choi Sun-Ja had neither positive nor negative thoughts about shadow education. She hired her son's tutors from educational centers (*hakwon*) who are known as experts in their fields. Those tutors were expected to help her son with English and other academic subjects. On a regular day, she chauffeured her son around to the tutors because he was not enrolled in school at that time. The purpose of tutoring was different from Kang Yu-Kyung's son's reason. Kang Yu-Kyung mentioned that her high-achieving son wanted to keep his tutors not because he did not know how to study alone, but because he (or, actually, Kang Yu-Kyung) would feel anxious without their assistance. According to Choi Sun-Ja, however, tutoring was for her son to stay engaged in academic work as he did not attend mainstream school but had an individualized plan for his early study abroad. Choi Sun-Ja's son's tutoring was specially designed to help him with English language proficiency and other subjects so that he could get into a private middle school in the US.

Like the mothers above, each story and motive for their children's shadow education varies based on life experiences, perceptions of education and success in the Korean society, as well as SES situations. In the following case, you will see two mothers' stories of why they hold critical viewpoints about shadow education. In particular, Jung Soon-Yung's case shows mother's emotional struggle for her child's special needs for education in the demanding society. Park Eun-Ju's case shares how shadow education can be useless when the child does not cooperate with the provider, especially when it was merely encouraged for the academic test scores at school.

Case 5& 6 –Lower-middle-class, Low-demand Mother, Jung Soon-Yung and Middle-class, Low-demand Mother, Park Eun-Ju

*A counselor told me not to think of anything academic for my daughter with ADHD. If she can have 'one' friend, that is a big success in her life (interview, May 20, 2011).
-Jung Soon-Yung*

*I tried different shadow educations, this and that, but my conclusion is the child has to have passion in order to see the [desired] result. No passion, no result! Only if he has the right mind-set, he will do it. I guess [for my son] it is because he doesn't have a purpose (interview, April 8, 2011).
-Park Eun-Ju*

In my search for low-demand mothers, I met Jung Soon-Yung through my cousin, Yong-Bum in Daegu. When I first met her, she came to Yong-Bum's house with her neighbor, Park Eun-Ju who was also recommended to me as a low demand mother by Yong-Bum. They both came in comfortable attire with their hair pulled back. Jung Soon-Yung was wearing glasses with no makeup on her face. She had fair skin and spoke softly. On our first meeting, I had to convince them to participate in my study because they said that they 'don't do much' for shadow education. I told them that was why I would like to talk to them because including mothers of low demand, like them, was essential for my study. They replied positively, with one condition: that they would have the interviews together. They seemed to be quite close to each other; they lived right next to each other and they attended the same church where Moon Jin-Sook's husband was serving as a pastor. On that first day, we had casual conversations about their children. Both of them had one son in secondary level and one daughter in elementary. Their daughters attended the same neighborhood elementary school. I noticed that they perceived shadow education negatively: shadow education was mothers' greed; education for character development (*in-sung-gyo-yuk*) should be emphasized more than academic achievement; and students' physical development and their sense of personal responsibility were negatively affected by the shadow education phenomenon.

I met with Jung Soon-Yung twice after the first meeting, one time with Park Eun-Ju, and once just with her. On the first formal interview with Jung Soon-Yung and Park Eun-Ju, they shared what kinds of shadow education they tried for their children and how all of them failed to bring desired results. In particular, Park Eun-Ju, whom I categorized as a middle-class low-demand mother, tried a variety of shadow education services including study packages (*hak-seup-ji*), tutoring (*gwa-oe*), and educational center (*hak-won*) for her son who was in high school. She learned that it was not worth it to find and provide those services because of her son's lack of passion, or 'lack of will' (*ui-ji-bu-jok*). Her conclusion was that when a child is not motivated and not focused on his/her learning, any kind of shadow education ends up ineffective. In his last year of high school, Park Eun-Ju's son was not achieving as high as expected and he did not know what he wanted to do for his future. Even when he tried private tutoring for Math and English, she was disappointed by his academic performance in school. Those tutoring services did not bring 'the results' quickly enough and his English score even dropped.

Despite her negative attitude toward shadow education, Park Eun-Ju provided her daughter with significant shadow education services, such as after-school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) for arts, educational center (*hak-won*) for piano, and study-packages (*hak-seup-ji*) for logic. Park Eun-Ju's daughter especially liked the art lessons, learning origami and drawing. Her action of enrolling her daughter in these shadow education services contradicted her negative perceptions of shadow education and her remark of it 'not doing much'. She said "they must do one or two shadow education activities anyway as it is a de facto requirement for all children these days." Jung Soon-Yung's daughter, who was a year younger than Park Eun-Ju's daughter also enjoyed the after-school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-*

su-eop) for art lessons. Jung Soon-Yung's son went to a study-room (*gong-bu-bang*) where he self-studied with an assistant and a group of other students. Jung Soon-Yung said that she was thankful that her son did not request any other shadow education and did relatively well in his middle school. I noticed that Jung Soon-Yung was not quite freely sharing her experiences that day. I decided to have separate interviews with Jung Soon-Yung and Park Eun-Ju.

It was in our third meeting when I found out about Jung Soon-Yung's daughter's Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). It was in May 2011 when the weather became warmer; we met in the basement of her church and had our last formal and private interview. I could immediately feel the warmth as I sat on the floor in a small room. As soon as I explained that I wanted to have an interview with her separately from Park Eun-Ju, for her privacy, she started to talk about her daughter. In her daughter's first school year, she received a call from the teacher saying that her daughter was not behaving, ignoring the teacher's directions. She had not thought that her daughter's talkative and out-going characteristics were associated with ADHD. However, her daughter had struggles with academic learning and completing her homework. Her daughter would get eight wrong answers out of ten questions on her spelling quiz. When she had to copy each of the wrong words five times as her homework, it took 'forever'. Jung Soon-Yung and her daughter were both stressed, not only because her daughter had to copy so many words, but also because she could not focus on her homework long enough to finish the work. When Jung Soon-Yung had another call from the teacher, she took her daughter to a psychologist whom her neighbors recommended and found out about her daughter's ADHD.

Jung Soon-Yung shared how she had been experiencing great feelings of isolation and emotional and economic burden as a result of her daughter's condition. She felt rejected when her daughter's first grade teacher did not accept her daughter's diagnosis. The teacher, in denial, uttered that 'anyone would get such diagnose in that kind of place'. Each year, she met with her daughter's teacher to discuss her daughter's diagnosis and her medications. She said, "You know this can bring prejudice against my daughter, but I decided to be open about it to receive understanding and help" (interview, May 20, 2011). During her daughter's second year, the teacher was very understanding and accommodated her daughter's needs by giving her more time to work and calling her out to have her participate in the whole group. When her daughter's third year started in 2011, she went to school to share her daughter's condition with her daughter's new teacher. Each year's visit made her feel isolated because of the fact that her daughter was 'different' from other students. Every year, she felt emotionally burdened because she had to explain to the teachers":

"Now she [my daughter] is in third grade, she has to learn multiplication and division. My head hurts more because she has to be at least in the middle of the class. I am worried about her future because she cannot live with me forever. She has to live her own life. You know, for my daughter, it takes two to three hours to learn one thing when other students learn it in half an hour. It makes me feel so exhausted when educational degree is so important in the society. I can't stop teaching my daughter. I feel tempted to just give her the right answer, but she has to know it. I can't do the work for her. I feel exhausted" (interview, May 20, 2011).

Jung Soon-Yung's testimony above illustrates her battle between her perception of maternal obligation and accepting her daughter's condition. Her daughter being left behind caused great educational burden to her. Her burden was compounded when she acknowledged the fact that conformity and academic success are greatly emphasized. In seeking support, she shared her feelings and concerns with the community of families with similar issues.

However, she found that no one could help or understand her, so at the end, she felt isolated again.

Jung Soon-Yung still seemed hopeful to help her daughter keep pace in her academic development with others, so as not to be ‘behind’. As part of this effort, she took her daughter to a speech language therapist (*eon-eo-chi-ryo*) twice a week and to special education therapy (*teuk-su-gyo-yuk*) once a week for math. Each forty-minute service cost her about \$30. The total of the services comes to be \$350 per month, and she could use a voucher of \$250 provided by the Ministry of Education each month. The voucher was significantly helpful in terms of lowering the economic burden by providing this extra educational therapy services for her daughter’s special academic needs.

Jung Soon-Young, however, mentioned that using the voucher would work better if the school paid more attention to it. Not only did she find out about the voucher service outside of the school, but she also missed the first benefit opportunity because of the inattentive school administration. She claimed that she had tried many different kinds of shadow education for her daughter, including after-school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-oep*) and study room (*gong-bu-bang*). Although the study room was not a good fit for her daughter, her daughter enjoyed the after-school program for Arts. Her counselor told her to think of a non-academic career for her daughter as she was academically way-behind already. The counselor tried to comfort Jung Soon-Young, saying that her daughter was not anti-social and that her daughter would be able to find something to do with the social capability which was a significant success for her daughter as a child with ADHD. She continued speaking softly with some quiet laughs here and there, such as after her remark

that ‘her daughter is not anti-social’.

She confessed that the level of stress was so significant so that she ‘could have caused death to her daughter’ (*ae-rul-job-da*) (interview, May 20, 2011). Even if she knew that she could not change her, she could not give up. It was hard to accept that her daughter was different and, later, she confessed that she came to hate her daughter. Her daughter’s doctor provided Jung Soon-Yung with a medical prescription to feel at ease, but she stopped taking it after few days because it did not feel right to her. She did not feel like herself on the medication. Jung Soon-Yung believed that her daughter was somewhere in the boundary. Her daughter was considered brighter and more social than other children with ADHD, while she lacked motivation and self-respect compared to ordinary children. She said “Many times, I feel like giving up on her. But when I think of her being in the society, [I can’t]...because she has to live without me, independently” (interview, May 20, 2011). Her burden was from her sense of maternal duty that she has to raise her child to be able to function in the greater society.

I classified Jung Soon-Yung in a lower-middle class because of the way she described her family background and the fact that she was a divorced single mother who recently returned to work as a nurse. Jung Soon-Yung was born in a small village in Choong-chung province, in middle-Korea. She had a working mother and her father was a farmer. When I asked her to compare her student life to the life of today’s students, she said that she did not have to study very much like today’s students. She showed pity towards today’s students ‘running the rat race (*da-ram-ji chaet-ba-qui dol-dut*). Educational centers (*hack-won*) were not common in her village and she occasionally gathered with her friends to study

for exam preparations. When there was not an exam, she stayed up late to enjoy reading novels and listening to pop music. She went to a city to attend high school and lived apart from her family. After school, she stayed at school for supplementary lessons (*bo-chung-sueop*) and self-studied with other students in the school. When she came home, she listened to music and read books as usual. After her high school, she went to nursing school and started to work right after as a nurse. To pursue her career, she had to persuade her parents to support her through the nursing school. Her family was lacking money and sold their only cow to support her; so, the Korean saying to ‘sell the cow for their children’s education’ (*sop-al-a hak-gyo bo-nae-da*) actually happened to her family. After working as a nurse for nine years, she got married and stopped working and became a stay-at-home mother. However, her marriage did not last and she recently started working again after her divorce.

Jung Soon-Yung struggled with her daughter’s ADHD, and her own desire of wanting her daughter to be like ‘normal’ students. The level of her demand for education was different than the high-demand mothers of high-achieving students, like Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) and Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3). Kang Yu-Kyung, the middle-class high-demand mother, purchased private tutoring to secure her son’s already high academic rank, and Kim Jin-Yung, the upper-middle-class high-demand mother, provided her daughters music lessons to appreciate arts and perhaps to explore their artistic talents. Jung Soon-Young’s intention for her daughter’s shadow education, such as speech therapy, was because it was recommended to treat the symptoms of ADHD, and also, possibly more so, not to leave her ‘behind’ in academic development in school. Accepting her child was necessary to help her, but it had not been easy for her. My dialogue with Jung Soon-Young about her son confirmed to me that she was a low-demand mother. She trusted her son’s decision with his

learning believing that he knows what he has to do for his study. Her son went to a study-room (*gong-bu-bang*) and achieved quite well in his middle school. She was positive and relaxed about her son's academic performance and she left her son to be in charge of his studies.

In this section, I shared the stories of mothers who do not believe shadow education may be effective for everyone. When their children struggle academically, the mothers experienced emotional struggles for not being able to equip their children with proper grades or proof of readiness in the society. In the following section, I have background stories of Min-Ji's mother and Sae-Ran's mother. I named these participants with their mothers of their daughters' names, because they both are single mothers with stronger dedication to their only daughters. Min-Ji's mother did not have good memories with Min-Ji's father; however, she adores Min-Ji and is ready to do anything to help her succeed with her study. The biggest difference between them is that Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8) is an educated professional while Min-Ji's mother's (Mother Case 7) education is limited to elementary. Min-Ji's mother was sought out to include an exceptionally low class mother.

Case 7- Lower-class, Moderate-demand Mother of an Older Child, Min-Ji's mother

I can tell you this now because all is in the past. He [Min-Ji's father] hit me so much that I forgot how to write. I know how to read, but I can't write. Min-Ji writes for me. I don't know what I would do without her. I left him and decided to raise Min-Ji the best I can. I can live for Min-Ji and am not shameful because of her (interview, August 27, 2011).

In summer 2011, I met Min-Ji's mother with the help of a social worker from a local welfare service center in Masan. The welfare center provides low-income single parents and households with no parents with food, necessities, and supplies, as well as counseling and

educational services to the children, such as tutoring and scholarships. Min-Ji's mother has been a recipient of the services for fourteen years. It was a rainy summer day when the social worker drove me to Min-Ji's house in a downtown area, *Odong-dong*, which was crowded with rundown bars and motels. After two turns in alleyways, we got to a shabby house with a grey facade and a green door. The gray facade had cracks and mold and the green paint of the door had mostly come off. On the wall, six electric meters were hanging, including those of Min-Ji and her neighbors. Min-Ji's mother came in five minutes after our arrival. She greeted us with a big smile and led us in. Wrinkles around her eyes and her big mouth smiled warmly. She was not using an umbrella and her shirt and loose pants got wet, but she did not seem to care about getting wet. Her short curly hair sticking on her face, she wiped the raindrops off her face and sat down inside the house. In the house, we sat on a wide bench that connects two small rooms and a door to a multiple-use area (bathroom/ kitchen/ dining room). The three of us sat down crowding on the bench, with a laundry rack behind us.

We sat down and talked about Min-Ji's recent behavioral change for half an hour. Min-Ji used to be indifferent to school, yet she recently became eager to learn and to do well in school. The social worker complimented her on the fact that she even bowed well, lowering her whole upper body to ninety degrees when she saw her. Both Min-Ji's mother and the social worker convinced me that Min-Ji was a newly motivated learner who wants to achieve better in school to achieve her dream of becoming a nurse. According to Min-Ji's mother, Min-Ji was born prematurely as a 5.9 pound tiny baby and easily fell sick growing up. She went to school for a week and then got hospitalized for a month. In the fifth grade, she had surgery for a tonsillectomy, but she did not get better after the surgery. Min-Ji's mother thought that Min-Ji was going to die. Min-Ji went through a second surgery and it

was only after that she did not get as sick as before. Min-Ji was a sensitive girl who would easily get hurt by classifications from her teachers, like ‘child of poor family’. Min-Ji determined to take her academic work seriously with a ‘rave’ (*ock*) because she knew she had to achieve better in order to apply for nursing schools. In her girls’ vocational high school, Min-Ji ranked in the top 100 in her school and the top six in her class. She needed to be in the top 88 in her entire school to be in the top third tier, the cap for nursing school applications. She was very close to this point.

I met Min-Ji for English tutoring about every other week for a year. Sometimes, though, we did not meet for a month for a variety of reasons, mainly conflicting schedules. I could see that she was a willing student. While she has the right attitude for studying, her difficulty in learning English was mainly due to lack of basic vocabulary and grammar. When we met for English study, Min-Ji showed her enthusiasm for high scores on tests but not so much so for the English language study itself. When there was no test, for example, she postponed our meeting saying that she did not bring books from school. She often shared with me what happened in her school. One day she shared how unlucky she felt when she was put in a ‘wrong class’ in the beginning of her second year. Her vocational girls’ high school had a track system, with one track for workforce and the other track for college preparation. Even though she worked hard in her first year, she did not score high enough for the college preparation class that she wished to get into. In her ‘wrong class’ of the workforce track, she had to learn data entering and processing instead of important subjects for the college exam such as Korean, English and math. She was filled with frustration for not knowing enough basic content in almost all academic subjects. Even though she told me that she was eager to learn, the amount of academic content she had to learn was

overwhelming. She often just memorized the pages in her textbook that would be covered in her exams, and got moderate scores. She was fearful of not getting into the third tier in the whole school because that would prevent her from applying to nursing school.

In the earlier stage of her academic life, Min-Ji tried two kinds of shadow education. Her first trial was a study-package called *Noonnoppifor* Math and English when Min-Ji was in a middle school. According to Min-Ji's mother, Min-Ji pretended to be asleep trying to avoid meeting with her study coaches. Min-Ji had no interest in it, and did terribly in her middle school, ranking 32 out of 33. When she entered high school she finally accepted the fact that she had to learn in school. Min-Ji had good fortune with English tutoring, the other kind of shadow education she had before meeting with me. She had a 'really nice male volunteer' who was an owner of an English educational center (*hack-won*) in the town. Min-Ji learned quite well from him. After him, there was a middle school student volunteer who helped Min-Ji with Math, but it did not last long. The child's mother liked Min-Ji very much, and she often took her out for dinner and movies. When I was introduced to Min-Ji, I knew that she needed to learn basic academic content and practice study skills. I gave her homework to help her build study habits; however, it was often neglected as most of her attention was on cramming for her school exams.

Min-Ji's mother confessed that she pestered the social worker to introduce tutors to Min-Ji for years. It was because of her inability to help Min-Ji learn school curriculum as she had only managed to complete elementary school. Min-Ji's mother shared how she has been poor from birth and that she has gone through many struggles in addition to not having opportunities for proper education. She was born as the youngest daughter in a family of

farmers in a village of southeast South Korea. Because her father was ill, she was expected to take care of him and work out in the field. She could hardly go to school, yet she managed to graduate from elementary school. At the age of sixteen, she ran away from the farm to the city. Min-Ji's mother's life had never been easy after that and she bore Min-Ji in her late thirties. Min-Ji was everything to her and Min-Ji's mother was willing to provide anything she could to make Min-Ji's dream of becoming a nurse come true.

I categorized Min-Ji's mother as a low-class mother as she was born poor and still lives in poverty. She receives a pension from the government because she is a single mother with hypothyroidism. She had been sick and in need of medication for eighteen years, and for this reason she was not allowed to work full-time. She received small amounts of support from several places, from \$50 to \$200. Her housing was free, and she receives a utility subsidy for her family. She said, "It only costs \$40 for our living. I don't care about what I wear and eat. The social worker teacher (*seun-sang-nim*) brings us side dishes (*ban-ghan*) every other week or so, and that is helpful" (Interview, August 27, 2011). She went to a neighborhood library to pick up reusable paper and boxes and sold them. She made \$6 or \$7 for that labor. When she had a job before, she worked in the kitchen of a snack house. She claimed that she knows how to make *nude-kimbab*, rice outside of rolls, very well.

Min-Ji's mother only had the basic necessities, food and shelter, for living. When she was able, she tried different ways of generating pocket money to save money and treat her daughter. The special treat for Min-Ji was sometimes noodles and at other times study packages, like *Noonnoppi*. However, these opportunities were limited due to her medical condition and particular circumstances. She lacked health and desirable skills. Her desire for

Min-Ji's education was no less than other mothers. I classified Min-Ji's mother as only moderate demand because of the zero expenditure on shadow education for the duration of the time I visited her home. When Min-Ji reached her second year of her vocational high school, their desperation for quality shadow education increased dramatically. She had to raise her school-exam rank, but she did not learn at the level of the academic content for those exams. In the case of Min-Ji's mother, the shadow education that she begged the social workers to provide to Min-Ji was a small seed of hope to overcome chronic poverty.

I enjoyed talking to Min-Ji's mother as she had a bright personality and a positive attitude. She confessed that she would attempt to become a comedian if she were young like Min-Ji. She made me laugh even when she was telling me stories of how Min-Ji's first surgery went wrong. Min-Ji, sitting alongside her mother, alternated between laughing and crying as her mother was telling the story. When she talked about what happened with Min-Ji's father, her voice shook with fear and anger. She told me that her life could be written in a book. Every time I visited her house, she greeted me with a smile, her strong Gyeongsang dialect, and an upbeat voice. She bowed as low as she could when she saw me off. On my last visit, she told me that she would move to a different city the following year that Min-Ji can easily commute to a two-year professional college for a nursing degree. Even though Min-Ji did not do very well on her school exams, Min-Ji's mother vowed that she would help Min-Ji make it into a college.

Case 8—Middle-class, High-demand Mother of an Older Child, Sae-Ran's mother

Each year, there are many changes in the university entrance exam. Receiving awards from art contests is critical. If mothers have such contest information, their children can be prepared according to the information. It is more likely

for those children to achieve awards if they practice their drawings accordingly
(interview, June 9, 2011).

I met Sae-Ran's mother in the university office where I worked as an English language instructor during my fieldwork. She taught Chinese language in the Office of International Education and we shared an office space for the year of 2011. Both she and I taught eight o'clock classes. She had short hair and wore different outfits and stylish shoes every day. Sae-Ran's mother not only worked for many hours teaching, but she also kept herself busy with writing research papers and grant applications. She was one of the most hard-working people in the office and had good relationships with other colleagues. She was especially close to the Japanese language teacher, Yi A-Ra. They had a special bond as they were similar in age and they both were lecturers of languages other than English. In the beginning of 2012, she became a professor of Chinese language and literature and moved to a different office.

One day in June 2011, I had a formal interview with Sae-Ran's mother. Like Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) and Min-Ji's mother (Mother Case 7), she is a single parent with a daughter in high school. Different from Min-Ji's mother who liked to encourage her daughter with positive remarks, Sae-Ran's mother complained about how critical and opinionated her only daughter was. For example, Sae-Ran's mother shared that her daughter criticized her life choices. Later, I found that the tension was related to their decision for Sae-Ran's future career development. Sae-Ran went to an education center (*hak-won*) for drawing as her shadow education, because she wanted to become an artist. Sae-Ran's mother had a strong objection to the career choice of her daughter:

“I had a fight with her because I did not want to send her to the education center for

Arts. It was a war for three months. In my mind, fine art requires a strong foundation in arts. Secondly, it is awfully difficult to make a living as an artist.... for survival... Lastly, only one who can endure loneliness can do arts. And, of course, it is costly.... Simply put!... right?!" (interview, June 9, 2011).

The war ended in favor of Sae-Ran, as she was going to the art education center Monday through Wednesday from 7 to 10 in the evening. Although Sae-Ran decided on her career path to become an artist, Sae-Ran stayed in school on Thursday and Friday evenings for academic studies. On weekends, she also went to an English education center in addition to the art education center. English was her academic weakness. Each month, Sae-Ran's mother paid \$600-700 for her daughter's education centers for fine arts and English.

As seen in Sae-Ran's shadow education schedule, her academic achievement in other subjects did not become less important when she decided she would major in fine arts. The importance of academic achievement can also be found in the way Sae-Ran's mother chose the art education center as well as in the way the center was organized and operated its curriculum. When Sae-Ran's mother searched for an educational center, she had a set of criteria that informed her decision. The first one was whether the center had a designed curriculum to teach for college entrance preparation. There was only one center that had such a curriculum, so that it was an easy decision for Sae-Ran's mother. Other criteria were reputation of the center, quality of the instructors, the level of attending students' art work, and the cost for the educational services. The center she selected had different curriculum based on which university was being targeted, and often groups were made based on the levels of students' academic achievement. It was clear that a prestigious university for an art major was Sae-Ran's aim for going to the art education center. In Korea, students decide on a certain university and then learn the required art techniques based on their goals. Academic

achievement of other subjects, such as English and math, in high school was still an important foundation to be able to major in art in university.

Sae-Ran's mother shared her opinion of shadow education as a positive, not only in that it is the easiest way to find out children's talent but also in its long-term effects in children's development. For her only daughter, she has been providing various kinds of shadow education. As an educator and a great learner herself, Sae-Ran's mother's life motto is 'educators should invest in learning' because she believes such investments manifest their good effects someday. About the shadow education that Sae-Ran had in the past, such as lessons of swimming, piano, computer, English, etc., Sae-Ran's mother was satisfied with the various shadow education services that she provided her daughter. Sae-Ran played piano that helped her nerve system development and learned swimming and basketball which helped her physical development. She went to learn computer and foreign languages and participated in educational camps. Sae-Ran's mother believes that her daughter could adapt to the Korean society better through the diverse shadow education programs. She said, "I desired to invest in my only child and money spent in her shadow education is not at all wasted" (interview, June 9, 2011). Sae-Ran's mother was very explicit in her motives for her daughter's shadow education. She had a core belief in learning and human development in all aspects. She purposefully selected the education centers for her daughter's preparation of college entrance exam. Hence, her practical goal for shadow education was to send her daughter to a prestigious university with a special talent in arts.

The mothers described above, however, showed diverse motives for their demand for shadow education. Recall that Jin Jang-Mi and Kang Yu-Kyung shared their motive as 'to

fulfill something that lacked in their lives' and to prevent 'feeling less', or 'defeated' for their children. Kang Yu-Kyung shared that she had to put her children in the 'loop of shadow education centers' until she became available after work. Choi Song-Ja's motive for purchasing private tutoring was to have her son learn what was needed for his early study abroad with a his career goal of becoming a car designer. Sending her son to the United States, with high costs, was described as 'worthy for a parent from a small village like her'. Jung Soon-Yung's concern of her daughter with ADHD was to not have her daughter 'left behind' in academic learning. Min-Ji's mother, with no economic resources, begged people in her social network for educational services to tutor her only daughter. Her motive for seeking shadow education was to help her daughter to do better at school exams. That way Min-Ji can achieve her dream job to become a nurse as a means of fighting chronic poverty.

Growing up in China, Sae-Ran's mother had a unique life experience, such as the 'Cultural Revolution', a communist movement led by Mao Zedong from 1966 to 1976. As Sae-Ran's mother was born in 1964, the Cultural Revolution was sprouting when she went to elementary school. She said that it was difficult to have books at home at that time. Although her family had had many books, they were taken away with the start of the movement. Sae-Ran's mother's parents were teachers and she had four older sisters. She was an outstanding student and she studied her schoolbooks and shared other books when her four older sisters passed them down to her. Books were rare and precious, and shadow education was not a socio-educational phenomenon as knowledge transfer was controlled by the state. According to her description, life was simple at that time and doing well in school was the best thing.

With my request to compare her school life and her daughter's, she pointed out the

imagined possibilities for her daughter's life. She said, "I can say that our mothers were protectors for us, while today's mothers are supposed to provide and suggest multiple approaches for their children to decide upon" (interview, June 9, 2011). She mentioned the possible troubles of today's mothers in this endeavor. The trouble could come when they picture what they wish for their children and try to make them fit in their imagined pictures. When the children's inclinations are not what their mothers imagined, their children suffer. Comparing her parenting style to her mother's, Sae-Ran's mother said that all of her passion and affection was focused on her only daughter. Her mother, however, never 'touched' her or her sisters except to eat and sleep. She said,

"My father was much involved in our education and his parenting was 'not touching type'. I realize that father's involvement in children's education is important, so I might be raising my daughter wrongly. For I have only one daughter and she is my everything, I adored her too much. My only regret about my own parenting is that I was too passionate for everything about her" (interview, June 9, 2011).

According to her comparison of children's lives now versus then, children nowadays live more comfortably but with more things to do. While children in old days only needed to do well in school, children these days need not only do well in school but also have their own talents and develop those talents.

Conclusion

Each mother had a particular reason for her choice of shadow education practices. The above illustration depicts multiple vignettes of individual participants with their specific background stories and motivations for shadow education pursuit. The motives of middle class mothers are found in their lived experiences as 'feeling of defeat or less' with

inadequate educational credentials for their desired professions. Mothers of lower class had motivation to eradicate the chronic poverty that she received from her family. Other mothers had their unique concerns of shadow education depending on the individual needs of their children. For example, the mother of a child with special need for learning had a motivation to keep her to be on track to prevent her daughter to be behind. Mothers of upper middle class had motivations to help their children find their own talents to further develop. There was a mother who sent her son abroad as a way to assist him to achieve his individual interest.

However, the mothers shared a set of motives and concerns which engaged them in the shadow education that practices that they deliberately chose. The first shared motive is the feeling of obligation to provide the shadow education to their children to enhance their children's academic development. This finding resonates with the notion of neo-liberal Korean society which demands and requires mothers to find and manage their children's education. The new mode of *governmentality* in this sense is that individuals feel "responsible for their own regulation and management of themselves" (Walkerdine, 2003, p. 239). Moreover, this obligation felt by the mothers is gendered in a way that they viewed themselves as the primary provider of shadow education. The feeling of obligation for managing their children's educational activities is considered as recent when the participant mothers compared their lives and their children's in a comparative manner. The following chapter delves into how mothers viewed themselves as the major players for their children's education and how different kinds of shadow education practices are preferred in the families of different socio-economic backgrounds with more details.

Chapter 5

This chapter is comprised of two parts: mothers' feeling of obligation within the roles of family members and their perceptions of diverse shadow education services. In the first section, I explore how mothers saw themselves as key persons in their children's education with an emphasis on their position in the family structure. I argue that shadow education is practiced in a gendered manner. Then, in the second section of the chapter, I examine how mothers made their decisions about many different types of shadow education services available for their children. All the different types which mothers chose to provide are described.

Gendered Shadow Education

"We see, people say 'that child's IQ is 150'. What a genius!' But that's not the point. [The point is] parental support. With no doubt! Among parents, mothers provide more [educational support]. Mothers must be well balanced in their support."

-Jin Jang-Mi (interview, May 20, 2011)

Hearing Jin Jang-Mi, I sensed she felt strong about providing her children with well-balanced educational support in educational approaches and different subjects as well as teaching her children educational etiquettes. She showed a strong sense of duty of being a mother to understand and educate her children so that they properly behave in school. During our second formal interview, she elaborated on two kinds of school behaviors of children. Her distinction was made between children with basic etiquettes for learning and children without it. Those basic etiquettes include walking quietly in the hallway, paying attention to teachers' instructions, and respecting the teacher. When she saw children with no such etiquettes at school, the first thought that came across her mind was that their mothers

did not teach them those necessary etiquettes. Cultivating a child's character and supporting educational development have been Jin Jang-Mi's full responsibility rather than a shared one with her husband. As a small-business owner, her husband's schedule was seasonal and irregular. He often missed the children's school events and because of the lack of family time together, he did not have chances to really know about their children. In their children's daily journal writing, which was often their homework in elementary school, both children wrote only one and the same sentence related to their father: "My father works outside making money". Jin Jang-Mi demanded her husband spend more time with their children and he seemed to change little by little with efforts.

The gendered responsibility of family members, such as husband and wife or parents and children, are constructed in the mothers' upbringing. Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) grew up in a family with four sons and three daughters. Her younger sister was an academically excellent student; however, there was no support for college education for daughters in the family. The common conventional belief was that if a girl could marry well after high school, it was the best thing for her. All the boys in her family were expected to continue their studies by going to college. Kang Yu-Kyung regretted that she did not go to college soon after she started her first job in Hyundai. She worked to send some money to her family. In Kang Yu-Kyung's mind, the image of her mother was 'devoted' and 'sacrificial' for the family. She found herself being like her own mother, 'being pushed down', and her husband being like her father, 'loud and fearsome'.

Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8), who emigrated from China after her graduate education in Korea, experienced the notion of 'preferring a son over a daughter' (*nam-a-*

seon-ho) as the youngest of five daughters in her family. Her parents bore her wishing to have a son. As she was born as a daughter, there was not much love for her, especially, from her mother. Sae-Ran's mother tried to please her father by doing her best in all opportunities given to her. She was an excellent student and good at sports, music and theater. The traditional viewpoint of preferring a son over a daughter was continuing to surface in families. Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) shared that her relationship with her in-laws improved significantly after giving a birth to a son, her second child. There was in-law's disappointment when she gave birth to a daughter in her husband's family, especially since her husband was the first son of his father, who was also the first son. The expectation of the *jong-ga* family, the first son of the first son, for daughter-in-law to have a son was more than of any other.

Because My Son is a Boy...

Some mother participants shared their gendered expectations for their son and daughter. Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6) has a son in a high school and a daughter in an elementary school. She shared her gendered view point of the need of more motivation to learn and excel in schooling. She shared her frustration over her son's relaxed mindset toward his academic matters and future career. Earlier, she had her son try all different kinds of shadow education, including study packages, education centers, and private tutoring. However, none of the services worked, or brought the desired results in school exams. Park Eun-Ju stated,

“Because my son is a boy, he should take the family responsibility. If he does not study, he does not have a source to make enough for his family. Even now in Korea, it is men who are expected to lead the family. I am not worried about my daughter

because she is a girl” (interview, May 20, 2011).

Park Eun-Ju wished for her son to succeed in academic learning to be more fortunate with his future job. A better job for a family leader would not be like ‘labor work’, but an ‘office job’. The biggest reason for men to have an office job was to be able to have time for leisure and family with having holidays off and paid vacations. However, her son did not have the ‘will’ (*ui-ji*) to succeed through education even though she had the wish and will to support him. Park Eun-Ju was a low demand mother as she concluded that it was not reasonable to keep investing in her unwilling son’s shadow education. When I met her in 2011, she was not providing any shadow education to her first and only son.

According to Moon Jin-Sook, whom I met through other mothers in Daegu, boys have different needs and reasons for shadow education. She has two daughters, one in high school and the other in primary elementary, and one son in intermediate elementary school. She noticed her son was more physically active and able to pay attention for shorter time compared to her daughters. To help her son to pay attention to instructions better and longer, Moon Jin-Sook provided him with piano and drum lessons. With music, she intended to have her son focus for a longer time. Her son was more out-going and enjoyed sports outside while her daughters liked to read books inside. Her first daughter had ‘endurance’ (*ggeun-gi*) and persevered on difficult academic tasks. Moon Jin-Sook believed that all of her children enjoyed music and that music especially helped her son focus better for academic learning.

In terms of other differences between boys and girls, mothers showed their concerns for girls’ safety for letting them be outside for shadow education. Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6) did not allow her daughter to take more than two programs out of her ‘after-school

curriculum' (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*). Her daughter only took one program because Park Eun-Ju did not feel comfortable having her daughter wait for another program in school.

Wandering in school without an adult watching could be unsafe for her daughter. Similarly, Yi A-Ra, a mother of three daughters who worked for the university where I worked, was concerned about her youngest daughter's safety after school when she was choosing an education center. She picked the moderate quality education center over a better quality one because of the safety issue. The education center was located on a big street within a walking distance from school, hence, considered safer for a girl to walk on. Because her youngest was a girl, her safety was more important than the access to quality shadow education.

High Expectations for High-achieving Daughters

However, young professional mothers demanded academic excellence in their daughters' academic performance. Both Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), an elementary school teacher, and Song Baek-Hwa, a team leader in an education company, were very much involved with their high-achieving girls in an elementary school. I met both of them through my friends in Changwon and they share some similar characteristics. For example, they both are working mothers and received shadow education as students themselves when growing up. Each of them has two children and they are daughters. Their girls started shadow education as early as at 3 years old and had been 'learning ahead' (*seon-haeng*) of school curricula since then. In the conversations with them, I did not hear anything mentioned differently for their daughters because they were girls. In particular, Kim Ji-Yung, who was 38 years old when I met her, only had one sister in her family and she and her sister exceeded in school and secured jobs as school teacher and a medical doctor with their

mother's heavy emphasis on school learning. Song Baek-Hwa, who was 40 years old at the time when we met, was from a family with one sister and one brother. She received diverse kinds of shadow education, had learning moments with her intelligent grandfather, and displayed the strongest desire for self-improvement.

While the mothers described above pointed out the different expectations for boys and girls, Yi A-Ra, a mother of three daughters, shared how she treated her same sex children differently based on their characters and inclinations. I met her at my work and we exchanged casual conversations throughout my fieldwork and I always thought she was very much logical when explaining her approaches to support her daughters' learning. One thing that amazed me was how she believed that all of her daughters were different with their own unique inclinations and characteristics. She took her responsibility seriously to create the right environment for each of her daughters rather than expecting the same from them. She picked different schools for her daughters, a small school for her low-achieving youngest daughter and a big school for her competitive high-achieving second daughter; and she provided different kinds of shadow education to her daughters, such as arts and ballet for her youngest daughter and private tutoring for her second daughter. In particular, she wanted to protect her low-achieving youngest daughter's self-esteem by avoiding a big school where everything may be decided based on students' academic records.

In contrast, Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) treated her boys in the same manner. Kang Yu-Kyung had two boys who were very different, one academically pre-occupied and the other who were more engaged in sports and wanted to become a professional baseball player. Kang Yu-Kyung, however, expected the same from them and provided the same

shadow education, private tutoring for math and English. Her belief was that educational learning is the basis of all endeavors, no matter what interests or jobs one will have later. This belief of hers was impressed upon her children that they must be a good student no matter what. It is, perhaps, related to the earlier section of ‘because my son is a boy’ where Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6) indicated stronger academic expectations for her son over her daughter. In addition, Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) is one of the highest demanding mother participants in the study. She was the most dedicated in her first son’s child development and education. As illustrated in the previous chapter, she had a critical and eye-opening moment of realization of the fact that her high-achieving son was taking shadow education just to please her. Although she decided not to be directly involved in his school learning since then, her high expectation for both of her sons did not decrease. According to her logic, educational attainment is a base of all future endeavors for her sons, no matter what!

Shadow Education as a ‘Mothers’ Call’

By interacting more with the mother participants, as a particular Korean social custom, mothers were expected to be more enthusiastic and stricter on their children while fathers were more laid-back and generous when it came to their children. As shown in Figure 3: Diagram of Family Interactions, mothers often played the mediator role between their children and other family members including, father and extended family members. They were more directly and enthusiastically interacting with their children and received feedbacks and suggestions from other family members. Song Baek-Hwa, a full-time working mother at an educational company, differentiated her interaction and her husband’s with their

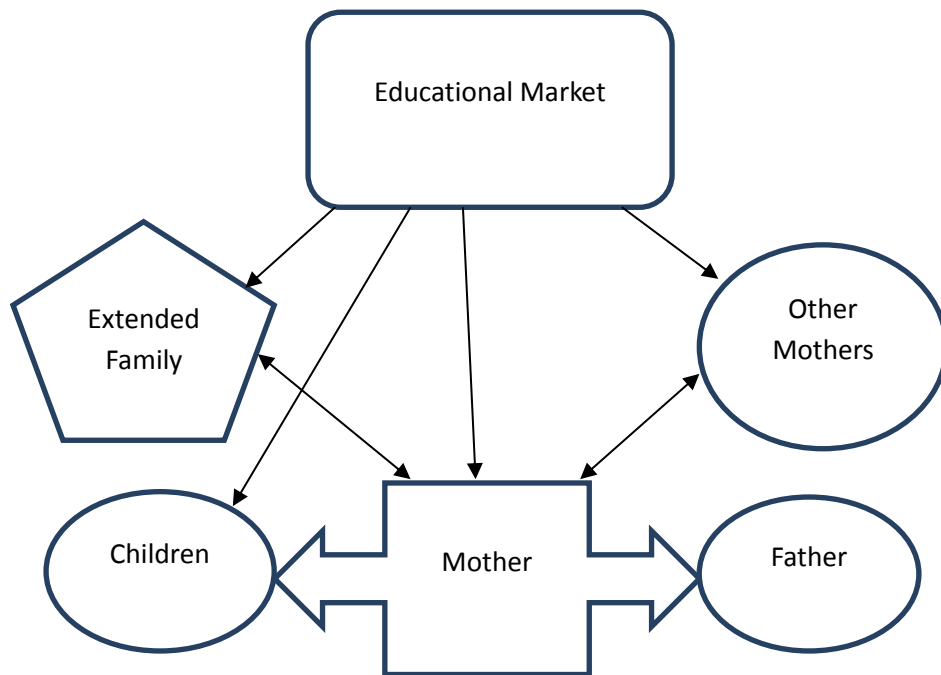


Figure 3. Diagram of Family Interactions

children. She was more engaged in disciplining and educating their children and coordinated with her mother rather than her husband for taking care of their children and educating them. Shadow education matters were also the ‘mothers’ call’. This gendered perception was also found in other mother participants’ stories. Kim Ji-Young (Mother Case 3) shared her husband’s reaction to her high demand for shadow education. They both were well-educated schoolteachers, yet Kim Ji-Young’s husband did not support her decisions related to their children’s engagement in shadow education practices. When she sent her children to education centers during exam week, her husband pointed out that their children’s schedule might have been too tight. As she received feedback from her husband, she reflected on her actions of her pursuit of shadow education for their children.

Mothers talked to their children about their school learning as well as their shadow

education opportunities. Moreover, this gendered management of children's education expanded to the upper generation. Mothers felt responsible for their children's learning and, sometimes, the participant mothers' own mothers and their sisters were involved in their children's education. For example, Song Baek-Hwa's mother was taking care of her children and Kim Ji-Yung's mother was involved in her grand children's education, especially for her busy sister who was a medical doctor. Yi A-Ran's younger sister sometimes came to greet her youngest daughter from school. One mother participant shared her experiences of learning with her father and another one with her grandfather when they were young. Song Baek-Hwa's grandfather taught her literacy and Sae-Ran's mother's father guided her and her sisters' learning when she was growing up in China. Song Baek-Hwa's memory of spending time with her grandfather was about reading newspapers and talking about the news. Sae-Ran's father was a guide especially when she and her sisters were trying or struggling.

From hearing Sae-Ran's mother and Song Baek-Hwa, girls were encouraged to academically exceed. Many mothers with daughters were as concerned and supportive for their children's academic achievement as mothers with sons. However, mothers were more protective of daughters for safety and express lower expectations for securing a job to support their future family. The dominant social expectation was that husbands would be the main breadwinner for the family and wives would be in charge of children's education. From the mothers experiences in upbringing, fathers and grandfathers expressed their support for daughters' academic success. However, mothers themselves often felt that they were obliged to sacrifice their desire for academic pursuit and support their family when resources were scarce. Each mother's experience of providing shadow education is unique and different

depending on her financial situation and each child's inclination. The following section will illustrate how mothers considered these two factors when making their decisions for their children's specific kinds of shadow education.

Classified Shadow Education

“Child centers are there to give care to children of low income families. They cannot get shadow education as their families are poor... When both parents have to work then no one can give care to the children at home... So, child center is created with that purpose, to give care to children when mothers cannot.”
-Jang Im-Bok (interview, May 21, 2011)

Above testimony captures one’s attention as to the class issues in the Korean shadow education phenomenon. While many mothers feel more responsible for their own children’s education in the neo-liberal Korean society, one with less resource may have concerns over shadow education. In this following section, I describe in detail the diverse kinds of shadow education from which the mothers have to choose. It also provides the details of the mothers’ decision-making and negotiation processes when choosing their children’s shadow education. Often their decisions were based on their financial situations and characteristics of their children. By looking at the mother participants’ hierarchical understanding of the shadow education system, I discuss the relationship between family financial capability and the perceived quality of shadow education that children receive.

Study Packages

A ‘study package’ (*hak-seup-ji*) was one of the most popular kinds of shadow education service among the participant mothers [See Table 3: Kinds of Shadow Education]. All participants had provided study package services to their young children or when their children were younger. Mothers had followed motives for purchasing diverse study packages including, ‘continuous learning’, ‘customized learning’, ‘joyful learning’, ‘to think out of the

Table 3. Kinds of Shadow Education

Kinds of shadow education	Students' education levels	Costs	Mothers' motives	Perceived challenges
Study package (<i>hakseupji</i>)	Elementary	Low	Customized, joyful, continuous learning Learn ahead To think out of the box	Requires Mothers' involvement
Education center (<i>hakwon</i>)	Elementary	Medium	Find talents Make friends Learn to adjust to the society	Forceful environment
	Secondary	Medium	Academic needs Feel a sense of accomplishment	Passive learning Chances to 'play around'
Private tutoring (<i>gwa-oe</i>)	Secondary	High	Find comfort Self-directed learning Keep up with the high ranking	Limited access to certain kinds of tutoring High costs
<i>In-Gang</i> (Internet Lectures)	Secondary	Low	Clear instructions Suggested by school teacher	
Study room (<i>Gong-bu-bang</i>)	Secondary	Low	Do homework with a helper Self-study More affordable	
After School Extra Curricula (<i>Bang-gwa-hu- su-eop</i>)	Elementary	Low	Convenient Fun for children	Limited options Schedule conflicts
Child Welfare Center (<i>A-dong center</i>)	Elementary and Secondary	Free	Day care purpose - Lack of time to be with children Difficult financial situation	Not so systematic teaching

box’, ‘to recognize alternatives’, and to develop ‘imagination skills’, as well as ‘thinking and speaking skills’. Many of the mothers accepted and supported the mainstream education system the way it was. For example, exams were highly emphasized in the Korean education system and schoolwork only gets harder as years progress. Mothers did not necessarily expect schoolteachers to be responsible for each individual student’s educational progress. Rather, they took the responsibility on themselves to make sure that their children were on the right track, at least ‘in the middle’, ‘not behind’, and preferably ‘ahead’. A study package gained popularity among the participant mothers, each with her particular motives, and it served as a starter to shadow education for most of their children.

During my field study in 2011, I asked one of my friends to introduce me to a mother who worked with her in a study package company. I met Song Baek-Hwa, a team-leader in *Noonnoppi* (‘level of eyes’) a study package line of Daegyo Corporation, one of the most well established education companies in Korea. Daegyo was founded in 1975 by Kang Yung-Jung, the current president of the company, with an educational motto of ‘customized learning’ by ‘adjusting the level of eyes’ to individual children for their learning. Study packages were accompanied with study coaching services, in that the students had regular visits of trained-teachers, usually once a week, along with workbook packages. In Kang Yung-Jung’s autobiography self-help book, *Manage Your Learning* (2010), he states

“Noonnoppi teachers are not private tutors. They do not teach subjects. Instead, they manage the process of student’s learning by assessing each student’s needs and allocate which parts to study. They are rather mentors who motivate students to learn and help them develop desirable study habits” (p. 103).

Noonnoppi study package promotes students’ management of their self-learning with

emphasis on effective study habits.

When I met with Song Baek-Hwa in spring 2011, she had been providing her two young daughters with her company's study package program since they were ten months old. Her daughters were in the intermediate level in elementary school and they went to education centers for English and piano after school, too. Her logic of providing *Noonnoppi* study package was to ensure her daughters 'continuous learning' experiences. She said,

“Learning in schools is disconnected. It is because of the exam system here. I am not against exams, but it is too emphasized. Because of that, children cannot be immersed in learning in school. I chose *Noonnoppi* study packages for learning that is connected from toddler to adult”. (interview, April 20, 2011)

Even though the study package starts with their age level, the progression of study is based on individual student's academic capability and progress. According to her observations and experiences, in schools students often learned for exams and this approach required students to learn the same contents repeatedly. This repetition only prevented students from learning something new and meaningful. After an exam, students forgot what they learned as the contents were not mentioned, or connected, in their later learning. With *Noonnoppi*, on the other hand, what students learned was the base of what they would learn next as its learning was more connected, hence 'continuous learning'.

Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6), a middle-class low-demand mother, provided her daughter in elementary school with a study package for 'essay' (*non-sul*), and an after-school curriculum for arts. When I recruited her with Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), a lower-middle-class low-demand mother, they declared that they 'did not care for shadow

education'. Yet, Park Eun-Ju had provided her son with several diverse kinds of shadow education including 'education center' (*hak-won*), 'private tutoring' (*gwa-eo*), and study packages (*hak-seup-ji*). Those services were quite disappointing, particularly for failing to bring the desired results in her son's secondary school exams; however, she had a different motive for her daughter's 'essay' study package. She did not recall the name of the study package, but she described it as below.

"It is like pulling out things from reading to discuss... like for logical essay writing. My daughter is a kid who seeks for 'exemplary correct answers' (*mo-bum-dab-an*). She is tied up in a frame for thinking. Breaking out of the box is a challenge. This shadow education seems to help my daughter to see alternatives. I thought it would be good for her to recognize alternatives... She likes it and the coaching teacher is very nice." (interview, April 8, 2011)

Park Eun-Ju utilized the study package as a tool to help her daughter to see the alternatives of the exemplary correct answers. It was because she heard that it is important to 'think outside of the box' for young children these days. The participant mothers tried to follow educational trends, like 'continuous learning' and 'think outside of the box', by providing related shadow education services, mostly study packages for young students.

Another participant mother, Moon Jin-Sook whom I met through my cousin with other mothers in Daegu, also provided the same study package shadow education services to her son and daughter in elementary school. She told me that she had provided the study package for two years. Her motives for the 'essay' (*non-sul*) study package were to help her children strengthen their imagination skills and ultimately to improve their comprehension and discussion skills. Her first motive, 'strengthening imagination skills', somewhat relates to Park Eun-Ju's motive to help her daughter 'think outside of the box' for acknowledging

alternatives besides ‘exemplary correct answers’ for problems. Moon Jin-Sook further described how her children reacted differently to the ‘essay’ study package from their related school homework. According to her observation, her children were more motivated to do their ‘essay’ study package homework than their school homework. Her first reason was the range of finding answers for the homework. While there was a limit to the range of possible answers for school homework, there was no limit for the study package. Her children felt freer to think of possible answers and discuss more freely with the study coach. Study package was more enjoyable and less burdensome because it was less restricted and more casual with only one adult. She said, “The study coach does a really good job making the discussion enjoyable. The coach asks lots of questions to pull out what children think about books. This makes the children think about the book contents, and they realize their thinking capability.”

Another related perception of study package services was shared by Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) that her children’s study package, *Homeschool*, was fun, ‘learning by playing’. This perception can be related to mothers’ understanding of the educational trend that it should be enjoyable. Jin Jang-Mi’s educational interests and concerns for her young children was how to play with them in an educational way. She said, “My daughter has done *Homeschool* with ‘Korean language and stories’ since she was three-and-a-half years old. It has been five years. At first, my motivation was to develop her thinking skills. I also could learn how to play with my child with the ‘educational tool’ (*gyo-gu*) provided.” She shared that she was excited to see how her child would react to the educational tools and how much the child would be satisfied with the services.

Most mothers in this study have provided study package services for various, and yet specific, motives to follow educational trends, such as ‘continuous learning’, ‘customized learning’, ‘thinking outside of the box’, ‘strengthening imagination and thinking skills’, and ‘learn by playing’; however, the study packages did not always satisfy all of their consumers. Some of the participant mothers stated that their experiences with study packages rendered no positive effect. Both Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) and Min-Ji’s mother (Mother Case 7) had provided *Noonnoppi* for their young daughters. Jung Soon-Yung’s distress over her daughter’s learning difficulties with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) was described in the previous chapter. She was distressed with the study package service because the study coach kept reminding her how behind her daughter was.

Another negative perception of the study package was held by Jang Im-Bok, whom I met through my cousin with other mothers in Daegu. When I first met her in March 2011, she was hesitant to participate in my study like two other low demand mothers, Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) and Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6). She seemed unsure whether she wanted to participate in my study after our first casual meeting. She had a couple weeks to think about it, and later contacted me via text message with her answer of ‘yes’. During our consecutive interviews, I found out that she had been experiencing many difficulties, including her son dropped out of school, and her husband’s accident. She said her first son used to be obedient but became out of control since his last year of middle school. With all these struggles, she found the interview with me as a time to reflect on her past.

Jang Im-bok provided her first son with *Redpen*, a study package program made by Gyowon, another educational company which is also affiliated with *Kumon* programs. The

way she started *Redpen* was to help him with school study at home as he entered higher grades in elementary school. That was the first shadow education service that she purchased for her children. Her other children, her younger son and a daughter, did not have much shadow education, either. She said that she had a 'greed to teach her own children' at home rather than sending them somewhere after school. She confessed, however, it did not work out the way she imagined. Her husband had a difficult time with his business and they had arguments over trivial things.

“The study package did not work because first, the child needs to work on it. That is 50%. I need to help the child and that is the other 50%. But we could not keep it up. ... I thought the study package would be helpful because there would be something to do every day... I thought I would only need to check his answers... I think we started too late... I did not even send him to any education centers...” (interview, April 9, 2011)

Jang Im-Bok found herself at fault when her first son dropped out of school. She blamed herself for not being able to take good care of her children. She believed that her impact was great, but she was paying attention only to my husband and she did not care for her children. She had desired to be helpful for her children's education and considered assisting with their education her responsibility. She shared her uneasiness for not being able to manage her children's education because her care, including arranging shadow education services, was considered necessary. This feeling of guilt is related to how other mothers identified their position in the family structure as the primary supporter for their children's education.

In sum, the study package was the most easily approached and utilized shadow education type amongst the participant mothers with relatively low costs; even mothers with the lowest demand had purchased it for their children. The major perceived advantage of the

service is to have ‘customized learning’ for ‘creativity and joy’. There were multiple choices for study packages in terms of subjects and company brands. Study packages were easily purchased with mothers’ positive expectations and it was also ‘taken for granted’ for young children to do well in society. High demand mothers, Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) and Song Baek-Hwa, a team-leader of a shadow education company, had reassurance of their support for their children’s shadow education when they shared that their children are ‘ahead’ of their school curricula. On the other hand, other mothers showed their distress for not being able to keep their children ‘on the right track’. Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) commented that she hoped her daughter with ADHD could be ‘at least in the middle’ to survive later in the society. Study packages were designed to proceed with individual child’s academic capability and often used for children to learn ahead of school curricular. It did not guarantee success for all students as the children were supposed to be self-motivated and learn collaboratively with an adult.

Education Centers

‘Education center’ (*hakwon*) was another popular form of shadow education amongst the participants. An Education Center is where students go to learn school subjects and other things, such as music, arts, and sports after school. Like study packages, education center services were used by mothers to ensure their children learn the school curricula well, preferably ‘ahead’ of it. In my study, this was the shadow education of choice in particular for one high demand mother, Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3). Mothers who sent their children to education centers for non-academic subjects, such as music and arts, had special intentions to help their children improve their academic skills, such as ‘developing

concentration capability' and helping them experience 'a sense of accomplishment'. Only young students went to education centers that focus on non-academic subjects because they were expected to get busier with academic work in secondary school, except in cases when a student decided to major in that non-academic subject in college. In addition, education centers were popular amongst participant mothers who work full-time, as a source for 'care-giving services' after school. Those mothers 'put their children in the loop of education centers' (*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*) until they became available for their children because they had to be at work and could not be with their children. Some mothers had negative perceptions of education centers. Those places were viewed as where only 'losers' (*jjj-ji-ri*) went to. They did not know how to study effectively and were often lower achievers; hence, they chose other 'better' shadow education services, such as private tutoring, which will be discussed in the following section.

Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), upper-middle class high-demand mother, sent her two young daughters to education centers for English and piano. Her first daughter stopped going to an education center for piano and started to go to a math education center when she started 5th grade. Both of her daughters were high-achievers in school, learning 'ahead' of school curricula for English. In the English education center, for example, her first daughter learned middle school curricula with older students. Kim Ji-Yung's passion for her children's shadow education was directed at them learning English, mostly due to her profession as an elementary school teacher. She was not only exposed to many educational theories for second language acquisition, but also found lots of academic advice for young children. She said,

“Seriously, young students must master English grammar in 4th and 5th grades because it is wrong to invest time in English grammar in 5th and 6th grade. I already came to think that way.” (interview, May 13, 2011)

This statement indicates how she felt that learning ‘ahead’ was expected in the formal education environment. As a highly involved mother, and a schoolteacher, she had experienced pressure to ensure her children were prepared for the next level of school education by ‘learning ahead’.

Another strong motivation for Kim Ji-Yung to send her daughters to education centers was rooted in not only what she heard from other mothers or other teachers, but also from observing other children. For example, as a reason for her decision to send her daughters to English education center because there was no child who was not learning English after school. The Education Center was understood as a place where young children were supposed to be. Similarly, Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), a low demand mother, stated that young students all tend to go to education centers after school. It is hard to find school-aged children running outside on the playground. They make friends in educational centers, so Jung Soon-Yung questioned where a child would find a friend if he does not go to an education center. Other low demand mothers, Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 5) and Jang Im-Bok, a mother with strong guilt for her children’s failure and low achievement, shared similar concerns. The social norm is that children these days must go to some kind of educational centers after school. Jang Im-Bok thought that almost all children go to some kind of shadow education place and it can become an important factor for students’ academic outcomes. It was perceived that there was no other better thing to do for the child and there was uneasiness if a child did not attend any education center.

Working mothers ‘put their children in the loop of education centers’ (*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*) not only because of the social expectation, but also because they needed a care giver for their young children while they were at work. Yi A-Ra, a lecturer of Japanese language at a university, arranged her youngest daughter’s after-school education centers based on the work schedules of her and her husband, who was working for the same university. She had three daughters and the youngest finished elementary school earlier than any other family members. When her youngest daughter came home after school, one of the parents was arranged to greet her at home and give her some snacks. When neither of them was available, Yi A-Ra’s sister was there to meet her at home. After snack, the youngest daughter was off to ballet education center by an arranged shuttle. When I met Yi A-Ra in June 2011, she told me that they chose math center because it was her academic weakness, but they decided to quit the math center because the child was too stressed. Yi A-Ra explained that her youngest was not a high achiever like her second daughter. Rather, she liked to play outside and work with her hands, such as crafting. In the math center, however, the teacher did not let any student go home if assigned work was not completed. Often her youngest daughter was required to remain in the center. She found out that the youngest child, in third grade, was losing hair because of the stress from math center. She and her husband decided not to send their youngest daughter to the math center; however, they had to send her somewhere because both parents had to be at the university working until late afternoon or sometimes until evening.

Some mothers expected the piano education center to provide their children with training to develop concentration skills, which were expected to result in more ideal study habits and better academic achievement. Moon Jin-Sook whom I met through my cousin

with other mothers in Daegu had a great insight of providing music shadow education for academic purposes specifically and life skills in general. Earlier in this chapter, I shared how Moon Jin-Sook assessed her children had different inclinations with distinctive characteristics based on gender. Her son, the middle child, tended to be active and less able to concentrate on one thing at a time. The reason she sent her son to education center for music was to assist him in ‘developing concentration skills’. She said, “I planted music in him because he could not concentrate on one thing. He is an active boy. He learned to feel the rhythm of music, and I assumed that he had better concentration skills with that effect” (Moon Jin-Sook, April 9, 2011). All of her children went to music center for piano at least until middle school, as it gets harder to find time in high school. Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) provided her daughter with violin lessons for a similar purpose as Moon Jin-Sook above. Jung Soon-Young has tried all kinds of things for her daughter’s ADHD related learning difficulties. Because her daughter could not concentrate, she tried violin to assist her daughter in developing concentration skills, and also had her daughter learn origami to develop concentration skills. She confessed, however, that neither worked for her daughter and she was told by a counselor to give up thinking of an academic path for her daughter.

Education centers for non-academic subjects, such as music, arts and sports were popular services for young students in elementary school, either for academic purposes, as described above, or to find their talents to further develop as a future career. Students were expected to get busier in middle school; hence, those education centers for non-academic subjects were popular for students in elementary schools. It was also considered as time to explore a child's talents or aptitude. Sae-Ran’s mother (Mother case 8) sent her daughter in high school to education centers for art and English. She had invested much in her only

daughter's personal development since her daughter was young. Shadow education services for non-academic subjects that she provided include piano, computer, and diverse kinds of sports, like biking and skiing, particularly during school breaks. At the time I met Sae-Ran's mother, she shared how her only daughter, Sae-Ran, decided to develop an art career. Sae-Ran's mother had no regret for providing shadow education for other different subjects besides arts, as they were opportunities for her to 'practice how to adjust to society'. As a result of sending Sae-Ran to diverse education centers, she came to realize what she found out her talent in arts and felt satisfied as her daughter experienced 'a sense of accomplishment'.

Overall, the education center was another most common shadow education service in which young children were expected to be engaged in to 'do worthy things', 'make friends', and 'find their talents' to develop further. However, some mothers had strongly negative perceptions of education centers, particularly for academic subjects in secondary education. One of the reasons was that a child could be easily distracted by other students there. Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) sent her first son to an education center before she switched to private tutoring. The change was requested by her son as he was bothered when distracted by other students at the education center. Her son even advised her not to send his younger brother to education center because there were many chances to play around with some 'goofy' students there. Low demand mothers mentioned that 'a child with no will to study' will only waste their time at places like education centers.

In sum, education centers were popular among mothers of young children to discover their children's talents, have them learn various academic skills, and to keep them

in a safe place after school. Various subjects were taught in education centers and English and piano seemed to be the most popular. The society as a whole expected elementary students to go to education centers and develop their own social life there including making friends. Pak Eun Ju (Mother Case 6) said, “If a young child is not sent anywhere for learning, people would question whether the parents are real parents” (April 8, 2011). This remark ties to the social norm for the importance of parental support more so than the children’s capability. Education centers, however, could be a playground for some students, and students in secondary school, like Kang Yu-Kyung’s (Mother Case 2) first son, are aware of abundant chances to play around there. If a child does not have such awareness and a strong will for his learning, education centers for academic purposes may become a waste of time and money. Students who want to learn in education centers might require more discipline to be academically successful. Easier ways to focus on academic learning were private tutoring, In-Gang, and study room, which I will discuss next.

Private Tutoring, Internet Lectures (*In-Gang*), and Study Room

Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2)’s first son was having private tutoring services even though he was the top student in his class. He had tutors for English and math twice a week for each subject. Her first son, Dong-Hyun, did not stay in school for mandatory ‘supplementary lessons’ (*bo-chung-su-eop*) or ‘self-study’ (*ja-yul-hak-seup*). He diagnosed his own learning and worked with his tutors. He had been having tutors for school subjects for a long time since he had a critical moment with Kang Yu-Kyung in upper elementary school. The moment was when Dong-Hyun told her that he kept seeing his mother’s face on an exam paper and he got a wrong answer. He later confessed that he participated in shadow

education just to please her and not for his enjoyment. Ever since then, Kang Yu-Kyung decided not to be involved in his school learning, but hired professional tutors instead. In the meantime, Dong-Hyun went to education centers, but he was easily disturbed there. Since the beginning of Dong Hyun's secondary education, both mother and son counseled with his tutors and fully trusted the tutors' assessments and guidelines.

Finding the right tutors took effort for Kang Yu-Kyung. She mainly used her network with other mothers who hired tutors for their children in the same grade level as Dong-Hyun. She found that tutors with high reputation are not only expensive, but also selective of their students to keep their reputation. For example, well-known tutors would only take students who are already achieving high enough to follow their guide to get into prestigious universities. Then, what mattered after their reputation was the compatibility between the tutor and her son. She listened to Dong-Hyun's judgment of the tutor, how he liked the tutor's teaching style and professionalism. According to her, Dong-Hyun was the ultimate decision maker to stick to the tutor and follow the tutor's guide or to have Kang Yu-Kyung look for another.

Recently, Dong-Hyun diagnosed his learning difficulty with a math concept, and asked Kang Yu-Kyung to help him purchase some of the related 'internet lectures' (*In-Gang*). In-Gang was suggested by his schoolteacher for extra assistance for his learning of math. Those lectures could be purchased with less money on-line usually supported by education companies or education centers. Some of the famous lecturers are referred as 'star lecturers' often in a big education center with purposes of cramming school subjects. They are famous for not only being clear about the educational concept but also charming. During

his exam period in the spring of 2011, Don-Hyun decided to cut down his tutoring hours to try one of the In-Gang services. As a result, he had satisfactory scores for Math.

Kang Yu-Kyung thought of her son's tutoring as a source of comfort in the competitive school environment. She understood that he knew how to study and concentrated well while studying. His English tutor told Kang Yu-Kyung and Dong-Hyun that he was good on his own, but they decided to continue having the tutor in order 'not to feel insecure'. Kang Yu-Kyung found Dong-Hyun listening to music or playing computer games when he had a break. She was generous and indulgent toward Dong-Hyun because 'he is a kid who can be that way'. She shared that Dong-Hyun felt 'constant academic pressure', saying that he was already burdened with the next exam result as soon as he had finished one exam. Dong-Hyun did not have a specific career goal or dream to achieve. When I met Kang Yu-Kyung in 2011, Dong-Hyun was in his second year of high school. They were figuring out what he wanted to study and in what university. In our final interview, she told me that Dong-Hyun did not prefer going to a university in Seoul, but rather wished to stay close to his family. K University, the most prestigious public university in Daegu, was Dong-Hyun's aim.

Yi A-Ra, the Japanese language lecturer at the university, did not send her second daughter to education centers because she believed in 'self-directed learning'. Her second daughter, a high-achieving student who ranked 6th in one of the biggest middle schools in Changwon, was the type of child who was not used to 'cramming education' in education centers where 'passive learning' took place. Her second daughter came home around 7:30 pm after her small-group private tutoring (*gwa-oe*) for math and English, two and three days

a week respectively. In the small group, there were one or two other students at the same academic level as her. After the tutoring, the daughter ate dinner and rested for a while before she did her own study in her room. She was the kind of kid who knew how to manage her study on her own. Although she was doing well in school, Yi A-Ra showed concern over her second daughter's perfectionist personality. She was highly competitive and occasionally cried over her mistakes on school exams.

Besides Kang Yu-Kyung and Yi A-Ra, private tutoring was used by Choi Sun-Ja (Mother Case 4), an upper-middle class moderate-demand mother. Choi Sun-Ja's desire for purchasing tutoring services for her son was to help him prepare for his early study abroad (*jo-gi-yu-hak*). The tutors were professional lecturers who worked in education centers for academic subjects. They taught various subjects based on Choi Sun-Ja's son's academic needs. He had withdrawn himself from a mainstream school, so he had private tutoring during the day when other students were in schools. Choi Sun-Ja chauffeured him around to multiple tutors and provided other needs, such as food and study materials. In summer 2011, when I met with Choi Sun-Ja, her daughter was abroad learning English in the Philippines. She had planned to send both of her children abroad for education, as it is an 'admirable thing' to do for 'a parent like her who grew up in a village'²². Differently from Yi A-Ra and Kang Yu-Kyung, Choi Sun-Ja was much freer from the mainstream school and its exam system. Her way of getting around the system was to send her children abroad for education.

Private tutoring was used among upper-middle/middle class mothers for their children in secondary school. Their children were not necessarily low achievers, but the

²²The following chapter will discuss how mothers perceived diverse space and educational opportunities.

opposite. Tutoring was used for ‘self-directed learning’ that contrasts with ‘cramming education’ which the mothers assumed in education centers. Tutors were found and evaluated by mothers and their children. Shared information through word-of-mouth recommendation was the main source for Kang Yu-Kyung’s tutor-hunting process. Professional tutors were selective of their tutees. They examined potential tutees’ exam scores and decided whether to take the tutoring request with specific university names and majors. They could keep their reputation only if their tutees actually secured their admissions to the requested university. Lecturers and/or teachers in education centers work as tutors. Some of them were independent tutors who work independently to tutor individual students. Some of them were popular enough to make lecturing videos and become a ‘star lecturer’ for their clarity and charm.

A family’s financial status was important for choosing tutoring out of all shadow education services. Although private tutoring was desired by many, it was not an option for all of them due to their financial constraints. A lower-middle class mother, Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) sent her middle-school-aged son, to a study-room (*gong-bu-bang*) where children did their schoolwork with a helper. In a small group, her son did his homework and self-studied there. He could ask questions to the helper. Jung Soon-Yung said that she was grateful that her son was doing pretty well in school and not asking for more shadow education, because her financial situation would not have been able to accommodate private tutoring.

Moon Jin-Sook, a lower-middle class moderate-demand mother, thought private tutoring could be beneficial for her children. It would be easier for the children if tutors

come to them because children are supposedly busy these days. Children can concentrate better and learn better with one-on-one interaction with tutors. For Moon Jin-Sook, both education centers and private tutoring were too expensive. Her alternative choices were after school curricular (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) or child center (*A-dong center*) run by public organizations for people in need who are less fortunate economically.

After School Curriculum and Child Center

After school curriculum (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) was as common as education centers and also popular exclusively among younger students of less affluent families. After school curricular services were provided in school for both academic and non-academic subjects such as English, computer, science, violin, and origami. They were taught by schoolteachers and professionals after school hours and they were less expensive than education centers. It was a new system initiated by the government of Korea, with the intention to curb a family's expenditure on shadow education. When children had after school curricular, mothers had less responsibility and pressure to look for shadow education opportunities out in the private sector. It gained popularity particularly amongst families with less financial affluence or less time. The daughters of Kim Ji Yung (Mother Case 3), upper-middle class working mother, received various kinds of after school curricular in school, too. Her children went to the school where she taught. She had them come over to her classroom for snack and then they were off to other classrooms for after school curricular. It was convenient for them and they were sent to education centers to keep up with other subjects as well.

Low demand mothers, like Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) and Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case6) as well as Jang Im-bok, lower-middle class mother with great guilt,

purchased after school curricular programs for their daughters in elementary school. Their daughters enjoyed after school curricular for art so they purchased the art after school curricular. Moon Jin-Sook's children freely chose after school curricular. Moon Jin-Sook, a moderate demand mother, found her children enjoying after-school curricular programs more than the piano education center because the children made their own choices. The school programs kept changing and introducing new subjects, and the children liked trying diverse programs. Jang Im-Bok's young daughter also stayed in school for after school curricular. For her, it was the best kind of shadow education, because she 'trusts school'. Jang Im-Bok did not try many other shadow education services like some other participants, such as Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2), Kim Ji Yung (Mother Case 3), Yi A-Ra and Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8). Jang Im-Bok's second son, in particular, had not received any shadow education. With her difficult financial situation and lack of time to be with her children, Jang Im-Bok had to rely on governmental services such as Child center (*A-dong center*) for her three children.

Child center (*A-dong center*) was used by Moon Jin-Sook and Jang Im-Bok, two of the lower-middle class participant mothers. Moon Jin-Sook's young children went to a child center after their after school curricular at school, in addition to their study package at home and piano education center. According to Moon Jin-Sook, child centers were established for children of low-income families and they received free child-care and education services. Students of diverse ages were found in child centers and they interacted with volunteers and other children there. They had volunteer teachers for three subjects, Korean, math and English. According to Jang Im-Bok, their teaching could not be so systematic, different from other shadow education services, such as after school curricular and education centers. It was

not necessarily programmed or carefully tailored to the individual student's needs. In the child center where Jang Im-Bok's children went, there were more subjects, such as piano, discussion, Chinese, math, Korean, and English. Jang Im-Bok's daughter stayed in the child center the longest, from when she was finished with her school until her mother became available from work. She said,

“Child centers are there to give care to children of low income families. They cannot get shadow education as their families are poor... When both parents have to work then no one can give care to the children at home... So, child center is created with that purpose, to give care to children when mothers cannot.” (interview, May 21, 2011)

She was pleased with the center not only because her daughter could be in a safe place after school, but also she went to a picnic with the other students and volunteers there. To compare child care to after school curricular, Jang Im-Bok said that child center was more ‘family like’ while after school curricular programs was still more ‘school like’. Learning in child center may not be organized or professional because the main purpose was to provide ‘care services’ rather than ‘education services’. Finally, Jang Im-Bok also says that child center is ‘better than not going’ anywhere, especially for people with financial constraints.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how the mother participants perceived their position as main providers of shadow education services and their understanding of the shadow education in a hierarchical manner. Their main point of view taken was as providers of shadow education

rather than as receivers of it²³. Mothers' feeling of obligation to provide shadow education can be understood as gendered practices in the cultural context of South Korean society. This finding aligns with the study of Park (2006), in which mothers viewed themselves more responsible with their children's education. On the other hand, the participant mothers' engagement in providing shadow education was not related to their educational background, like illustrated in Lett (1998)²⁴. This study confirmed that all mothers were interested in and feeling obliged to provide shadow education. In fact, mothers of higher education degrees were working mothers in this study. Mothers' engagement level in shadow education was more related to their children's academic motivation and capabilities as well as their families' economic situation. All mothers were providers of some sorts of shadow education. What deserves an attention was rather the stratified shadow education system depending on its costs and qualities. Mothers of more affluent families could purchase seemingly higher quality of shadow education services, such as private tutoring, while less affluent families could afford cheaper options such as study room or internet lecturers. Hence, understanding Korean shadow education takes the gendered and classed experiences and perspectives. The quality of different kinds of shadow education services can be further studied.

²³Some of the mothers experienced receiving shadow education services themselves growing up. Some other mothers, on the other hand, struggled to finish their compulsory education. However, their narratives in this chapter are shared as providers' point of view.

²⁴Lett (1998) noted that women of a higher class and with more education were less likely to work after marriage in Korea, so that they could be more engaged in "status-production work", such as educating their children (p. 61).

Chapter 6

This chapter compares the participant mothers' experiences with shadow education to the experiences of their children as well as the mothers' perspectives on shadow education in different regions. By analyzing the mothers' perceptions of the changes in school, shadow education, family culture, and more broadly job market in the society over time, between the two different generations, I aim to bring forth a better understanding of Korean shadow education phenomenon in a broader historical and socio-cultural framework. In the later section, I address how the mother participants viewed the different quality of education within different spaces both locally, nationally, and internationally. This comparison involved with their understanding of educational environment, mainly with the perceived levels of academic demand in different places compared.

Mothers' Perceptions of Shadow Education in Different Times

“When we were young, I remember going outside to fields and hills with other children in town. These days, however, there are no children outside by themselves. My children spend their free time for their leisure, hobbies, and sports are spent with me. When my children want to see their friends, it is usually arranged for a short time”.

-Moon Jin-Sook (interview May 20, 2011)

The participants were asked to share their observations and reflections on Korean education development and their life experiences in relation to their current purchases of shadow education services. When they were asked to compare student life after school for their generation and their children's, many said the change is great. For example, Moon Jin-Sook's testimony above is about the change of parental role and children's after school life in general. According to her, when the mother participants were growing up, their parents did

not necessarily make time for their children after school. These days, however, parents are supposed to spend more time with their children not only time for their education's learning but also for their leisure. Therefore, children nowadays have less free time being outside with their friends.

Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) also compared her life as a student to her children's life at the present moment. While growing up, her parents provided necessary things, but did not necessarily 'watch' her and her brother's school learning. She compared her after-school life to her children's and said,

“We did not study as much as kids nowadays. There was hardly any student who went to education centers. Now, all children go to education centers. If not, they have no friends. It is pitiful that they need to be studying all the time. 24 hours is not enough 'going on and on' 'like a running squirrel on a tread wheel'” (interview, May 20, 2011).

Jung Soon-Yung was born in a family of two children in a small village in Choong-chung province, in the mid-west of Korea, and the village did not have enough secondary schools so she went to a middle school where she took a bus for more than an hour every day. In her school life, absolute authority was given to the school. The vice principal of the school was so strict like 'the Japanese style' during colonization. She often arrived at the school later than 7 am even though she took the very first bus. For the vice principal being persistent to have all students arrive at school before 7 am, one of the parents called the bus company and had the first bus come earlier, at 6 am. The prevalent mentality of the school was to 'make it happen' and 'you can do it.' She went to a bigger town to attend a high school later and lived apart from her family. When she was in high school, she enjoyed literature and popular songs after school. In contrast to the strict environment in her middle school, her high school life

was freer, with both boys and girls present in classrooms and no more school uniforms.

On a similar note, Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8) mentioned how children these days have more to do when compared to her childhood experience. According to her comparison, Children currently may be happier in terms of having more materials and options available to them. However, they have less free time with more pressure with more things to do. She said, "When I was little, the only thing that mattered was how good you were at studying. Life was not so complicated (interview, June 9, 2011)." For parents, especially mothers who are more involved in their children's education, there are more to consider for their children's free time after school. It became true when the school curriculum is also changed to be more difficult. With increased availability of educational materials and options, children's after school life became pre-occupied with shadow education so that their free time is filled with educational activities. These activities are not only for academic learning, but also for their hobbies and leisure with structures. Hence, the generational difference in students' after school life is that children these days have structured ways of spending their time with schedules of activities led by their parents, usually by their mothers, while children in old days were free to be outside on their own and their peers without their mothers' interference or guide.

One exception mother was Song Baek-Hwa who received diverse shadow education services herself as a child when growing up. She was born in an extended family with her parents and grandparents in Tong-Yung, a neighboring city of Changwon. As a first child of three children, she had ample chances to learn different things, including ballet and piano, when she was in elementary school. She felt her life was special with abundant learning

opportunities through shadow education. Her educated grandfather studied in Japan and spent much time with her, teaching her literature. Once, she remembered that she had a tutor for poetry. When she came home from school, her mother was always home, and she went several places for extra curricula activities. From secondary school, however, she remained in her school for self-study hours after school and received no shadow education because shadow education for academic purposes was restricted by law.

Different Ways of Mothers' Involvement

Another comparison was the different level of care and involvement of mothers in their children's education between the generation of mother and their participant children. For having a fewer number of children these days, a mother can pay more attention to her child. Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8) was a great example of the different level of care of a mother in different generations. She was the youngest daughter of four children in her family when she was born in China. When growing up, her mother was a quiet person who did not display her care for the daughters' academic achievements to others. Sae-Ran's mother, however, found herself pre-occupied with her only daughter's academic development. According to her comparison, her mother was 'reserved', while she was 'open' for her child's development. She reflected that her care for her only daughter 'too much'. According to her evaluation, she was too involved and too enthusiastic. She said "Now looking back, I lacked much when it came to raising my daughter. As an educator, I achieved as hard as I worked. But for my child..., I put too much passion with too much care. So that came to be a lack (interview, June 9, 2011)." As the number of children per family decreased, mothers became more involved in their child's after school life. For the older generation,

mothering was ‘watching their children from behind’, while mothering for the new generation ‘suggesting ways to their children in front’.

In a similar note, Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), a high demand upper-middle class mother, reflected on how pre-occupied and forceful she was with her children’s every move for being involved so much. For example, it made her mad when she found out that her children did not drink their milk that she packed for their workout session. She realized that her children were sweating, and her disappointment grew more. In her opinion, it would have been good if they drank milk during their workout session. When they came home, it became too late for milk because it was almost dinner time. Kim Ji-Yung said that she was too involved with every move of their children. A real problem she observed was that her older daughter’s incapability of sharing her own opinion. She said,

“My daughter is really good at finding right answers. She is great at English language dictations. However, the trend these days is asking students’ opinions in education centers. She cannot tell her opinion. She cannot tell if she cannot find right answers in books (interview, Jun 10, 2014)”.

As being a teacher, it is very difficult not to be involved with her daughters’ education with all details. Kim Ji-Yung’s frequent interference and disapproval made her daughter incompetent in expressing her own ideas and opinions.

The generation of Kim Ji-Young’s mother had a different way to be involved in their children’s education. Rather than directly checking on how children are doing, Kim Ji-Young’s mother took an indirect ways. For example, she lived an exemplary life by being a life-long learner herself. Kim Ji-Young’s mother had elementary education only for her formal education, but eventually self-taught herself and passed qualification exams

equivalent to middle and high school learning. It was difficult for Kim Ji-Young's mother to directly checking her daughters' academic learning with limited education and experience. Kim Ji-Young, on the other hand, had professional knowledge and experience about teaching and learning with a college degree in education. As a school teacher, it is natural for her to be more directly checking on what her children are learning at the school. Also, Kim Ji-Young's mother read a lot and often shared news articles and told inspiring stories for Kim Ji-Young and her sister. Growing up, Kim Ji-Young found people's successful stories posted on refrigerator or on the wall of bathroom.

Different Levels of the Use of Shadow Education

“When I was a student, one could be a top student with her strong will to study. Now, one can do even much better with the support of shadow education. Students without shadow education support are at loss because more people have access to it. It was not like this before.”
-Jang Im-Bok (interview May 21, 2011)

Besides, the mother participants shared about the increased use of shadow education for the generation of their children these days. According to the most of the mother participants, the use of shadow education was not as common as how it is now. According to Song Baek-Hwa, the team manager of *Noonnoppi* ('level of eyes'), there were a few students who took private tutoring, but not so many went to education centers like these days. She remembered that there were certain regulations for education centers, such as restrictions on subjects taught and curfew. She also thought the students who attended education centers had to have special reasons. Otherwise, all students stayed in school for mandatory self-study session after school. Kim Ji-Young's (Mother Case 3) mother had an education center for 'repeaters' (*jae-su-seng*), who decided to take a year off to prepare for the following year

university entrance exam. She had negative thoughts regarding the students who went to those kinds of education centers: they appeared not smart knowing how to study in the first place to get into university that they desired.

The image of current education centers and shadow education services held by mothers was quite different, as examined in the previous chapter. Mothers and the whole society took it for granted to send their children to education centers after school. Their given reasons were mostly positive in various ways, such as care-giving purpose, making friends, how to enjoy learning, and enhancing development overall of a child. However, this taken for granted use of shadow education brought a concern for educational equality. Jang Im-Bok, a mother of a high school drop-out, shared her thought around the increased use of shadow education compared to her own experience as a student. In her mind, a student cannot be successful these days if there is no shadow education support. It became a norm, available to almost everyone and necessary for academic advancement. What matters for achievement is not which school you attend, how smart you are, or how much effort you put in your study, but what quality of shadow education you receive. One is not able to be the top student if you do not have adequate and high quality shadow education after school.

Because I Did Not Have Enough Opportunities...

Some other mother participants wanted to provide shadow education specifically for a subject, or subjects, that they themselves did not have an opportunity to learn. Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), the high demanding youngest participant, was a bright student who was ‘good enough’ to get into a university of education, yet she did not have as many opportunities to enjoy and appreciate music as she wanted to. Kim Ji-Yung went to education

centers for calligraphy and piano when she was in intermediate elementary school. However, she was pretty much engaged with academic studies throughout her secondary school life after that. She recently started to learn how to play and appreciate violin, but she realized that it is not easy to learn as an adult with a full time job and two young children.

Likewise, the participant mothers' youth life had effects on their desire to provide shadow education for their children. The most extreme youth experience was of Min-Ji's mother (Mother Case 7) who was the oldest and had the most limited education. She told me that her family was extremely poor and she did not study at home as she was supposed to help her family's farm work and take care of her ill father. She had not much to share in terms of comparison of how she viewed schools of the two generation; however, she shared her strong will to help her daughter with school learning because of how many struggles that she had gone through for the on-going poverty and limited capabilities in her youth. At her age 17, she ran away from her poor home to find job in a city, yet the job market was limited in the new city. At her age of 34, she had the 'bad luck' of meeting Min-Ji's father in the city. Because of his abuse, she became illiterate and dependent upon her state-provided disability and illness pension. She said, 'because I did not learn well' and 'had many struggles', she was willing to do anything if she could help Min-Ji to achieve her dream of becoming a nurse. She said,

"I became illiterate... Because of so many shocks... My memories could have been gone, too... 'because I am like this', I try to make Min-Ji become a nurse... No matter what it takes... (interview, August 27, 2011)"

While Min-Ji's mother struggled throughout her life, Min-Ji became the only hope for her.

When I met Min-Ji's mother, she was mostly pre-occupied with seeking for volunteers of

educational services for Min-Ji because of the lack of educational opportunities after school. Min-Ji becoming a nurse is the only way to overcome the chronic poverty inherited from her family.

Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) is a high demand mother of a middle class family. They shared that ‘lack of opportunities’ in their life lay at the root of their demand for shadow education. This note of lack of opportunities is similar to Min-Ji’s mother’s story above. Many mother participants felt that they had less opportunities growing up compared to the ones of their children counterpart. For example, Jin Jang-Mi thought that she did not have enough opportunities and guide after school because her mother was ill and there was no one to tell her how to spend after school time. If someone had told her what to do with a structured way, she could have done much better in her adulthood. After high school, she worked in a restaurant and later in a textile factory. After three months of working in the factory, she happened to see the salary statement in the office. She was shocked by the big gap between the salary of high-school graduates and college graduates. She quibbled over the gap as both high-school and college graduates had to pass the required exam for the job. She was told that it still could not be the same and she was advised to go to college if she was unhappy about it. She took university entrance exam and made it to two-year technical college.

“If someone had told me what to do with a structured way, it could have been better. There was no explanation of how it can be helpful. If there was, it could have been much beneficial to me... I tell my children, “I became a mother and realized this lacked in life, so if you can do this, it will be better”. I wish that is helpful for my children... it’s that... still... that was a minus in my life... (interview, August 29, 2011)”

Hearing her testimony above, Jin Jang-Mi was trying to fulfill her duties of raising her children based on knowing what was lacked in her own life experience.

Absence of My Mother...

Similar to Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1)'s story, absence of mother's presence and care in Yi A-Ra's youth was also at the root of being an involved mother. She was a Japanese language teacher in the university where I taught. In my casual conversations with her, I often found her being pre-occupied with her children's educational issues at work. She had three daughters whom she believed had all different sets of inclinations. Her first daughter was volunteering abroad in UK when I first met her in 2011. Her second daughter was one of the top students in the city's biggest middle school while her youngest was a low achiever who struggled with math. She said that her mother's absence left her an obligation of 'not to be like her irresponsible mother'. Both Yi A-Ra and Jin Jang Mi's reasoning of wanting to be responsible mothers by ensuring enough educational and structured opportunities for their children after school is related to the social expectations of mothers. Mothers are expected to be involved with their children's education.

Yi A-Ra was born in a poor family in Jin-Ju, a neighboring city of Changwon, as a second daughter with three brothers and three sisters. Her father was a civil servant and her mother was a stay-home mother taking care of her six children and mother in-law. When Yi A-Ra reached high school, her mother left home because of being poor, the burden of raising six children, and conflicts with her mother in-law. Yi A-Ra said, "I became like 'a mother' of my siblings, and I hate thinking of my high school years. I packed ten lunch boxes every morning for my older sister and four younger siblings (Yi A-Ra, June 14, 2011)." Having

cried a lot during that time, Yi A-Ra made up her mind “not to become an irresponsible mother,” like hers. She shared how easily she could get obsessed with her work and her children. Her husband told her, “You are trying to be a perfect mother because of your family experience. Look at your life. You are not spending anytime for yourself.” He advised that she would spend some time for herself when he found her over-occupied that way.

Both Yi A-Ra and Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) lacked mothers’ care and involvement in their life and education, and they both related it to their drive to be highly involved in their children’s education. The difference between Yi A-Ra and Jin Jang-Mi is, however, their working status and their demand level for shadow education. Yi A-Ra was a full time lecturer in the same university where her husband worked. She taught Japanese in evenings and on weekends. She completed her M.A degree and Ph.D. while raising her three daughters after they came back from Japan where her husband achieved a Ph.D. degree. Hence, she had been working to make up for what lacked in her life, namely educational degrees, which Jin Jang-Mi bemoaned. Jin Jang-Mi had been a stay home mother fully engaged in raising her children. Yi A-Ra has more children and her children are older than Jin Jang-Mi’s. Yi A-Ra’s three daughters were in elementary, middle, and high school, respectively. Although Yi A-Ra had been pre-occupied with her children’s education, I categorized her as a moderate demand mother because of her relaxed attitude towards her youngest daughter. Yi A-Ra said, “My youngest daughter has a different inclination from others. She is happy and out-going, but not academically talented... So, we are looking for a non-academic career path for her (interview, June 14, 2014).”

Feeling of Inferiority: Missing the Foothold for Better Life Opportunities

Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) and Song Baek-Hwa, both high demand mothers, had shown their ‘feeling of inferiority’, for not being able to attend a university or a university of their preference, which influenced them to have the strong demand for high achievement in school. Kang Yu-Kyung’s second younger son wanted to become a baseball player and she said to her son, “Without proper learning, you may have a feeling of defeat in the society. Even if you become a baseball player, learning should be a base (interview, August 30, 2011)”. When Kang Yu-Kyung was a high school student, she did not dream of attending a university. Even though she was an excellent student it was not meant for daughters in her family. Resources were reserved for the sons in her family. She was hired by Hyundai, a Korean conglomerate for automobile, construction, and retail, in one of its department stores. Even though she was hired for an office job, her first six months training rotated her in all retail shops in the department store. When she was assigned to sell sausages and clothes here and there, she found that actual work did not match with the image of work she wanted. When some of her friends came to find her at work, especially during the first year, her self-esteem was hurt as she felt a sense of inferiority for not being in a university like her friends.

Song Baek-Hwa shared a similar experience of ‘feeling of inferiority’ for not attending a university in Seoul like her friends. Song Baek-Hwa was one of the top students in school. When she was in elementary school, she was exposed to diverse after-school activities, such as poetry, piano and ballet that were purchased by her parents. In her secondary school, however, education centers for academic purposes were prohibited by law.

Some students may have some illegal tutoring at home, but all students were required to stay at school for mandatory self-study time until late night. From the second year of her high school, she was shaken by her brother's illness, leukemia, which discouraged her academic learning. His illness attracted the attention of all family members including hers. She started spending her free time on reading cartoons and watching Hong Kong movies. She said, "Suddenly, I missed the foothold for better life opportunities (interview, September 3, 2011)". When she went to one of the public four-year universities in Gyeongsang Province, she found that her life was not going in the direction she wanted to go. She had 'a feeling of inferiority' for not being able to attend universities in Seoul like her friends who were as excellent as her in school.

Self-Esteem and Expected Life Style (Academic vs. Vocational)

In a similar note, I could also find mothers' understanding of 'education and self-esteem' from interviews with Jang Im-Bok. She was born the first of three children, two daughters and a son, in Milyang, a smaller city of Gyeongsang province. She described herself as an obedient student who liked to study in school. When her family suggested her going to a vocational high school, her high ego and stubbornness made her refuse it. Although she went to an academic high school, she failed to get into a four-year university on her first attempt. She managed attending a two-year college for early child education. She said,

"Thinking back, it wasn't that I was a great student or I truly enjoyed learning in school. It was rather about 'my self-esteem'. I could not accept the fact that I was going to vocational school when other students who were as good as me were going to academic high schools... It was about keeping 'my self-esteem' and I did not dislike studying for school" (interview, May 21, 2011).

When the mother participant Jang Im-Bok was going to school, students were divided either for vocational or academic high schools in their last year of middle school. When there was no pre-determination from the students, it was decided based on the students' academic performance at school. There was a 'line' for the division. Students who were 'above' the line went to academic high schools and those 'below' to vocational ones. In this sense, even if you choose vocational school for the love of working with hands and learning practical skills, you are grouped as 'people who are below the line' in academic learning.

Academic learning was considered superior to any kinds of learning in the mother participants' youth experiences, and this perspective remains in their minds when they were making decisions for their children's shadow education services. Because the mother participants went to school where academic path was valued over vocational path, they held strong distinction between jobs that are related to those paths. Park Eun-Ju's (Mother Case 6) perceptions of two different kinds of jobs can be connected to the mothers' 'feeling of defeat' for their education and the effect of education attainment to one's 'self-esteem' development for the mothers' generation illustrated above. Park Eun-Ju hoped that her son in high school would start achieving better even if they have to provide expensive shadow education services, like private tutoring, so that he could be better off than his father. Park Eun-Ju's husband worked as meat supplier as his own business, so he did 'physically demanding labor' work. Park Eun-Ju's preference of her son's job is a 'worker in a company' that is less demanding physically, even though it may be more demanding mentally. She said,

"If one does not get education, there will be difficult jobs, like my husband's... He runs a meat supply business. He has to lift and carry around heavy chunks of meat..."

We cannot have holidays off, so we have less free time and less time for leisure... People these days want to have leisure time.... Civil workers may have such free time and time for leisure... but, not people like us... Such people with 'a job with a pen' may have headaches (mental stress), but they can have more free time (interview, May 20, 2011)."

She compared different kinds of jobs, above, 'a labor job' and 'a job with a pen'. In her eyes, 'a job with a pen' would be better for her son as it would allow him to have more free time for leisure and family. Such jobs can only be obtained with a certain level of education attainment. If one does not do well with school education, the only choice for him will be having 'a labor job' that requires physically demanding work with less leisure time.

An Inspiration Out of Spite

Studying was inspired by such social perceptions of jobs and their associated social status. The inspiration for such studying was expressed as 'out of spite', or 'anger' by both generations. In the perspective of the mothers' generation, Jin Jang Mi (Mother Case 1) made up her mind to enter a four-year university in her last year of high school. The inspiration was not from the thought of "this field of study sounds interesting, I would like to know more about it, but rather I will show you that I can get into a university! (interview, August 29, 2011)" Her two older sisters were academically excellent, and Jin Jang-Mi used to be compared to them growing up. According to her assessment, she was known for being rebellious and irritable, while her sisters were known for being academically excellent and proper. From the first year of high school, she had to hear from her teachers that her sisters were outstanding and went to so-and-so universities. She felt that she was blamed for not being able to bring up 'the family level'. Living up to such high expectations was not enjoyable for her. Once, rebellious Jin Jang-Mi lashed out at her family in a fit of a rage

saying that her family cared only for how others viewed their family. She accused her family for raising children to show off to others and for thinking that all had to go to university.

In the side of children's generation, Min-Ji was the child who was inspired to 'study out of spite' like Jin Jang-Mi. Min-Ji's mother (Mother Case 7) was the oldest participant how has been suffered extremely for on-going poverty. Min-Ji's dream of becoming a nurse was the only way out of the suffering, but Min-Ji had many academic struggles. According to the description of Min-Ji's mother, Min-Ji came home on a day of school exam extremely angry for not getting the score she had to have in order to be in the upper tier for academic classes rather than vocational. She showed her anger by hitting her chest and kicking her wall at home. When Min-Ji's mother asked her what was wrong, she heard that not knowing math well made her angry. Min-Ji was frustrated for not being able to bring up her test result as much as she would have liked to. Such strong motivation was developed for not being respected. One day, Min-Ji felt little when her teacher scolded her for buying a new uniform with such limited financial capability of her family. Min-Ji was inspired to learn so that she could become a nurse and escape from the poverty and eventually be able to help other children served by the social welfare system like herself.

Talent Development: Moving Beyond Academic Achievement

Another theme for a difference between the generations of the mothers and children are how mother participants felt obliged to develop children's talents beyond academic achievement. The biggest concern of Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3) was to find her daughters' 'aptitude' (*jeok-sung*) to further develop for their 'career path' (*jin-ro*). With this concern, she sent her young daughters to various education centers for academic subjects as

well as music and art. It was for them to be able to seek out their hidden talents and release stress and raise quality of life. Earlier, I shared how Kim Ji-Young wanted to provide shadow education for music because she realizes that it was hard to make time for learning violin as an adult herself. Beyond wanting to provide music for enriching enjoyment, she also predicted the future job market would require workers with both ‘academic excellence’ and ‘artistic sense’. In other words, academic excellence would not be enough for one’s success in the society. One has to develop his/her own talent. Hence, she encouraged her children to become exceptionally excellent in both academic and artistic fields.

This view of talent development is new as music and arts were viewed invaluable by the older generation of the mother participants. Jin Jang-Mi’s (Mother Case 1) description of her mother’s reaction to arts and music presented how the older generation was taught to view artistic fields. Jin Jang Mi was a child of four children, three daughters and a son. Her second old sister wanted to major in drawing as she was fond of art; however, her parents were strongly against her plan. Her mother, especially, was furious about the idea and made a dramatic scene in that she threatened to cut all of her second older sister’s hair if she insisted. From that moment, Jin Jang-Mi thought that art was not something that one should have considered as a path to career. Similarly, when she was recruited by a church music band as a vocalist, her mother was not pleased with the idea. Her mother declared that music was not for her as it would ‘lower the level of her family status’.

Although one values music and arts more than before, it is still devalued as a career path to a certain extent. Sae-Ran’s mother (Mother Case 8) discouraged her daughter from taking a career path in art. Her reasons were that fine art may be costly and lonely, and hard

to be a means of making a living. This negative perception of art as a career is more for a practical reason rather than status nowadays. As Sae-Ran's mother was a professor of Chinese language, it would be easier to coach her daughter how to become successful in a related field. Yet, her final decision was to let her daughter make the decision for herself and she went to an art education center in order to prepare for an admission to a university with a major in art. The way she described her daughter's dilemma was that she had to be great in academic subjects in order to get an admission from a university with an excellent programs in art. She said, "My child realizes that it is already getting hard because she has to study hard for academic subjects and develop her art skills at the same time... She has many thoughts (interview, June 9, 2011)".

In the note of what remains the same, Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) shared that there was no great difference in the school systems between the old generation and new. The process and methods of students' assessment changed, but the core did not change. Jin Jang-Mi's after school hours were different from her children's for sure. She studied with her grandmother and sister and played with her younger brother, while, by contrast, her children were occupied with shadow education managed by her. She showed how her life 'lacked educational management' from the absence of her mother's care due to illness. However, her observation of school systems for the two generations was different: "The current education system appears to be different from the old education system, but what flows underneath is the same (interview, August 29, 2011)". In her eyes, students start their education as they attend elementary school and later they enter a university. She said, "The goal for all these shadow education is to enter a good university anyways. That is the goal of mothers, isn't it? It is the unchanging stereotype that one must graduate from a great university to get a great

job (interview, August 29, 2011)”. What changed was the way students are assessed, more precisely, the university entrance exam. Still Jin Jang-Mi perceived that the connection between the great university and great job did not change.

Learning about Becoming a Mother...

Mother participants acknowledged that being a mother is an on-going learning process. For example, Moon Jin-Sook stated that being with her children brings multiple challenges as she finds herself emotionally charged. There is much more ‘mothers’ care’ (*son-gil*), not only to mention preparing children’s school materials and homework, but also for their free time for exercises and hobbies, and many more chances to talk to them including ‘nitpicking’ (*jan-so-ri*). It is not like a ‘battlefield’, but disagreement for trifling matters between mothers and children is a part of their daily life. For example, Moon Jin Sook battled with her younger daughter who does not get up early enough for school. There were quarrels among her three children and her judgment didn’t seem to be fair for all of them. According to her, being a mother can be difficult as family members often react emotionally. As children grow, they change, and so do their mothers. Mothers can only do their best to assist in the ‘process’ of their children’s learning and development, but they cannot do much for their children’s academic ‘results’. When their children do not do in school as well as expected, mothers can ‘be shocked’, but they accept it when they reach a critical point. They can only do what they can do as a parent.

Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3) shared her experience of ‘learning how to become a mother’ with a notion of regret for being obsessed with her children’s English education. Her children had been going to English education centers for a long time since they were in

kindergarten. She pushed her children to do multiple tasks such as attending English education center and also preparing for mid-term exam. She said,

“Being a parent is a learning process and, right now, I am not complete. I become more mature as I teach my children. As they reached 4th and 6th grade this year, I came across this thought. ‘If I could stand at the starting point, I would have had better presence of mind (*yo-yu*), instead of betting all on my children’s English learning (interview, May 13, 2011).”

Despite Kim Ji-Young’s substantial investment in her children’s English education, her children’s English language capabilities disappointed her. This paved the way for her regret. She once thought, “If English was a language of Korea, the children would not have to go through this (Interview, May 13, 2011)”. Kim Jin-Yung also felt sorry for pushing her children to be perfectly ready for school exams. Because she knew what things should be covered for each grade for school subjects, it was hard for her not to point out how and what to prepare when her children studied for their exams. She regretted pushing her children when they were not able to express their opinions, or preferences, because of their prematurity. She said, “Kids nowadays have to endure high competition, but I come to ask ‘this much, and like this?’ (interview, May 13, 2011)”

Another high demand mother Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) shared how imperfect she was when it came to raising her children. She had so many things to do around the house as a stay-at-home mother. She said that “it would not be enough to have ten bodies to do all (Interview, May 20, 2011)” to take care of the family. When she had a lot to do, she found herself having conflicts more frequently and more easily irritated around her children. She went to academic seminars and workshops to gain professional knowledge of child development and child rearing. There, she learned how to deal with common conflicts that

occurred between her and her children. The biggest benefit of attending those events was that they reminded her to ‘pause’ before getting irritated by her children. The ‘human side’ could be trained to become a more ‘efficient mother’ with the professional help in those seminars and workshops.

Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5) expressed the mindset of parents as “if a child tries a little more, he can do it (Jung Soon-Yung, April 8, 2011)”. Many mother participants pointed out a child’s ‘will to try’ (*ui-ji*) as the most desirable requirement for success in the society including academic achievement. The learning problem with Jung Soon-Yung’s daughter, who has ADHD, was ‘lack of motivation’. According to Jung Soon-Yung, her daughter lacked motivation to learn anything including letters and numbers.

Her daughter: “It is all right not to learn letters”

Jung Soon-Yung: “How would you find a house without knowing letters?”

Her daughter: “Why am I studying numbers?”

Jung Soon-Yung: “Only if you learn numbers, you can calculate costs when you buy things. (interview, May 20, 2011)”

Jung Soon-Yung’s burden as a single mother was to motivate her daughter to learn basic knowledge required to survive in the society. Her daughter was on the border of being ‘normal’ and ‘less’, lacking only 2% for schooling learning. Feeling isolated and depressed, Jung Soon-Yung was once on medication. She was easily upset as she struggled to accept her daughter’s condition. When those times came, “nothing could help” and I “fall down to the bottom until I rise back again (interview, May 20, 2011)”.

Normal Working Mothers

Working mothers had reflected on their struggles of balancing work and family life

in order to be like ‘a normal Korean mother’. Mothers had a created idea of how a normal Korean mother is involved in their children’s education. For example, Song Baek-Hwa, after graduating from a university with a major in German language and literature, found her first work in the education company, *Noonnoppi*. By being fully devoted to her work, she became ‘a mother who cannot raise her children’. She lived separately from her children and husband in Tong-Yong, as she had been working in Changwon. She relied on her mother to care for her children, such as providing them with food and shelter. Only on weekends, she went home to spend time with her children. The conflict was that she was raising her children in confusion. She said, “I gave birth to children to raise them with my hands and support them until they become adults, but I gave them to my mother before they became a year old (interview, April 20, 2011)”. She described her work style and ethic as putting herself ‘all in’ to her work. She titled herself as a ‘full-time working mother’ who has been ‘chased by time’. Song Baek-Hwa framed herself as ‘a normal Korean mother’ for having conflicts between work and child-rearing as well as for the amount of the shadow education services that she provided to her children. In that logic, Korean working mothers were put in a position that required them to be a ‘super mama’. Later when I met her for the second time in September 2011, she was looking for a job. After quitting *Noonnoppi*, she took a trip to Jeju Island and was planning for a second chapter in her career. Song Baek-Hwa declared that she needed some time for herself and her personal development (*ja-gi-gae-bal*), and her children remained in her mothers’ hands.

Work stress and the conflict of work and child rearing were also found in my conversation with Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3). As a school teacher in an elementary school, she often felt like she was ‘running 100 meter race’ at her work. Recently started her

work in a new school, she was considering quitting her job for the heavy workload. Her work days are scheduled for teaching and administrating ‘like an army’.

“Memorandums (*hyoi-ram*) are on-going and we are also required to survey students and parents. There are complaint calls from parents and the vice-principal monitors classrooms, all at the same time. Then, I would be supposed to become attentive to his sudden visit. No one outside of school can imagine this much work for an elementary school teacher (interview, June 10, 2011).”

According to Kim Ji-Yung, ‘good workers’ remain at school until late to work and they are single. As a married woman, Kim Jin-Yung tried to finish all the work during the school hours and that pressure often overwhelmed her. She had to check homework of twenty eight students in her class and writing comments to each student’s work took considerable amounts of time.

Another notion of being ‘a normal Korean mother’ was that average mothers provided their children with a certain amount of shadow education services. Both high and low demand mothers legitimized their purchases of shadow education saying that they were ‘not doing much’ compared to ‘other mothers’. The amount of shadow education services provided by them was either ‘just like what other normal Korean mothers provided’ or ‘much less than what normal Korean mothers provided’. Low demand mothers, like Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6) and Jang Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), showed their hesitance to participate because they thought they ‘didn’t do much’ compared to ‘other mothers’, hence not much experience of providing shadow education to share with me. High demand mother Song Baek-Hwa shared that she was doing ‘what normal Korean mothers’ were doing. Particularly, the participant mothers held what was normal based on different places, such as seen in the term ‘normal Korean mothers’. In the following section, I examine how the

mothers viewed their other mothers' involvement and shadow education uses in different places.

Mothers' Perceptions of Shadow Education in Different Places

Mother participants distinguished different level of 'a normal mother's' involvement in her child's education in different places within and outside of South Korea. Depending on where a family was, shadow education practices and its demand were perceived as different. One may assess education environment, or atmosphere by looking at how much and what kinds of shadow education is used for students' after school time. According to Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), a mother in her neighborhood in the suburb of Daegu moved to an outer part of the city in search of a more 'relaxed' educational environment. Mothers also shared that they thought 'mothers in Seoul' were even more involved and demanding than mothers in other places in Korea. For example, mothers in Daegu are not as much involved as mothers in Seoul. A couple of mothers mentioned how educational migration to a different country is understandable and even desirable due to the concerns of shadow education phenomenon. In the following section, I analyze mothers' perceptions of shadow education and education environment, or atmosphere, in comparison of the ones in different places.

Seoul Mothers verses. Mothers in Other Cities

All of the participant mothers were from cities and villages of non-capital region in various provinces (*Do*), such as Gyeongsang-Do (Southeast), Jeolla-Do (Southwest), and Choong-chung-Do (Midwest). They held a shared perception of mothers in Seoul as 'manager mothers'. Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3), shared above, found a reason to keep up with her intense involvement in her daughters' shadow education because of the perceived

image of mothers in Seoul being even more involved with greater determination. When I met Kim Ji-Yung one day in June 2011, she shared how she legitimized her doings and found comfort when conversing with her friends using ‘the image of mothers in Seoul’. She said she regretted of being a forceful mother that she made her young daughters go to English education center when they already had a lot to study for their school exams during that week. However, she was encouraged by her friends as her friends told her ‘mothers in Seoul were more determined’. She said,

“We feel sorry that our children get stressed about studying. We may feel bad... but mothers in Seoul are strong to tell their children ‘you must overcome the stress because it is all for the good of you’. They doggedly make their children work. Those mothers have different mindset from mothers here [in Changwon]. They are ‘the mothers who manage their children’s schedule’ (interview, June 10, 2011).”

In the testimony of Kim Ji-Young above, ‘the mothers who manage their children’s schedule’ refers to the ‘manager mother’ that Park So Jin (2007) depicted in her writing. Mothers reside outside of Seoul, like Kim Ji-Young, could legitimize their pursuit of shadow education as lower than the pursuit of mothers in Seoul, not given the diverse situations of social status or individual child’s needs which impact mothers’ practices of shadow education across diverse regions in South Korea.

Mother participants also viewed the quality of universities based on the different places, particularly the capital and no-capital regions, in South Korea. Students outside of Seoul may go to a university in Seoul if they are academically excellent. In a sense, there was a hierarchical way of looking at the Korean university system and the prestigious ones are in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. To name the most well-known ones, they are Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University (SKY). Two mothers with

high school students in Daegu, Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6) and Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) mentioned about the possibility of their sons getting ‘In Seoul’ for a university after high school. Park Eun-Ju’s son was not achieving as well as Park Eun-Ju hoped, as shared earlier, she thought that all the shadow education she purchased became a waste as he was not motivated. She mentioned that “The results of school exams (of my son) are not good... Anyways he is not going to do greatly to go to a university in Seoul”. Kang Yu-Kyung’s first son, on the other hand, was achieving well in school with private tutoring to keep up with his high achievement. Kang Yu-Kyung said her son would decide where to study as soon as he figured out what to study. She mentioned how it is all mothers’ ‘romance’ to send their children to Seoul for higher learning.

Inner Cities and Outer of the Cities

The participant mothers also compared education environment in different places within Daegu area, one of the research site cities in the upper part of Gyungsang Province. Amongst the group of mothers who shared the dilemma of raising children with ADHD with Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), one mother decided to transfer her third-grade child to a school in a small town, Chungdo, outer place of Deagu city. That family was from Su-Sung Gu, the central side of Daegu, known as the highest demand for shadow education in the area. The major reason for the family to move was because, in the central Daegu, the schools there mainly focused on academic learning with much homework and many quizzes. In the new elementary school in an outer part of Daegu, there were only four students in the child’s class. It was hard for the children not to be friend with each other in that kind of school environment. According to the mother’s report to Jung Soon-Young, the child was happier

and ran around outside in Chung Do and received art therapy for his ADHD after school.

Within Changwon, Yi A-Ra distinguished two different educational environments: a competitive one in the center of the city, and, a creative one in Gappo Dong, in the western outer of the city. Her competitive second daughter went to the largest middle school in central Changwon. In that school, the center of every concern was around how well a student did academically. “Even children’s personality is characterized and measured with their scores and academic ranking. If a high-achieving child misbehaves, the child will be asked, “How come? You are good at studying” (interview, June 14, 2011). Teachers in the largest school do not know their children well, more than just the students’ scores. On the other hand, her third daughter went to a small elementary school in an outer part of the city. It was Yi A-Ra’s decision to avoid a competitive environment for her youngest because she may ‘feel small’ with low academic competency. The school was about to close down with low number of student registration, but many of the mothers transferred their children from central Changwon to there, and revived the school. She said, “Those mothers have consciousness (interview, June 14, 2011)”. This small school focused on building students’ upright characters in a happy learning environment. Teachers greeted students, hugging them with smiles. There was high energy after school with physical activities such as in-line skating on the playground. Once, Yi A-Ra found her third daughter hanging upside down at a monkey bar when she went to pick her up. Her daughter exclaimed, “I can see the sky and it looks different” and she said, “Wow, what wonderful thing you found! (interview, June 14, 2011)” Her active third daughter was happy to be reassured that she was able to freely share her thoughts and findings. Yi A-Ra’s youngest child loved going to the school feeling accepted who she was and how she thought of the world regardless of her academic

achievement.

Besides mentioning ‘happy schooling’, Yi A-Ra addressed ‘experiential learning’, ‘character building’, and ‘sense development’ for young children in the elementary school in the outer-city school. If young children in primary grades are too engaged with academic learning in a central city, they do not have time to ‘experience’, ‘feel’, or fully ‘develop their five senses’. Yi A-Ra thought that ‘competitive academic learning’ took place in the central city while ‘the whole child development’ took place in the outer city. For this reason, she was against engaging primary grade children into learning school subjects after school. Especially, she disagreed with learning English before learning one’s native language. Her reason was that one’s first language skills are required to be able to utilize a second language. She compared how early Korean students started to learn English, in 1st grade, but children in Japan started to learn English later, in 5th grade. She emphasized the importance of knowing native language first because a second language can be learned later with high fluency. Yi A-Ra’s opposition to providing academic shadow education services to primary level elementary students was very different from Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3) who believed in, and practiced, ‘learning in advance’ and ‘early exposure to a second language’.

Some Things Remain the Same

While considering which place could be the best for their individual child, mothers acknowledged the rigidity of education system in South Korea. Earlier, mother participants shared how the society is changed for parental involvement in students’ after school life, however, some things remain the same. Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) was the opposite of Yi A-Ra in terms of elementary students’ shadow education. Jin Jang-Mi had the most

competitive approach for her young children's achievement and provided them with diverse shadow education services. Her competitive mindset was revealed when she shared her wish for her children to 'take the first in the rank' for not only academic studies but also for physical contests. She said, "I know I need to be patient, but I felt anxious for my children's studying when they entered school. I wanted them to do very well in school and take the first in the rank" (interview, August 29, 2011). She shared that the education system changed in the ways of academic assessment; however, the main goal for all formal and shadow education is still to enter one of the prestigious universities, such as SKY. In other words, even though there were generational differences in student life and education system, the motive for learning remains the same. The motive of Jin Jang-Mi, in this case, 'ranking and grades' for 'prestigious universities' even from very early stage of students' education. For this motive, it is 'not at all possible to avoid studying at a desk' as one 'cannot change the social custom'. Jin Jang-Mi held the traditional view point with a value of 'indirect experiences' from books rather than 'experiential learning' which Yi A-Ra shared above. Jin Jang-Mi argued that daily life learning is not enough for children if they did not gain 'indirect learning experiences from books'. She addressed the importance of her role as a mother in creating a learning environment with more books than toys. Because 'the social custom was too strong to go against', her focus on her children's development were on learning 'academic subjects' and 'learning from books' for 'grades and high ranking' to be in an advantageous position in the society.

Moving Outside of South Korea: Educational Migration

Despite her view point above, Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) showed her concern

about this high emphasis on academic learning in Korean society. She not only related this social aspect to the sufferings of today's children and their mothers, but also to the reasons for international immigration to other nations. Like in Germany, children 'may learn from nature and their experiences'. Jin Jang-Mi expressed her concerns for high emphasis on academic achievement and demand for shadow education by saying;

"I am concerned about this whole shadow education phenomenon. For mothers, it is an economic burden and, it is also about focusing on teaching more rather than on learning. I placed a big burden of nine subjects on my first child with shadow education. Yet, I wish this social aspect will change. Children should have less academic stress and mothers should have less economic burden for shadow education (interview, August 29, 2011)."

This testimony illustrates her conflicting thoughts between adhering to the prevalent social custom that focuses on academic learning and the related sufferings of children and their mothers. She concluded that "It is not possible for our children 'to learn in nature through exploring and experiencing' like we read in some books (interview, August 29, 2011)." She suddenly uttered that she could now understand people who migrate to other nations for their children's education. She heard that in other nations, there are many educational programs that allow children to learn in different ways. "If our schools and society pursue 'experiential learning' rather than 'learning from books', like 'academic things', our children may be able to 'collaborate with others' better in this 'cold-hearted society' (interview, August 29, 2011)".

As an attempt to escape from the high pressure for academic learning in Korea, some mothers did send their children to other countries. While Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) was concerned about the social aspects of Korean shadow education, Choi Sun-Ja (Mother Case 4) was working on sending her son to the United States. Choi Sun-Ja's son was going

to be enrolled in a private middle school in Philadelphia starting from the fall of 2011.

Before leaving Korea, her son was on a break from school and was tutored one-on-one by lecturers from education centers. She was more 'relaxed' about her children's education. She thought that her children could learn whenever and whatever they wanted. She was more engaged in finding her 'children's talents' than keeping track of her 'children's academic ranking'. She debunked the traditional view points of focusing on 'academic subject learning and achievement' and 'learning from books' onto which Jin Jang-Mi was holding.

Choi Sun-Ja's perception of education systems in different nations was drawn from her friends who studied abroad in the United States and United Kingdom. Believing in the high value of her personal network, she was counseled on her son's 'early study abroad' by people around her, and her husband. Choi Sun-Ja's friend was from her hometown, Namhae, a southern coastal region nearby Changwon city. Choi Sun-Ja's friend had studied abroad in the United States and his wife had studied in United Kingdom. That couple was the most inspirational factor to her son's early study abroad decision. Choi Sun-Ja and her husband counseled with a study abroad center at which her husband personally knew the director. Through discussions, Choi Sun-Ja learned about the differences in social aspects of education systems in different nations. She compared the education systems in Korea and the United States in the following manner. In Korea, it is difficult for children to learn to be creative and to freely share individual ideas or their designs in the society. Personal creativity and uniqueness is hardly accepted. Korean education lacked programs for developing creativity while the society ironically demanded it; hence, schools failed to help students to be prepared for the job market. Choi Sun-Ja's son went to the United States to 'create something from nothing' as it was her son's dream to design cars. When she shared

her concern over her son's low academic scores, she was advised not to worry as there are possibilities and opportunities for low-achieving students. She was also told that he will be prepared (to be successful) in the new school in the United States.

Another mother who sent her children abroad was Yi A-Ra and her concern was to find ways to broaden her second daughter's cognitive horizon. Yi A-Ra's second daughter was a high-achiever in a large public middle school who received private tutoring after school to keep up the high rank in the school. Her second daughter was easily distressed whenever the exam results came out to be imperfect. Yi A-Ra was concerned about her second daughter's obsession with marks and ranking and getting upset with her test results of school exams. Yi A-Ra was planning a short visit for her second daughter to England where her first daughter was volunteering abroad for a year in 2011. Yi A-Ra said,

“My second daughter lacks ability to look more broadly. My youngest daughter would try even if she does not know the answer; however, my second one does not even try if she is not sure. My second daughter should learn how different people are working for diverse jobs in a large world. That way, she will be able to choose what she can do. Changwon in Korea is such a small space in the world. I want this opportunity for her to see the world and think large (interview, June 14, 2011)”.

With substantial study abroad experience in Japan for her husband's study, Yi A-Ra extended the border of nationalities in her children's learning. She had her first daughter volunteer abroad in the year of 2011 and was going to send her to the United States as an exchange student in 2012. Her first daughter was a junior in the university where we worked. Yi A-Ra taught her second daughter not to be obsessed with school marks as she 'can learn any time' when she is motivated to do so. She wanted her daughter to realize that “An imperfect person can live well, too (interview, June 14, 2011)”: What mattered more than getting

perfect scores was ‘motivation’ and ‘will’ to overcome challenges for Yi A-Ra. She also addressed the inclinations of her children. While her second daughter was competitive in school learning, her third daughter was not at all academically competitive. She was determined to ‘do only the basic’ with her third daughter and seeking to find a non-academic career for her.

Conclusion

Examining the mother participants’ perspectives of shadow education in different times and spaces, this study finds new directions of the Korean education development. First, mothers perceived some things do not change, such as relation between prestigious universities and high-paying jobs. Better jobs are considered as the ones that allow leisure and family time. Most mothers want their children do well at school with a hope of better future for their children than their own. Secondly, mothers, however, perceived there are some social and educational changes when compared their children’s and their own experiences. Those changes include 1) more ‘structured way of spending after school hours’ for today’s children, 2) mothers ‘suggesting ways to their children in front’, 3) shadow education for almost everyone and 4) the burden of talent development on top of academic development. Lastly, most involved mothers shared their life experiences as their motivation for providing more shadow education. When mothers’ felt inadequate support at any point of their lives, they came to prevent such insufficiency in their children’s lives, such as ‘absence of mother’, ‘feeling of inferiority’ with less education, and ‘missing for footnote of better life opportunity’. Analyzing the differences and similarities of Korean shadow education, I conclude that the new directions of Korean (shadow) education are that shadow education as

a part of hidden academic requirement and added burden of talent development. Shadow education is expected as it is of all children's way of spending their after school hours. Mothers not only were expected to provide services for their children's academic support, but also to discover and develop their children's individual talents.

Mothers in Daegu and Changwon regions perceived mothers' demand for and engagement in their children's shadow education at different level. Particularly, mothers used the term 'normal Korean mothers' and 'mothers in Seoul' when conversing about the level of demand for shadow education. Many of the participant mothers thought that they were doing as much as, or less than the two mother categories above, no matter what level of demand they actually had. They shared how some mothers around them considered moving to a different region in seeking an educational environment that is less demanding academically and more open to individual ideas and creativity. Their perceived education competition and demand for shadow education higher in Seoul compared to other regions and in inner cities compared to outer areas of the cities. Educational migration to different countries was considered to escape from the high demand for shadow education in the competitiveness-driven educational environment.

Chapter 7: Summary

In Chapter Four, Five and Six, I introduced the mother participants and described their reasoning for either providing or not providing certain kinds of shadow education. The mothers' life stories as a student, a worker, a wife and a mother were illustrated with details of their daily life experiences as well as their feelings and emotions. In this chapter, I put all the illustrations together to provide a holistic picture for a better understanding of the Korean shadow education phenomenon. Throughout this chapter I reiterate mothers' stories and interpret them in a way to make meanings for the purpose of this study, to better understand shadow education from the perspectives and voices of mothers in Korea.

As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to examine mothers' experiences and perspectives of Korean shadow and mainstream education as well as its society in an effort to fill the gaps in the literature about shadow education phenomenon. The majority of the research on Korean shadow education focused on the relations between student and family characteristics, or Korean educational policies, and the expenditures on shadow education in order to explain the high demand (Lee & Shouse, 2011; Kim & Park, 2011; Byun, 2010), and it lacked the perspectives of mothers. Korean mothers' voices were not heard in the dialogue of development and education even though their socio-cultural obligation for their children's education is exceptional in the Korean context. This study answers three research questions:

- 1) What are the mothers' motives for shadow education in Deagu and Changwon in Korea?
- 2) How do the mothers make their decisions regarding their children's shadow education?
- and 3) How are the mothers' perceptions of the changes in Korean education and society reflected in their decisions?

Gender Differences

Wife and Husband

Gender roles between husband and wife were distinctive and mothers perceived educating their children as their most important responsibility. This responsibility included teaching their children school etiquette, such as ‘obeying teacher’s instruction’ and respecting others by ‘quietly walking in the hallway’ at school. Some of the participants seemed completely comfortable being in charge of their children’s education while some were more frustrated. For example, Choi Sun-Ja (Mother Case 4) who is an upper middle-class, moderate demand mother showed her relaxed attitude toward her children’s learning. Her husband made enough money to not only provide all kinds of shadow education as desired, but also to send their children abroad to the US where the learning environment is more positively competitive and open to new ideas. She seemed to enjoy being independent when it came to her children’s education, holding on to more traditional family values, such as “keeping harmony with in-laws”, “assisting her husband”, and “educating her children” (interview, June 23, 2011). On the other hand, Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1), a middle-class, high-demand mother, desired her husband to be more involved in their children’s learning, particularly for their children’s leadership development. Her frustration was that her husband prioritized friends over family and did not understand the importance of being present, instead being disengaged over their children’s development.

Sons and Daughters

Mother participants with sons had higher expectations for their sons to meet the social expectations of a man as a breadwinner. Especially, Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6), a

middle-class, low demand mother, stated that even though the society is changing to be more equal for men and women, it is expected that men would be more responsible to financially support their family. Lower expectation was found for girls especially those who were not achieving as greatly as others. For example, Park Eun-Ju was more concerned for safety when making a decision for her daughter's shadow education services. Similarly, Yi A-Ra, an upper-middle class moderate-demand mother, did not have a high expectation for her youngest daughter's academic achievement. She was more concerned for safety rather than quality of math shadow education service for the daughter. Yi A-Ra's decisions for her youngest daughter's education were more for care-giving purposes rather than academic achievement. However, she had higher expectation for her high-achieving second daughter and provided private tutoring to ensure that she is more competitive.

Academic Learning as a 'Base for All Endeavors'

Even if mothers differentiated their children based on their needs and talents, all mothers had high value of education for their children for both sons and daughters. Aligning with the notion of *education fever*, mother participants had high expectations for their children's academic learning as a 'base for all endeavors'. Even if a child wants to become an artist or a sports player for a future career, it was believed that one should have a good standing of academic performance. For example, Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) warned her second son who wants to play baseball as a profession that he still had to be excellent in academics. Hence, both of her two sons are taking math and English private tutoring services twice a week. Likewise, Sae-Ran's mother (Mother Case 8) shared how her daughter was overwhelmed by the expectations for her to be both academically and artistically excellent in order to get into the best university for arts in Korea. She showed a sense of frustration when

her daughter dropped private tutoring for math for prioritizing drawing and English.

Shadow Education as a Mothers' Call

Mothers' capabilities of gathering the right information and arranging their children's academic learning environment was emphasized, however, there was a strong 'feeling of ambivalence'. Sae-Ran's mother, particularly, shared how the success of a child depends on the mother's ability to find the right information. High demanding mothers were interested in following the trend of shadow education, such as 'continuing' and 'enjoyable' education services that became another curricular set for their young children. It was assumed that young children should be exposed to different activities and 'learning ahead' of school curriculum was still popular for young children. Mothers gained information about shadow education services through talking to their friends, neighbors, family members who have children of a similar age. However, mothers of all demand levels showed their concerns, or ambivalence, over the competitiveness of education in the Korean society.

Feeling of Ambivalence

A feeling of ambivalence was felt strongly by both high and low demanding mothers. The image of mothers who force their children to take heavy loads of shadow education was criticized with pitiful empathy for the child. Mothers believed that shadow education could be a total of waste of time and money especially when the child was not motivated. He or she could just be there physically, yet not gaining or learning anything. High demand mothers, such as Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) and Kim Ji-Young (Mother Case 3), were highly involved in their children's activities, including educational learning. Although they believed that shadow education that they provided was helpful for their

children, they had ambivalent feelings associated with shadow education. Jin Jang-Mi was worried about the competitiveness for academic achievement, which would become more severe as her young children grow older to get into the upper class of elementary school. Kim Ji-Young felt sorrow over the feeling of obligation to teach her children English at their young age. She wondered if English was the native language for Koreans, if the burden of academic learning would be any less for children in Korea.

Working Mothers' Rhetoric: The Loop of Education Centers, '*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*'

This mixed feeling of obligation as well as ambivalence resonates with the descriptions of 'educational manager mothers' in Park's (2007) ethnographic research in Seoul in 2000. Some of the working mother participants, however, had no other choices rather than to send their young children to shadow education. For working mothers, shadow education was a way to care for their children when they were absent. This use of shadow education was put in the term, '*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*', putting children in the loop of education centers after school, by Kim Ji-Yung (Mother Case 3). Professional working mothers, Yi A-Ra (Japanese language instructor) and Song Baek-Hwa (team manager at study package company), also shared the same purpose of their uses of shadow education. This use of shadow-education-as-care-giving was particularly for their children in elementary school. Typically, elementary school children needed somewhere to be until their working mothers become available for them. Those working mothers felt guilty for not being able to be with their children after school. Professional working-mother participants worked until late in the evening or even remotely in a different city.

'At Least in the Middle'

In general, all mothers shared their various emotions, such as feeling of obligation, feeling of ambivalence, and feeling of guilty, and some mothers went through more intensive emotional struggles. Jung Soon-Yung (Mother Case 5), a mother of a child with ADHD experienced great distress for the burden of educating her child. Her concern was not educating her child so that she is 'ahead' of the school curriculum, rather it was for her to be 'at least in the middle' so that her daughter would not be in a disadvantaged position. Similarly, Jang Im-Bok had struggles with her first son who was 'out of control' and became a high school drop-out. She viewed her son's dropping out of school as her fault, being not as responsible as she could have been. Her reason for the 'failure' was due to the weak relationship with her husband and an unexpected accident that caused him to be ill and sad, yet she found only herself at fault.

Class Differences

Stratified Shadow Education System

This study found that mothers in the Southeastern region of Korea had a particular way of viewing the shadow education system. They viewed that private tutoring was the best way to accommodate children's learning. It was considered the best for their children's schedule and meeting the individual needs. The concerns for private tutoring were price and quality. For the given wide range of the price, it is assumed that the more expensive the better quality services. As tutoring was more popular for secondary students, its goal was often to get high scores for university entrance exam and school exams. High achievers used private tutoring to keep their high standing in the ranking. This finding resonates with Baker

et al.'s (2001) international research on shadow education and mathematics achievement. It was identified that high achievers received more private tutoring in Korea while it was used for lower achievers in most other nations. While private tutoring could be used to improve children's academic achievement, the concerns of mothers were the high costs and children's motivation level. It was not used for low achieving students or students who were disinterested, and more interestingly, picky tutors did not take low achieving students to keep their reputation.

Commonly-Used Study Package and Education Center

Some study package and education center services were also positively viewed as a means of supporting children's learning. Study package was the most popular and affordable shadow education and all mother participants in this study had experienced purchasing study package services. The motives of mothers who purchase study package were 'customized' and 'joyful learning'. It was used for young children's after school learning with mother or another caregiver. Occasionally, about once a week, a coaching teacher visited their children to keep the children motivated and give advice to them for better learning. A challenge of using study package service was that it required more of mother's involvement and child's motivation. Similarly, education center services were often used for children's learning. Mothers' viewpoints of education centers were rather both positive and negative. It was used more for day care purpose for young children of working mothers and there was a risk of children not being engaged in academic learning. It was rather viewed as a place where students went to spend some time after school and socialize with other students. It was a place for children and students to 'hang out' rather than seriously engage in academic matters.

Expensive Private Tutoring versus Cheap After-School Curricula and Child Center

Mothers viewed the shadow education system in a stratified way based on the price and quality of services. Prices for private tutoring could remain mysterious as it can vary based on the tutor's experience as well as his or her academic and professional background. As mentioned above, study package and education centers were more affordable with more transparent range of prices. Cheaper options for mothers were after-school curricula provided by elementary schools. Led by the Korean government, a couple of after-school curricular activities are available for each student. Mothers thought that it was trustworthy service as arranged by school. The only challenge for this service was limited subjects offered. The service did not include all kinds of programs available in the educational market, and, sometimes, programs discontinued. According to mothers' descriptions, their children liked taking after-school curricula programs. It was something very 'easy' to choose for their children in a casual manner. Child welfare centers were mentioned as an option for mothers of families with limited economic resources. Two mothers in Daegu city sent their children to the center. One mother worked while one mother was a stay home wife. They both were grateful that they could still send their children to the welfare centers. The mothers' motives were, however, more to have their children to socialize with others and to be safe until a caregiver became available for them. Child welfare centers, run by the Korean government, provided educational services as well as some meals for children in need. According to the mother participants, the educational services were not as structured as the ones that may be found in education centers. Additionally, the services are provided by volunteers and staff who do not necessarily have educational teaching backgrounds. Jang Im-Bok, a mother of three children, found the child welfare center helpful for taking out her

children for picnics and engaging them with other children and caregivers there. Her motive was not necessarily to enhance her children's academic learning, rather for 'being cared' by adults.

Symbol of Private Tutoring

In mothers' point of view, there is a child who would benefit from private tutoring and another child who would not. When mothers considered the possibility of purchasing shadow education services, they considered the return of the service as better life opportunity in their children's life. When a child is not very motivated, however, it was not considered as wise to provide private tutoring for the child. Private tutoring is a symbol of a child's potential to get into a prestigious university in Korea as well as the family's capability to provide the service. Other kinds of shadow education, such as education centers and study packages, were more of a way to engage students in both academic and non-academic development. Mothers had more holistic view on children's development, searching for ways to discover each child's talent. As the children grew older, however, mothers' decisions for shadow education became more academically focused. Their decisions on what kinds of shadow education to provide relied heavily on the family SES status with a hierarchical understanding of the shadow education system in Korea.

Comparing with 'Other Mothers'

This finding raises issues of educational equality in terms of securing equal educational opportunities for all children. Listening to a lower-class low demand mother Jang Im-Bok, it becomes clear that not all children have same ground to start with. Jang Im-Bok mentioned how 'other mothers' were being involved with their children's early

education, and she felt too 'behind' to catch up later on. Even before children started formal schooling, many of the families with resources provided some kinds of shadow education services that prepared their children to be more successful at school. Listening to Min-Ji's mother (Mother Case 7), who depended on the governmental welfare programs for survival, it became even clearer that it was almost impossible for her daughter to academically succeed in her vocational high school. Middle class mothers were less concerned about having 'access' to shadow education at their children's early life, yet it mattered more to have what 'kind' of shadow education that they could provide their children.

Generational Differences

Neo-liberalism and Motherhood

By contrasting the life experiences between the generations of mothers and their children, I could see how mothers reasoned their acts of purchasing shadow education services as a way to cope with social and educational changes in Korea. The mother participants, in general, shared their thoughts around generational differences in terms of educational environment and opportunities. Children's after school lives currently are occupied with both academic and non-academic activities and these activities are most often arranged by their mothers. It was assumed that mothers would be engaged in managing their children's schedule for their after school activities as depicted in the image of 'education manager mothers' in So Jin Park's (2007) ethnographic work in Seoul. Mothers' pursuit of shadow education was a way to keep up with the neo-liberal globalization rhetoric that became prevalent. This neo-liberalism rhetoric with emphasis on 'decentralization' and

‘marketization’ renders ‘newly responsible individuals’ for the changing world.

The Image of their Mothers

Mothers had traditional viewpoints about the image of their own mothers in their upbringing and the ways in which the mother participants were involved in their children’s learning nowadays were quite contrasting to the ways of traditional mothers. The image of ‘old’ mothers, mothers of the mother participants, was ‘quiet’ and ‘restrained’ as they did not openly share about their children’s educational matters with others in society. This image is quite contrasting to the image of involved mothers nowadays. For the older generation, mothering was ‘watching their children from behind’, while mothering for the new generation ‘suggesting ways to their children in front’. Most participant mothers who were highly involved in their children’s education, however, showed their regret about being involved too much. Kim Ji-Young (Mother Case 3) shared how she found herself too pushy from preparing for school examinations to caring her children’s nutrition for physical development. In this sense, mothers had guilty feelings regardless of their demand level for shadow education. It is important to acknowledge that there were many thoughts and feelings behind the mothers’ decisions for shadow education.

School with Authority

Mothers’ educational and occupational experiences influenced their decisions of shadow education service for their children. The dominant rhetoric of education system in the mothers’ time was ‘make it happen’ and ‘you can do it’. The education system of mothers’ generation had a rigid way of administration with little flexibility. It was most always the students and parents who had to make adjustment as illustrated in Jung Soon-

Yung's story. When she went to a secondary school in a bigger city, the commute took longer than others. In order to be at school on time, the parents called the bus company to ask for bus schedule readjustment. By hearing this story, education system in mothers' time had authority while students and parents were subservient.

Educational Opportunities and Family Relations

Some of the mothers also shared how they had to yield educational opportunities to other siblings. There were various reasons for giving up their chances to further study in college. In general, the chances to study in college were rarer and the size of family was bigger than now. Although about half of the mother participants had received college education, the other half of the mothers did not. A mother with 6 siblings, Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) shared how college education was more encouraged for boys in the family. For the limited economic resources that her family had, she felt the obligation to give up getting into a college. Other mothers, such as Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) and Park Eun-Ju (Mother Case 6), had limited resources or low interests in academic pursuit for themselves.

Feeling of Defeat, or Inferiority

'Feeling of defeat' for inadequate educational credential and fighting with poverty could be motivation to study for students of both generations of the mothers and their children. Ji Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) was motivated to study to prove that she was capable enough to get into a four-year university. For the children's generation, Min-Ji was motivated to escape from chronic poverty inherited from grandparents. Mi-Ji's only goal for studying is to be within the cap of the rank in her vocational school in order to go to a nursing school.

Symbol of Education

Having educational credentials from certain education institutions are significant in the time of both generations. Even though students' life after school looks different, the fundamental goal, obtaining educational credentials from prestigious university remains the same. Mothers of children in secondary education level, particularly, stressed focusing on the three major subjects, Korean, English and math, in their children's preparation for university entrance exam. Moreover, children's these days were supposed to develop individual talents on top of the academic requirements. Particularly, involved mothers of young children were enthusiastic about discovering their children's hidden talent.

Learning about 'Becoming a Mother'

The mother participants were learning about 'becoming a mother'. Mothers not only shared about their mixed feelings regarding Korean shadow education, but also about how uncertain they were about it. Although many mothers were certain of their pursuit of shadow education services, there were some critical or uncertain moments. A critical moment of Kang Yu-Kyung (Mother Case 2) was when her first son said that the reason he missed a mark was because he kept seeing her face on the exam paper. Uncertain moments of mothers include whether or not to provide shadow education for English grammar or when is a good time to expose children to English language as a second language. Reflective thoughts over their interactions with their children showed their 'human side' for easily being frustrated dealing with their children. For example, Jin Jang-Mi (Mother Case 1) shared how her son told her that she can become 'monster like'. Being with children and becoming a mother requires patience and self-reflection moments, and mothers grew with them moment by moment.

Spatial Differences

'InSeoul' -The Romance of Mothers in Daegu

The romance of mothers in Daegu is sending their children to Seoul for college education. So called, 'InSeoul' for college is a romantic fantasy of mothers in the cities other than Seoul. Mothers had strong perceptions of relations between space and educational opportunity and quality. The geographic location of college means more than the physical location of it. The reputation of Seoul, as the capital, plays a role in the mothers' understanding of higher education quality in Korea. Educational demand level was also perceived differently in different major cities in Korea. For example, mothers in Changwon viewed the demand and determination for children's education in Seoul was much higher than the ones of mothers in other cities. This comparison of mothers' demand level even came to be an excuse to legitimize their actions of pushing their children. Because other mothers provide shadow education even more, the shadow education that I want to provide is not too much, so the logic goes.

Inner verses Outer Parts of Daegu and Changwon

Even within the cities of Daegu and Changwon, there were distinctions between the inner and outer parts of those cities. The inner parts were recognized as academically more competitive with relatively higher demands for shadow education. Mothers perceived that larger amount of homework were given to students from schools and students were more academically driven in the inner parts of the cities. Students were also expected to be engaged in more shadow education compared to the outer parts of the cities.

In Search of a Relaxed, Happy School

Not every mother was looking into changes to move into a 'better' land with more opportunities and better quality of educational services. Even though mothers romanticized sending their children to Seoul for better-recognized education, some mothers wanted to avoid highly competitive educational environment for their children. Mothers of low achieving-children or children with learning difficulties showed their concerns about their children being pressured for academic achievement. Jung Sun-Yung's (Mother Case 5) neighbor with an ADHD child moved to an outer part of Daegu in search of a 'relaxed' educational environment. On a similar note, Yi A-Ra's low-achieving youngest daughter went to an elementary school in an outer part of Changwon, so that her daughter may not feel 'small' in school. Her third grade daughter can freely share her thoughts and findings in the 'happy school' in the outer part of the city.

International Comparison

The comparison of educational quality and environment goes beyond the nation. Mothers had interests in how education systems operate in different countries in the world. The hope of Korean mothers is that students would grow in the nature and learn from it. It is, however, never possible for the educational culture cultivated in the context of Korea. A couple of mothers had sent their children abroad. Yi A-Ra sent their children to the United Kingdom (short-term volunteering program) and the United States (exchange program) so that they could see a bigger world and realize that academic achievement is not everything for a person's life success. Choi Sun-Ja (Mother Case 4) sent her son to the United States for secondary education in order to have a better life opportunity. Her son's dream of becoming a car designer is more likely to come true in the United States than in Korea because it is open for new ideas and individuals' creativity. In Korea, she does not expect that her son

would receive education for creativity and either individual design would be welcomed in the society later on for her son's professional life.

Worthy for a Village Mother to Send her Son to the US

Mothers' understanding of space for their children's education is not only distinctive but also hierarchical. It was a worthy thing for Choi Sun-Ja, as a person grew up in a village, to send her child abroad to the US. This perception shows her hierarchical way to see educational space based on locality and nationality.

Chapter 8: Implications and Conclusions

Significance of the Research

Korean shadow education was examined from the perspectives and experiences of mothers as main purchasers of the related services. Even though the existing research on Korean shadow education offers some explanations for the overwhelming demand for shadow education, the missing segment for the literature was through understanding of the local perspectives and experiences of the phenomenon. This study illustrated mothers' viewpoints of the Korean shadow education phenomenon and its social context. Mothers' experiences and perspectives are extremely valuable as the role of mothers for their children is regarded as more important than anyone in the family. Considering, especially, the silence of Korean women in the development dialogue, this study makes a unique contribution to the field of international educational development.

By describing decision-making processes, this study offers a complex picture of Korean shadow education. Existing studies explain the factors associated with high expenditure for shadow education (Lee & Shouse, 2011; Kim & Park, 2011; Byun, 2010; Baker et al, 2001) and the socio-cultural aspects of shadow education phenomenon (Zeng, 2002, Bray, 2009; Kwok, 2003; Seth, 2002; Park S., 2007). The unique contribution of this study is that it looked at the process of the mothers' decision-making, including how they decided to purchase and discontinue shadow education services. Mothers did not only consider the socio-cultural norms of mothers' role, children's learning, and atmosphere of education, but also considered their children's individual inclinations as well as their level of academic achievement and motivation in order to choose which shadow education services

to purchase. Mothers also shared the complexity of related feelings and emotions of Korean shadow education by revealing their ambivalence. Their ambivalent feelings suggest that the high demand for shadow education from mothers is their adaptation to the social change and development in a cultural way.

Intergenerational comparison showed the changes of the socio-cultural and educational norms for students and mothers over time. In general, mothers viewed the level of academic pressure is greater and so is the burden of mothers for their children's learning for the generation of their children. Family life style is also different with the decreased number of children in each household, in general. Shadow education is a part of children's after-school life nowadays. An additional burden for mothers and children today is to discover and develop their individual talent beyond academic achievement. Taking an intergenerational approach, this study also showed how mothers' educational and vocational experiences impacted their current thoughts and practices of shadow education for their children. Mothers felt 'less' when they did not have an adequate educational credential for their dreams and they did not want their children to feel the same way in Korean society.

In addition, this study presented the perspectives of people's lives and perspectives in the regions outside the capital city, Seoul. Mothers in Daegu and Changwon provided their understanding of regional differences in the educational environment including both the mainstream and the shadow education practices. There was a distinction of educational demand level and different practices of shadow education within the selected cities, Daegu and Changwon. Inner parts of those cities had higher demand and more practices while outer parts had less. In particular, their comparison of educational environment expanded to

outside of Korea. Hence, the shadow education phenomenon in Korea is related to issues of educational migration due to mothers' understanding of the educational environment beyond the local setting to the national setting. Although mothers wanted to provide the best educational services for better life opportunities for their children, they showed their serious concerns about the academic pressure in Korean society. While romanticizing 'InSeoul' for their children's future, some mothers sought ways to provide 'relaxed' and 'happy' schooling for some children in outer areas of cities.

This ethnographic study took a more holistic approach to illustrate the Korean shadow education phenomenon drawn from the local perspectives, particularly of mothers in Daegu and Changwon. Comparing the participant mothers understanding of gender, class, time and space, it guides the readers to look at the Korean shadow education phenomenon to the eyes of local mothers. It suggests educational leaders and policymakers in the realm of international education to take the local's lives into consideration when developing educational offerings. The Korean government may take the findings of this study to fully grasp voiceless people's thoughts and experiences. Taking these mothers' voices, Korea may be able to provide education that is more meaningful for the learners and their families. For an educational change, it takes the whole community in the society. Engaging and educating mothers in the dialogue for educational development may lead to positive changes in Korea.

Limitations of the Current Study

There are several limitations of this study that need to be discussed. First is the way I selected the mother participants. Even though I tried my best to recruit the mothers of diverse backgrounds and perspectives, I was limited to do so in a way as I relied on my

personal network from friends and family in my hometown and my parents'. Mothers recruited in Changwon shared some similar backgrounds, such as having educational careers. The two friends that I contacted for networking had careers in education, one in mainstream and the other one in shadow education system, respectively. In addition, I encountered mothers with educational careers more because of my work in a university nearby my parents' house while working as an English language instructor. Mothers in Daegu were recruited by my cousin who is a middle-class man of two young children. The study may have different results if the researcher had a different personal network.

In qualitative studies like this one, the researcher is the instrument of ethnography (Maxwell, 2005). My own interpretation is included in this study and it may be different from other researchers of shadow education. Readers of this study need to be reminded that this study is unique and not designed to generalize the findings to all mothers in South Korea. Rather, this study is a set of combined viewpoints of the mother participant and the researcher lived in the research sites and reflected on the Korean shadow education phenomenon in the time period between 2011 and 2012. Ethnographic study "is located between the interiority of autobiography and the exteriority of cultural analysis" (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). My own cultural upbringing and the analysis of my participation as a researcher are described in the Methodology (Chapter 3) chapter. The negotiation of relationships between the mother participants and the research is described with as many details as possible throughout the Chapter Four, Five, and Six.

Another limitation of this study is that it relied on the narratives of mothers more than any other data method proposed in the research proposal. Although I included some

observation data in my analysis, it is limited to describe their appearances and the initial stages of building relationships with me. There was hardly any document data regarding mothers' perspectives and experiences that I could find in public. Although I expected to gain document data from the mother participants, I had to be careful not to intrude into their private lives. Some descriptive data of the mother participants living conditions, such as their house and car, is shared in my analysis. However, there is no data of personal document for the sake of the participants' privacy.

Recommendations for Future Study

This study includes the analysis and reflection on the literature around Korean shadow education as well as the ethnographic data drawn from the researcher's field study and its analysis. The uniqueness of this current study is taking a socio-cultural and historical approach to understanding the shadow education phenomenon in the perspectives and experiences of mothers in Korea. It illustrates a complex picture with the twelve mother participants' narratives and the researcher's observation and interpretation.

The perspectives of fathers and children are absent in this study for the given socio-cultural norm of the mothers' responsibility for children's education. Although mothers are usually more involved, there must be fathers who are more engaged and have their own opinions for their children's mainstream and shadow education. Their children's voices may also provide important information regarding Korean shadow education phenomenon as they are the ones who receive and experience the services. For the scope of this study, however, it focused on mothers' viewpoints only and the study findings may be different if I considered the perspectives of fathers and their children. For the future study, including fathers'

viewpoints on the mainstream and shadow education of Korea would shed lights on paternal viewpoints in order to compare with the current study.

Lastly, this study asks questions of educational quality and life opportunities for students in Korea. Although access to education and educational quality have been improving significantly over the years in Korea, the experiences of students and parents require further examination to discuss the fundamental purpose of education. More studies need to be conducted to better assess the advantages and disadvantages of shadow education in different regions of Korea. Life stories of children and parents with limited resources and access to quality education and life opportunities should be scrutinized in order to trite the ways to improve the current Korean education system and its larger society. Lastly, transnational shadow education studies in the future may include non-academic subjects such as golf and figure-skating.

Conclusion

In summary, hearing mothers' talk about Korean shadow education in Daegu and Changwon provides a unique viewpoint about education and development. The mothers' narratives illustrate their perspectives of gendered responsibilities and ambivalent feelings regarding the prevalent practices of shadow education. Taking very seriously their responsibility to educate their children well, mothers often blamed themselves when their children were failing, or struggling, at school. All mothers were experiencing feelings of guilt to some extent and their mother identity was undergoing the process of development as they were learning 'how to become a mother'. Shadow education practices were also symbolic and delivered certain kinds of messages regarding one's socio-economic status and

children's achievement and motivation levels. There were certain types of shadow education provided by families of certain economic backgrounds which had not been surfaced in previous studies. Lastly, mothers' narratives around their own life experiences and perceptions of educational atmosphere in different regions were important factors influencing their decisions about shadow education. These factors even drove educational mobility nationally and internationally. Overall, the unique contribution of this study is to provide valuable insights into the thinking of Korean mothers of school-age children which allow readers to look at the Korean shadow education in a new way.

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Appendixes

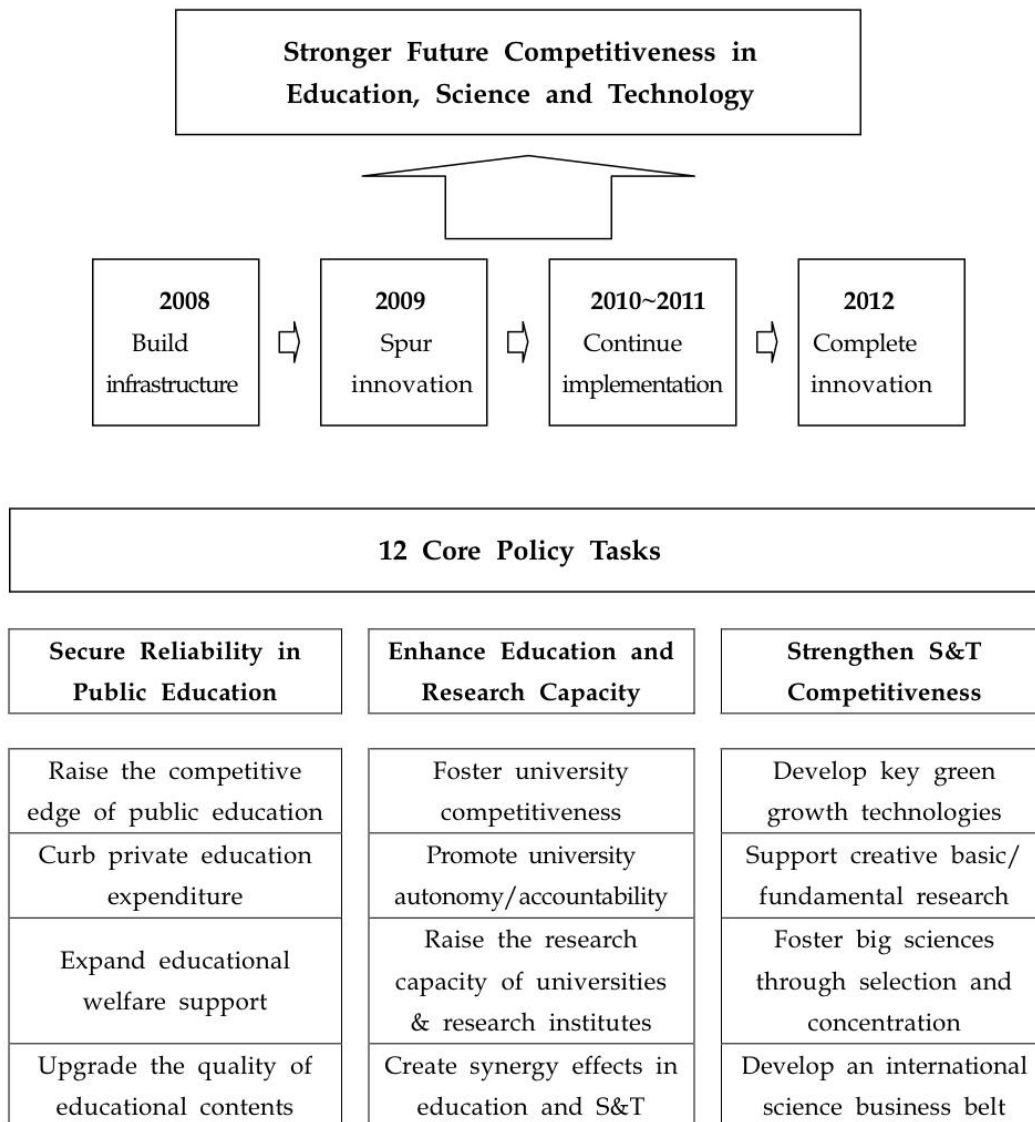
Appendix A: Policies and Plans for 2009

Major Policies and Plans for 2009

December 27, 2008

Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

I. Vision



Source: Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2008)

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Title: Korean mothers' perceptions of shadow education

Type: Semi-structured interview

Purpose: The purpose of my study is to better understand Korean shadow education. In particular, I will examine and analyze the underlying assumptions and social meaning in the decision-making processes of shadow education practices, through the perspectives of Korean mothers in two different regions.

Research questions:

- 1) What are the mothers' motives for shadow education in Deagu and Changwon in Korea?
- 2) How do the mothers make their decisions regarding their children's shadow education?
- 3) How are the mothers' perceptions of the changes in Korean education and society reflected in their decisions?

Methodology: Ethnography

Introduction: 인터뷰에 응해주셔서 감사합니다.
사교육에 관한 어머니들의 경험과 생각에 관해 알고 싶습니다.
인터뷰 질문에 맞거나 틀린 답은 없으니 생각하시는 대로 말씀해주시면 됩니다.
개인 정보는 비밀로 공개되지 않습니다.. Thank you so much for participating in this interview. I am interested in knowing about your experiences and thoughts of shadow education. There is no or right answer to the questions, so feel free to talk what comes to your mind. Your personal information will be confidential.

Interview Questions:

1. 현재 자녀분은 몇 입니까? How many children do you have?
2. 몇 학년 입니까? What grade is he/she in?
3. 평소에 자녀분의 하루 일과는 어떻게 되나요? Tell me about your child's typical day on week days.
4. 어떻게 그 사교육을 시작하기로 결정하게 되었나요? How did you decide to start the shadow education?
 - a. 언제 그 사교육을 시작하셨나요? When did your child start it?

- b. 누구와상의하였나요? Who did you decide it with?
 - c. 어디서정보를얻었나요? Where did you get the information?
5. 그사교육을시작하기로결정한순간어떤기분이들었나요? Think about the moment when you decided to purchase the shadow education, how did you feel?
- a. 지금도그런기분인가요? Do you feel the same now as you did that moment?
 - b. 현재는다른기분이든다면어떻게다른가요? How is it different, if it is?
6. 그사교육들을통해자녀분은어떤혜택을받고있다고생각하는지요? What are the benefits of the shadow education to your children, if any?
- a. 그사교육교사는누구인지요? Who are the shadow education teachers?
 - b. 그사교육의교육과정은학교교육과정과어떻게갈거나틀린지요? How the shadow education curriculum different from the school curriculum?
 - c. 그사교육에관한자녀의생각은어떤지요? What does your child think about the shadow education?
7. 사교육을질을평가하시는기준은무엇인지요? What are the criteria for quality shadow education?
8. 혹사교육을떠올리면드는부정적인생각은만약에있다면무엇인가요? What are your negative thoughts of shadow education activity, if any?
9. 사교육에반대하는사람들의의견에대해서어떻게생각하시나요? What do you think about the people who speak against of shadow education?
10. 여권이된다면제공하고싶은사교육이있나요? If possible, is there any other shadow education that you feel like providing?
- a. 그생각을하게된게기가있었나요? Was there a moment that led you to think that?
 - b. 어떻게그사교육에대해서알게되었나요? How did you find about that shadow education?
 - c. 구체적으로어떻게 ...에게도움이되리라생각이드나요? How do you think it would benefit your child?
11. 학부모님께서서는학생이었을때사교육을받거나제공한적이있었나요? Have you

had received or supplied shadow education when you were young?

- a. 어떻게 그사교육을 제공하게 (혹은 받게) 되었나요? What kinds of shadow education was it?
- b. 그사교육 경험을 떠올리면 딱히 드는 생각이나 느낌은? What do you think about that experience?

12. 혹시 사교육에 대해서 더하실 말씀은 있으신지요? Do you have anything else that you feel like sharing about the topic?

Appendix C: Korean *Emic* word Glossary

- ‘mothers’ care’ (*son-gil*) 손길
- ‘nitpicking’ (*jan-so-ri*) 잔소리
- ‘will to try’ (*ui-ji*) 의지
- ‘endurance’ (*ggeun-gi*) 끈기
- after-school curriculum (*bang-gwa-hu-su-eop*) 방과 후 학습
- ‘learning ahead’ (*seon-haeng*) 선행
- ‘preferring a son over a daughter’ (*nam-a-seon-ho*) 남아 선호
- ‘Image of Mother’ (*um-ma-sang*) 엄마상
- ‘good wife and wise mother’ (*hyun-mo-yang-cheo*) 현모양처
- ‘family of the first son of the first son’ (*jong-ga*) 종가
- ‘study package’ (*hak-seup-ji*) 학습지
- ‘essay’ (*non-sul*) 논술
- ‘education center’ (*hak-won*) 학원
- ‘private tutoring’ (*gwa-eo*) 과외
- ‘exemplary correct answers’ (*mo-bum-dab-an*) 모범 답안
- ‘tool’ (*gyo-gu*) 교구
- ‘put their children in the loop of education centers’ (*hak-won-dol-ri-gi*) 학원 돌리기
- ‘losers’ (*ggi-ji-ri*) 찌질이
- ‘supplementary lessons’ (*bo-chung-su-eop*) 보충 수업
- ‘self-study’ (*ja-yul-hak-seup*) 자율 학습
- ‘internet lectures’ (*In-Gang*) 인강

‘child center’ (*A-dong center*) 아동 센터
 ‘skirt-wind’ (*chi-mat-ba-ram*) 치맛 바람
 ‘white envelopes’ (*chon-ji*) 촌지
 ‘study-room’ (*gong-bu-bang*) 공부방
 ‘presence of mind’ (*yo-yu*) 여유
 ‘memorandums’ (*hyoi-ram*) 효람
 ‘career path’ (*jin-ro*) 진로
 ‘aptitude’ (*jeok-sung*) 적성
 ‘character development’ (*in-sung-gyo-yuk*) 인성 교육
 ‘speech language therapy’ (*eon-eo-chi-ryo*) 언어 치료
 ‘special education’ (*teuk-su-gyo-yuk*) 특수교육
 ‘could have caused death to her daughter’ (*ae-rul-job-da*) 애를 잡다
 ‘running the rat race’ (*da-ram-ji chaet-ba-qui dol-dut*) 다람쥐 쳇 바퀴 돌 듯
 ‘sell the cow for their children’s education’ (*so-pal-a hak-gyo bo-nae-da*) 소팔아 학교 보내다
 ‘rave’ (*ock*) 악
 ‘teacher’ (*seun-sang-nim*) 선생님
 ‘early study abroad’ (*jo-gi-yu-hak*) 조기 유학
 ‘repeaters’ (*jae-su-seng*) 재수생
 ‘education zeal’ (*gyo-yuk-roel*) 교육열
 ‘heart aches’ (*ga-seum-a-peu-da*) 가슴 아프다
 TaeKwonDo (Korean martial arts) 태권도
 ‘because her personality distracted her focus’ (*ju-eo-ryuck-ee-yack-hae-seo*) 주의력이 약해서

‘adult student’ (*myun-hak-do*) 면학도