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Culture & Competition - A study of Supplementary Education in Taiwan.

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Abstract

The phenomenon of supplementary education is a major part of the educational landscape of Taiwan and other countries of East Asia. The scale and characterization of this phenomenon is not clear, despite its major position in the educational system of Taiwan. The aim of this thesis is to describe the scale and character of supplementary education in Taiwan, particularly at the level of Elementary School, and further to investigate what motivates Taiwanese Elementary school age children and their parents to enroll in supplementary education activities. The research further attempts to explore how these findings reflect on possible cultural differences in motivation in education. In order to adequately account for cultural aspects of the motivations and perceptions of parents and students, the research uses a combination of interview and survey methods, involving Taiwanese elementary school teachers, parents of elementary school children, and university students, concerning their experience and observations of the phenomenon of supplementary education in a city located in southern Taiwan. The findings confirm the large scale of supplementary education activity from early in elementary school, with a majority of students reporting participation. Interviews and surveys revealed a wide range of reasons for the uptake of supplementary education, and support the conclusion that the level of participation is appreciably dependent on cultural factors which tend to magnify the competitive aspects of the education system. While teachers described distorting effects of supplementary education, students also offered some positive perceptions of supplementary education, particularly in English language learning. The study also included a survey of achievement goal orientation, with the 2x2 achievement goal construct accounting for less variance than in the original US sample, raising questions concerning cultural differences in motivation. Implications for educators and education policy are discussed, and suggestions for further research are also offered.

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Acknowledgements

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1 Introduction

1-1 Background

> Surveys show that eight in 10 high school students in Taiwan receive some kind of after-school tutoring to help them pass each hurdle in the education system to make it into the best universities and eventually get the best jobs. (Potaka and Yeh, 2011)

This quote from a newspaper story in the Taipei Times, one of the two major English language newspapers in Taiwan, points to an important phenomenon in the Taiwanese education landscape. The predominance of supplementary teaching practices, ranging from private one-on-one tutoring to private cram school organizations, is a fact of life for many children and parents in Taiwan. Although the above newspaper article gives a hint of the scale of supplementary education in Taiwan, and also a clue to the underlying reasons for its existence, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at the phenomenon, and to explore in some depth the reasons for its existence, and to describe how it impacts on the overall experience of education in Taiwan, as a knowledge or understanding of the phenomenon is crucial to understanding the dynamics of the education system as a whole, and how this may reflect the particular social and cultural context found in Taiwan, and further, how this might be different or similar to that found in other societies and cultural contexts.

On the face of it, as hinted by the opening quote, the competitive nature of the education and employment markets are reasonable explanations for the rise of private tutoring in Taiwan, and it is quite conceivable that many people in Taiwan may accept this as given. However, the researcher was interested in unearthing other aspects of the situation which may force us to alter this straightforward conclusion. It is noted that the phenomenon of supplementary education is not limited to the high school years when university entrance examinations become more salient, but rather extends to the beginning of the educational ladder, at the elementary school age, or even at kindergarten. For example, another newspaper article suggests that supplementary schooling is extensive for children under twelve years old:

> Sixty-seven percent of children under the age of 12 attend cram schools. The average [monthly] sum spent on supplementary education is NT$6,950 (approx. £146). For households with incomes less than NT$40,000 (approx. £843), monthly spending on children's supplementary education exceeds NT$5,700 (approx. £120). (Data cited in article from Taipei Times, 5th March 2011).

Another interesting clue from the above quote is that the investment in supplementary education seems to be an extremely high family priority, with less-well-off families reportedly spending an average of 14% of family income on it. Thus, there remains a puzzle concerning the scale of the phenomenon and the reasons for its uptake. It is therefore this puzzle which the present research hopes to unravel, in the hope that the answers will better inform us concerning the role of supplementary education in Taiwan, and what it tells us about the motivations of students and parents.

A study of the supplementary education practices is also felt to be particularly important for practical questions about education policy and equity of educational provision in Taiwan. While governments and education ministries form national education policy, and oversee the practices of mainstream schooling, the private enterprise in the 'shadow' education sector has its own important contributions to the overall experience of education, but seems to escape organized scrutiny or research. The research is thus drawn to forming a description of this 'elephant in the room', and to attempt to draw out the effects of the 'shadow' education system on mainstream schooling.

The present research is therefore partly an attempt to determine whether the roots of the supplementary education phenomenon are predominantly cultural in nature, or whether they are more linked to the perceived competitiveness of the education system in Taiwan. It is also hoped that this study would also be valuable for the wider implications concerning the links between culture, society, and educational behaviour and motivation, in particular as experienced in Taiwan, but also in comparison to patterns observed in other parts of the world. The present research was therefore planned with these thoughts in mind.

The researcher, born in the UK, has lived and worked as a teacher in Taiwan for about 20 years, and is currently a lecturer in a University in Taiwan. Although the researcher has lived in Taiwan for an extended period, and has some knowledge of the local

language (Chinese Mandarin), and some knowledge of the local educational system, he is aware that such familiarity does not always mean that the dynamics of the education system are obvious to the observer, particularly when interpreted through the values and expectations of a different culture. The subject of study therefore partly springs from a personal interest in the education situation in Taiwan, and reflects an ongoing attempt to make sense of the Taiwanese educational landscape, particularly in terms of those people directly involved, namely Taiwanese parents, children, and their teachers.

1-2 Outline of thesis

In this section, I outline the steps followed by the thesis. Given the central aim of this research to unravel the reasons behind the supplementary education phenomenon in Taiwan, Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature with respect to, firstly, descriptions of supplementary education, both globally and locally in Taiwan, and secondly, links to the motivation literature, in particular the social and cultural contexts of motivation in education, and with special reference to Chinese learners. Chapter 3 follows with a discussion of the methodological issues of the research, in particular the choice of different complementary types of data collection, and the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods in a triangulation approach to the research questions. Chapter 4 reports on the initial elementary school survey and results, while Chapter 5 provides an account of the interviews with teachers, parents, and students, and Chapter 6 covers the data from survey instruments administered on university students. Chapter 7 completes the main body of the thesis with a discussion of the results and conclusions.

Commonly used Chinese terms to describe supplementary education establishments.

1. *Buxiban* (bu-she-ban) = a private educational establishment for supplementary classes, including English, mathematics, Chinese, and other 'talent' subjects such as music, art, and dance.

2. *Anqinban* (an-chin-ban) = a private educational establishment for supervised homework, particularly for elementary school age children, often collecting pupils from the elementary school, so that working parents can pick them up later. *Buxiban* and *anqinban* are often combined in one institution.

2 Literature review

First of all, a brief description of the phenomenon of supplementary education is necessary in order to broadly clarify its character and scale, both globally and locally (in Taiwan). Following this description, the literature which discusses the cultural and social contexts of motivation in education will be important in identifying the particular conceptions of learning and teaching to be found in Taiwan, which may be distinct from those conceptions found in other cultural or national contexts. This focus should allow useful questions or hypotheses concerning the motivation of parents and children in Taiwan to be made.

2-1 Shadow education

2-1-1   Description of the phenomenon

Bray (2006) explains the use of the term shadow education as follows:

> This tutoring is described as a shadow for several reasons. First, it only exists because the mainstream system exists. Second, it imitates the mainstream: as the mainstream changes in size and orientation, so does the shadow. Third, in almost all societies much more public attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream.(p.515).

Although the 'cram-school culture' is often associated with countries in Asia, especially Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, the phenomenon is in fact an increasingly global one, with reports in many countries describing the increased use of shadow education activities (Bray, 2010). A relatively recent phenomenon has been the increasing number of reports of shadow education in other parts of the world, including North America and Europe (Aurini and Davies, 2004); (Gubernick and Burger, 1997), Ireland (Lynch and Moran, 2006), and in the UK (Ireson and Rushforth, 2004). The origins and functions of supplementary education, as well as the scale of such activities, may be quite different in each national or regional context, and it may be instructive to look closer at the different views of education and its wider social context. Therefore, a study of the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan is important in identifying how much the major underlying causes may be characteristic of different national or cultural contexts.

A number of researchers have attempted to describe and account for the phenomenon of supplementary schooling in various contexts. Along with a description of the scale and nature of these supplementary education activities, various writers have also addressed the question of the origins of the phenomenon, and the motivations of parents, students, teachers, and governments in relation to shadow education.

Bray (2006) offers a table of various indicators of supplementary private tutoring in 14 countries, with data compiled from a range of studies, and refers to private tutoring as an increasingly worldwide phenomenon. In addition to the well-documented large scale supplementary education phenomenon in the prosperous East Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea, Bray also points to other regions with significant shadow education activities, with low income countries such as Cambodia, Bangladesh, and some countries in Africa more recently being reported. Eastern Europe, after the collapse of socialism and the advent of the market economy has also seen the widespread introduction of private tutoring, and although the numbers involved are smaller than for East Asia, there have been recent reports of increasing evidence of private tutoring activities in Western Europe and North America.

Baker, Akiba, LeTendre, & Wiseman (2001), using data from the 1994-95 TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study) data on 40 countries, also demonstrate the use of supplementary education to be a world-wide phenomenon, with 'more than a third of all seventh- and eighth-graders' participating in some form of shadow education. The data also revealed that while most of the student sample had a participation in shadow education activities amounting to one hour or less per week, one fifth of the student sample 'undertook shadow education activities of 2 or more hours per week'. Figure 1 in Baker et al. (2001) shows figures for the percentages of students participating weekly in shadow education in all 40 countries in the TIMSS data, revealing a wide cross-national variation, with Japan, South Africa, and the Philippines reporting more than three quarters of seventh- and eighth-graders participating weekly in shadow education, in contrast to less than 20% for countries such as Denmark, England, and Germany.

While shadow education has been categorized as a global phenomenon by Bray and others, it is important to point out that its manifestation is distinct in different national, cultural, economic, or social contexts. Bray (2010), in a review of research on 'shadow education', points out that the patterns of shadow education observed in different countries reflect differences both in economic and cultural circumstances. While in low income countries, such as Cambodia or Bangladesh, it is common for mainstream school teachers to demand payment from pupils who attend their after school tutoring classes, the situation in more affluent countries such as Singapore is much different, where commercial tutoring is more prevalent, and mainstream school teachers are forbidden from tutoring their own pupils privately. As for cultural differences, Bray comments that the Confucian Heritage countries, including Singapore, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan, have patterns of shadow education distinctly different to that found in other regions, and that Confucian values concerning learning, effort, and competition help to explain these differences.

2-1-2   Reasons for using shadow education

Baker et al. (2001) attempt to trace the origins of the phenomenon, and to describe the primary role of shadow education in different contexts. In particular, the authors contrast a well-documented *enrichment* strategy with a comparatively less-documented *remedial* strategy to account for some cross-national variation in the data. An *enrichment* strategy refers to the use of shadow education activities to improve chances for students in a context characterized both by intense competition for educational opportunities, and also where there exists a clear connection between educational outcomes and future job opportunities. As schooling becomes more examination-oriented, the high-stakes properties of assessments in turn create a demand for services which can increase students' chances of success in these tests, and in turn fuel the competitive nature of the examination process. The example of the Japanese university entrance examinations system, where a high-stakes testing system acts as a gatekeeper to future education and work opportunities, and the attendant creation of an intense shadow education business in the well-known *juku,* or after-school supplementary education businesses can be offered in this light. Baker et al. (2001) offer other examples, such as:

'(a) the tight connection between elite universities and excellent labour market opportunities in Taiwan, (b) the use of secondary school certificate examinations in Hong Kong, (c) the secondary school selection process in Japan, and (d) the examination-based link between secondary schools and the best universities in Greece.' (p.3).

The contrasting argument of a *remedial* strategy is that shadow education is related to another property of mass compulsory schooling. According to Baker, Akiba et al. (2001),

'Schooling and one's ability to move through it with at least a minimal level of academic success has become such a central and crucial task for such a wide portion of the youth population, that prematurely ending a school career has taken on extremely severe social consequences for both the individual and society as a whole.' (p.3).

The authors thus suggest a trend to greater dependence on mass, compulsory schooling, in which the school system has increasingly become central to the process of growing up, and in this situation, extensive shadow education is an outgrowth of this trend.

'As schooling becomes the primary institution for the generation of knowledge and its transmission to generations of children in the form of achievement, one may expect the continued growth in outside-school activities that are specially aimed at children's performance within schools. Homework and the assumptions of extensive parental involvement in academics (sic) are now common features of the formal educational institution; shadow education takes this same process a step further.' (p.13).

Although the TIMSS data gives no direct information concerning the reasons for shadow education participation, the authors performed statistical evaluations of the relationship between students' mathematics test scores and shadow education participation across all students. The basic premise followed by the analysis is that in nations where test scores and shadow education participation show a positive correlation, it can be inferred that an *enrichment* strategy is the dominant, though not necessarily exclusive role of shadow education. In other words, 'students with high performance in mathematics tend to use shadow education for strategic advantages in future educational contests.' Conversely, if the relationship is negative, this is taken to suggest a *remedial* strategy at work, where 'students with low performance in

mathematics tend to use shadow education to maintain minimal or otherwise acceptable levels in school.' Their results indicated a range across different national contexts, with approximately three-quarters of the 40 countries showing a primarily *remedial* strategy, and only 3 countries showing a clear *enrichment* strategy (Korea, Romania, and Thailand). The remaining eight countries showed a mixture of both strategies, interestingly including Greece, Hong Kong, and Japan, which have often been 'cited as producing widespread *enrichment*-oriented shadow education'.

The characterization of these two strategies, *enrichment* and *remedial*, as they are operationalized in the above paper, also needs some comment. The classification, although tied to definitions and explanations of the inferred meaning in terms of student behaviours and choices, is essentially a description of the correlation between two indices available in the TIMMS data, and is therefore a fairly blunt measuring instrument. While positive and negative correlations between students' math test scores and their participation in shadow education can be described, respectively, as either *enrichment* or *remedial*, the measure is one-dimensional, and as such is unable to distinguish between the possibly complex combination of reasons for participation in shadow education.

The data also refer to students in the seventh- and eighth-grade, and it is quite conceivable that senior high school students may have different motives for choosing supplementary education than the junior high school students represented in the sample. Particularly where there are high-stakes examinations for university entrance, such as in Japan, it might be expected that *enrichment*-strategy programmes would be concentrated in the final years of high school study. Nevertheless, this study contributes an alternative view of the shadow education phenomenon. In particular, the study highlights the need for further studies in this area to explore the mechanisms involved behind shadow education.

Bray (2006) considers the motives of parents who seek tutoring in terms of a calculation of outcomes of investment, and although parents may not have a direct knowledge of the economic sense of investment in education, as for example in the writings of Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004), 'who showed that it is generally a good investment

for individuals to stay in education systems for as long as possible', 'parents can reach the same conclusion through casual observation. On one hand, there are the responses of 'ambitious and elite families', whose investment in social and human capital has clear rewards, and on the other hand, there are the responses of parents in low-income societies, who 'are faced by unavoidable demands on their children by their mainstream teachers' in a kind of educational blackmail. Bray offers the example of Cambodia, where school teachers offer after-school tutoring, for a fee, to their own classroom students, whose parents fear that their children will either miss some of the curriculum or incur the teacher's disapproval, should they choose not to enroll in the extra classes.

2-1-3   *Competitive environment or cultural factors*

Although it seems reasonable to suggest that the competitive, high-stakes testing school environment to be found in countries like Taiwan and other Asian countries is the most important driver of the market for private supplementary education in these countries, this neglects to take account of the particular cultural and social factors at work in these countries. It can also be argued that the high degree of competitiveness is not merely a reflection of institutional or policy factors, but can also be seen as a reflection of deeper cultural factors, and that the degree of competitiveness and the heightened importance of high-stakes tests can be seen to be symptomatic of an underlying cultural propensity to enhance the scale of competition.

Zhou and Kim (2006) describe the proliferation of Taiwanese style *buxibans* (the Chinese name for supplementary education schools) in the immigrant communities of Los Angeles. Their account of the private supplementary schools in Los Angeles portrays an educational market which seems to closely mirror the *buxiban* phenomenon in Taiwan. Thus, they report a plethora of supplementary education establishments, with a clientele almost exclusively that of Chinese immigrant families, particularly in the Los Angeles suburban Chinese community. The authors note that the 'Southern California Chinese Consumer Yellow Pages (2004) listed ninety Chinese schools, 135 academic afterschool tutoring establishments, including *buxibans*, fifty art schools/centers, ninety music/dancing schools, mostly located in Los Angeles's suburban Chinese community in San Gabriel Valley'. Although many of these schools emphasize classes in Chinese

language and culture, the authors mention that many schools, particularly the more recently established *buxibans* and afterschool tutoring establishments, are also increasingly offering tutoring in standard school subjects, and in homework supervision. Interviews with Chinese youth confirmed that, for many, attendance at such establishments represented a 'common shared experience of being Chinese American, even though they generally disliked the fact that they were made to attend these ethnic institutions by their parents.'

The authors attempt to account for the popularity of *buxibans* in Los Angeles, and more generally the relative academic success of Chinese-Americans over other ethnic groups, in terms of an interaction between 'structure' and 'culture'. The 'structural' response refers to the efforts of the immigrant community to counter barriers to economic and social mobility by exploiting the 'relatively open education system and abundant educational opportunities' to be found in the United States. The pursuit of education is thus seen as a means to enable social mobility in the new environment, a way for the immigrant community to adapt to the structure found in the United States. The 'cultural' response refers in this case to the traditional Confucian values placed on education, along with a historical experience of education as the 'single most important means of attaining social mobility'. Thus an alignment of values influences the relative academic success of the Chinese immigrant community in the United States.

For the purposes of the present study, however, this paper is interesting in that it seems that a Chinese community, faced with a very different educational system in the United States compared to that to be found in Taiwan or China, has in essence re-created the *buxiban* phenomenon in a foreign setting. This suggests that 'culture' is arguably the stronger element in the 'culture-structure' interaction, and that the *buxiban* phenomenon is essentially a cultural phenomenon, reflecting approaches to both education and parenting, rather than as a response to a competitive educational system.

2-1-4   Responses to supplementary education

The case of policy response in South Korea is an instructive example of a history of efforts to curb the perceived negative effects of shadow education, and while the South Korean situation is distinct from that in Taiwan, both countries share a similar Confucian cultural heritage, and have other similarities with states in East Asia, including an equally significant market for supplementary education. Lee, Lee, & Jang (2009) review the history of policy responses to shadow education in South Korea, and conclude that earlier attempts to either eliminate the high-stakes examinations for high school or university entrance, or alternatively to declare a prohibition of supplementary education businesses, have been marked by failure. They further note that current policies have moved to a position closer to accommodation rather than elimination. Thus, instead of attempting to legislate against the existence of supplementary education, or limiting the use of high-stakes tests, the government has opted to attempt a policy combining the enhancement of the quality of public education provision in tandem with increased provision of government sponsored supplementary tutoring programmes. The authors note the implied resilience of the phenomenon of "education fever", resistant to attempts to legislate away the undesirable effects of supplementary education, and suggest that more 'positive and cooperative reactions' are required in facing the constant 'energy of education fever'.

The authors summarize both the perceived problems created by the shadow education sector, and also the possible policy responses. Four major problems are outlined, including: (1) exacerbation of inequalities in education, (2) heavy financial burdens, (3) adverse effects on mainstream schooling system, and (4) severe psychological harm to children. Four types of policy responses are then outlined, along with a summary of their effectiveness, including: (1) equalizing school intakes and resources, (2) prohibition of shadow education, (3) enhancing quality of public education, and (4) providing supplementary tutoring programmes. The authors comment that while prohibition efforts in South Korea have failed, with the relevant statutes having to be abandoned, and there continues to be debate about the effectiveness of equalizing school intakes, with a continued intense competition to enter prestigious schools, the effects of the latter two policies, which are relatively recent, are still not clear.

The authors then present a three level model of the demand mechanisms for shadow education in South Korea, also drawing on the *enrichment-remedial* categorization offered by Baker, Akiba et al. (2001). In their model, the 'macro' level comprises the issue of credentialism, the 'social value system in which educational credentials … play an important role in status attainment', while the 'meso' level is represented by the mechanism of the high-stakes examination system which acts as a screening mechanism for entry into higher education, and finally, the 'micro' level comprises 'individuals' beliefs that shadow education helps improve academic achievement'. The authors' conclusions suggest that both 'macro' and 'micro' attempts to limit the adverse effects of supplementary education have been disappointing, and that more success is likely to be met through 'meso' level policy changes.

It could be argued that both the 'macro' and 'micro' levels in this model, although not defined in terms of a particular culture, include references to values and beliefs, and thus will be intertwined with issues regarding the cultural context. It is interesting to note that the 'macro' and 'micro' policy interventions have also been the most problematic. Although the authors do not closely analyze the concept of "education fever", the resilience of both this phenomenon and that of 'individual beliefs' concerning the benefits of opting for supplementary education seem to be central themes in the challenges facing South Korean education policy makers. This suggests that specific cultural factors are behind the 'energy for education fever'.

2-1-5   Supplementary Education in Taiwan

From a general overview of shadow education in various contexts worldwide, I now turn to look at research which refers specifically to the situation in Taiwan. First of all, the scale is appreciable, with various indicators showing the extent of this industry in Taiwan. As reported by Zeng (1999)(Zeng 1999), the Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) calculated the 1992 income of academic *buxiban* as equivalent to US$212 million, with a net profit of over US$13 million. This compares with a market size in Japan of US$11.7 billion in 1991 for academic *juku* schools. Wu (2004), cited by Bray (2005), reported government statistics for 1998, recording 5,536 tutoring centres in Taiwan with a total of 1,891,096 students. Recent MOE data show an increase in the

number of registered *buxibans*. From 3076 registered establishments in 1997, the MOE (2012) (MOE 2012)now reports a total of 18,929 registered *buxibans* in 2011. It can be inferred that the scale of the phenomenon is also apparently gaining in size, although data from official sources must be interpreted with caution, as it is probably fair to say that a significant proportion of tutoring establishments are neither licensed nor registered with the authorities, and it is not clear how the ratio of licensed to unlicensed *buxibans* may have changed over time. For example, a recent newspaper story reports of a high proportion of children attending unregistered 'after-school care programs', suggesting that the official statistics may not be a reliable source (Taipei-Times 2011). Nevertheless, the scale and economic importance of shadow education in Taiwan can be estimated from this information.

For a further breakdown of the attendance of *buxibans* in Taiwan, figures which indicate an increasing attendance in higher grades of schooling, are shown in Table 2-1, adapted from Zeng (1999, p.180), and based on data from 1993. While this data is nearly twenty years old, the general picture probably remains comparable. The present study also aims to update this information.

	Elementary school			Junior High School
Grade	G1-G2	G3-G4	G5-G6	G7
Ratio (%)	18.2	38.7	51.7	80.9

Table 2-1   Attendance at *buxibans* in Taiwan

While the main thrust of shadow education seems to be concentrated at the junior and senior high school levels, the attendance of elementary school pupils is nevertheless quite significant.

Tseng (1998), in a study which looked at senior high school students in Taiwan and Hong Kong, found high levels of students engaged in private tutoring in both locations, with percentages of students enrolled in supplementary classes of 81.2% in Taiwan and 55.7% in Hong Kong, with the Taiwanese students reporting 5.4 hours a week, and Hong Kong students reporting 2.6 hours a week, of private tutoring. The questionnaire

also attempted to identify the motivations of students in choosing supplementary education. The results were tabulated, and are reproduced in Table 2-2.

Reasons given for attending private tutoring	Taiwan (%)		Hong Kong (%)	
Academic results not good enough	20.1		26	
Parents' request	10.3		5.2	
Expect to enter university	18.8	Subtotal 31.8	10.6	Subtotal 21.6
Expect to get a place in famous universities	13		11	
Classmates' influence	7.6	Subtotal 16.2	5.3	Subtotal 14.4
Peers' influence	8.6		9.1	
Don't understand school teachers	9.7		22	
No other help	9.8		7.2	
Want to learn more	1		1.2	
Other	1.1		2.4	

Table 2-2   (adapted from Tseng (1998), p.90).

From examining this data, it would seem that a combination of factors is at work in student and parent motivation for shadow education participation. An *enrichment* strategy of attempting to get better results in university entrance examinations in order to either enter university, or more particularly, to enter a more prestigious university, is evident in the responses, with 31.8% of Taiwanese and 21.6% of Hong Kong students choosing this response. This reflects the highly competitive university entrance examination system in Taiwan. It is interesting to note that, although the number of university places in Taiwan has dramatically increased in recent years to the point where nearly all high school graduates are guaranteed a place at university, there is nevertheless fierce competition for entrance to the more prestigious national universities, which traditionally are seen to give students much enhanced opportunities in future status and employment. Another interesting point to note in the above table is the high response to the 'academic results not good enough' item, with 20.1% and 26% for Taiwanese and Hong Kong students respectively. While this response would seem to be in line with a *remedial* strategy, Tseng aligns this result with students' wish to enter university or even a 'famous university', and is therefore to be seen as an aspect of the

highly competitive enterprise of university entrance examinations. Tseng further noted that tutoring ratios were higher in the 'higher band' high schools. However, there are other elements in the students' responses which perhaps warrant further study. Among these are the responses that indicates classmates' or peers' influence in motivating students to enroll in shadow education activities, amounting to 16.2% and 14.4% in Taiwan and Hong Kong respectively. It is not clear what this influence amounts to, although it might be inferred that given most students are attending private tutoring, students are likely to feel left out if they opt not to do likewise.

2-1-6   *English fever in Taiwan*

Possibly the major subject of supplementary education in Taiwan is English, and numerous reports in local media attest to the strength of 'English fever' in the education landscape. This phenomenon is therefore an important element in contributing to the scale and influence of supplementary education in Taiwan. Chen and Hsieh (2011) report the findings of a 2004 survey conducted by a leading Taiwanese news and finance magazine, CommonWealth Magazine, portraying the overwhelming enthusiasm of Taiwanese parents for English learning, and the widely held perception that proficiency in English is a key determinant to their children's future. Over 60% of interviewed parents 'perceive that their level of English proficiency determines their life', while nearly 80% of the parents 'believe English proficiency is very important to their children's future'. The authors also describe the impressive scale of the English Language Teaching industry in Taiwan, with its estimated annual output value put at between 20-25 billion New Taiwan Dollars (US$590-738 million), according to the Ministry of Education in 2004.

This powerful phenomenon is thus undoubtedly a strong element in the rise in attendance in English *buxibans* in Taiwan, as while the mainstream schools are constrained for various reasons in their provision of English instruction, both in terms of timetabling and starting age, parents can choose to augment their children's English education at private after-school establishments, as long as family finances allow.

2-1-7   Effects on mainstream schools

There is little research available which specifically covers the issue of the influence that the massive supplementary education sector has on mainstream schooling. However, a study by Su (2006) of the English language curriculum policy in elementary schools includes some revealing comments concerning the impacts of private tutoring on mainstream schooling. Interviewing ten teachers on the problems faced in EFL classes revealed that the major problem reported was that of difficulty managing students with 'diverse levels of English proficiency in one class'.

> 'All ten teachers identified a class with diverse levels of English proficiency among students as a barrier to effective teaching. All agreed that students' different starting time (learning experiences) of learning English created an unequal distribution of English proficiency. As Teacher 7 described:
> A large number of children learn English outside of school. Some start in kindergarten, some in grades 1 or 2, and others in grades 3 or 4. Some of them have even attended the English-only programme since kindergarten. On the other hand, there are still some children who only learn English in class.' (p.278).

Related to this, two of the teachers also commented on the effect of socioeconomic background, one teacher remarking that there was a clear pattern of middle- or high-income parents being able to afford to send their children to supplementary classes, in contrast to working class parents, who had difficulties in helping with their children's homework

2-1-8   Summary of shadow education literature

For such a substantial phenomenon, the amount of published research on shadow education in Taiwan remains relatively small. While one can perhaps extrapolate the findings of studies conducted in other countries and contexts, the literature on shadow education in Taiwan is not sufficiently mature for us to have a high confidence in either the results reported or in the theoretical constructs used. Bray (2010) comments that while the literature on shadow education internationally has increased over the last decade, there remain many gaps in our understanding of the phenomenon, and that a 'stronger conceptualisation' is needed in order to take into account the diversity in the experience of shadow education in different national or cultural contexts.

2-2 Motivation

2-2-1   Motivation and shadow education

While researchers such as Bray and Baker focus on the phenomenon of shadow education as a kind of market phenomenon, a reaction to perceptions of the value of education in terms of future academic and job opportunities, this still leaves the question of the fundamental motivations of students and parents in choosing shadow education activities. It is one thing to see that educational performance is valuable, but it is another to claim that shadow education practices are an appropriate response to this perception. It is therefore necessary to look further into the concepts and perceptions of learning and teaching, in order to identify what values and strategies are involved in the decisions made about schooling.

While the categorization of *enrichment* and *remedial* strategies offered by Baker, Akiba et al. (2001) is perhaps a useful tool for international comparisons of trends in the uptake of supplementary education, for a deeper understanding of the factors involved in the decisions to attend supplementary education in Taiwan and other Asian countries, specific social and cultural themes also need to be examined. One area of research which has contributed to our knowledge of decision-making in educational contexts is that of motivation in education. In particular there are some interesting findings from various researchers which look at cultural differences of motivation, suggesting that we need to look to cultural and social contexts to understand how students' and their parents' beliefs and practices inform their decisions in education.

2-2-2   The Chinese learner

Watkins and Biggs (2001), offer some challenges to the research into motivation in education, suggesting that a number of concepts and principles of Western educational psychology 'do not appear to transfer easily to the Chinese learner'. While the classroom conditions are arguably not conducive to good learning on the basis of much research in motivation, with large classes, expository methods, relentless norm-referenced assessments, and a harsh classroom climate, the Hong Kong students nevertheless perform as well or better than students in Western contexts, and seem to

have 'deeper, meaning-oriented' approaches to learning. They argue that the 'paradox of the Chinese learner', the seeming contradiction between a less-than-ideal school context and a high level of student performance, can be at least partly explained by looking at positive features in the general culture which tend to be conducive to academic learning, including the following: memorizing is viewed as a step to understanding, not merely a surface strategy; Chinese students attribute academic success more to effort, than to both effort and ability; the accepted dichotomy in the West between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is blurred in the Chinese context; socialization of children into the school culture – 'a sense of diligence and receptiveness'; in achievement motivation, the notion of success is not merely an individual matter, but involves family, in a more 'collectivist framework'.

They further suggest that a key to understanding student motivation is to see the classroom 'ecosystem' as a component of a larger system which includes school, community, and the culture. The characteristics of Hong Kong classrooms, while seeming to the Western observer to be markers of bad teaching practices, can be understood in terms of the expectations and attitudes of learners and teachers in the particular Confucian Heritage Culture setting of Hong Kong. This conclusion suggests that the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan may also be closely tied to the particular cultural and social environment, and that aspects of Confucian Heritage Culture, in particular the values surrounding learning and effort, may be responsible for the substantial scale of shadow education witnessed in Taiwan.

Many researchers focusing on comparative studies of education in Asia or among Asian-Americans have noted significant differences in patterns of motivation when investigating different cultural or social contexts. (Kinlaw, Kurtz-Costes, & Goldman-Fraser (2001) indicate differences in achievement beliefs and children's school readiness in a comparison of Chinese-American and European-American mothers. Chen and Stevenson (1995), in a study of motivational factors associated with high mathematics achievement, found that the higher achievement of Asian-American and East Asian students was associated with: having parents and peers with high standards; a belief that effort leads to success; positive attitudes about achievement; studying diligently; less interference with school work from jobs or informal peer interactions.

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They also reported that, despite the commonly held belief that Asian-American students' high achievement takes a psychological toll, there was no observed greater frequency of maladjustive symptoms.

Yamamoto and Holloway (2010), in a review of research on parental expectations and their effects on student achievement across ethnic and racial groups in U.S. schools, report that seven out of eight studies which focused on Asian-American parents confirm that Asian-American parents displayed higher parental expectations than other ethnic groups. For example, Glick and White (2004), using a large nationally representative US sample from a 1998-1994 longitudinal study (National Educational Longitudinal Study), confirm higher parental expectations, as measured by parent responses to expected level of educational attainment for their children, for Asian Americans. Suizzo and Stapleton (2007) referring to another large representative US sample of five-year-olds, also confirm this. These two studies' results are also controlled for parental socioeconomic status.

Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh (1987) reported different levels of student performance depending on parenting style. The study, including a large sample from San Francisco high school students, showed that different parenting styles (authoritarian, authoritative, permissive) predicted grade performance according to ethnicity, with 'authoritarian' parenting being the best predictor for the Asian group, while 'authoritative' best predicted performance for white Americans. Liu and Guo (2010) confirm that Chinese mothers were more authoritarian and less authoritative than Canadian mothers. However, adding to a debate concerning this area of research, Pong, Johnston & Chen (2010) report that their results in Taiwan suggest that 'authoritative' parenting, and not 'authoritarian', is a better predictor of performance for Taiwanese, and further raise doubts concerning the reliability of US results, although there may be questions concerning the operationalization of parenting styles. Other problems concerning the application of parenting styles are also discussed in the following section on parenting styles. Huntsinger and Jose (2009) report cultural differences in parental involvement in schooling between European-American and Chinese-American parents, with Chinese-American parents 'focusing more on systematic teaching of their children at home' in contrast to European-American parents who displayed a more informal

approach. Chinese-American parents were also more critical of elementary school report cards without ABC grades and ranking information.

Hess and Azuma (1991) contrast the different dispositions of American and Japanese students to school, suggesting that, while Japanese encourage 'developing adaptive dispositions, Americans try to make the learning context more attractive', thus leading to dramatic differences in classroom climates in the two countries. The studies of Stevenson & Stigler (1992) suggest that student attributions for success and failure are key elements in motivation and educational performance, with the stronger emphasis placed by Asian children upon effort, in contrast to the US children, who emphasized fixed ability, as being important for academic success. Steinberg (1996) also reports children from Asian families having a more desirable attributional style which emphasizes effort over ability. Stevenson & Stigler's (1992) research also points to factors outside the classroom, including family pressures to strive educationally, with Asian parents being 'less satisfied with mediocre performance than their American counterparts', and their tendency to encourage their children to spend more time in studying. In a comparison of U.S. and Chinese preschoolers, Li (2004) identifies differences in children's construals of the learning process. While U.S. children indicated an awareness of 'mind/task attributes', such as ability, task attempting, and strategy use, the Chinese children indicated more 'dispositional qualities', including diligence, persistence, and concentration. Ng, Pomerantz & Lam (2007), in a report of two studies of Chinese and European-American children and their mothers, found that Chinese children reported parental de-emphasis of their academic success, and emphasis of their academic failure, in contrast to European-American children. Their second study confirmed that Chinese mothers made fewer positive and more negative statements than European-American mothers, following either children's success or failure in controlled school tasks.

There is therefore much in the reported research to inform our initial hypotheses concerning the phenomenon of shadow education, with suggestions about the role of family and cultural influences. A number of themes recur in these reports, in particular the findings concerning achievement beliefs, parenting styles, and the weight of family

pressure and expectations, all of which can be related to a more general cultural discussion concerning the role of schooling and learning in Confucian Heritage Cultures. These themes hint at various mechanisms through which attendance in supplementary education may be encouraged. Thus, the reported attribution of academic success to effort rather than ability could be hypothesized to encourage the arrangement of extra study activities, such as attendance of *buxibans*. An authoritarian parenting style is associated with a high level of controlling behaviour, and with an emphasis on obedience, respect for authority, work, tradition, and the preservation of order (Baumrind 1971), and these characteristics could be seen as being commensurate with the phenomenon of children being asked to attend many hours of extra tuition. Likewise, high expectations on the part of parents and families concerning the academic success of their children may lead to an increase in the saliency of school performance, and thereby contribute to a greater demand for supplementary education provision.

Pintrich (2003) suggests that although current research has embraced the need to see motivation as situated in a social-cultural context, there are nevertheless substantial challenges to further study. In particular, Pintrich points to the need to 'understand how different cultural or ethnic groups within a culture understand and define motivation, and to understand cross-cultural differences in motivation and various self-related beliefs'. In relation to the study of motivation in the context of Taiwan, it is therefore important, first of all, to note that the social and cultural environment is not necessarily homogeneous, and that a blanket application of the Confucian Heritage Culture label to Taiwanese parents and their children may ignore a greater complexity, and so might serve only to encourage stereotyping. Secondly, it is also important to be sensitive to culture-specific ways of defining motivation. The use of Western-created concepts may unwittingly result in a distortion of the phenomenon under study. A case in point is the above-mentioned reference to the 'authoritarian' parenting style, which has been challenged in its application to Chinese parenting by Chao (1994), arguing that the concept leads to misleading negative connotations, while a view of a parenting style defined with reference to Confucian values may be more appropriate. This theme is further explored in the following section.

2-2-3   Parenting styles

A central theme in studies of motivation involving Chinese children is the importance of parenting styles, as indicated by the findings of research mentioned in the previous section, such as that of Dornbusch et al. (1987), who reported a correlation between academic performance and an authoritarian parenting style for Asian-American children. The authoritarian style of parenting, as formulated by Baumrind (1971), had the following characteristics: parents attempted to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with an absolute set of standards; parents emphasize obedience, respect for authority, work, tradition, and the preservation of order; verbal give-and-take between parent and child is discouraged.

In response to this body of research, Chao (1994) has questioned the use of the categories of parenting used. The problem for Chao in the concepts of "authoritarian" and "restrictive" is that these terms reflect their origin in a European-American context, with these ideas of "strictness" being commonly associated with 'manifestations of parental hostility, aggression, mistrust, and dominance', while for Asian parents, the concepts of obedience and strictness can instead be viewed together with 'parental concern, caring, or involvement'. Also, while the concept of 'psychological control' denotes an element of "domination" of children in the Western view, with overtones of evangelical religious fervor which include the ideas of "breaking the child's will" as a reaction to the concept of "original sin", Chao also suggests that the control element for Asian parents is more benignly concerned with organizational control and a smooth-running, harmonious family.

To better characterize the Chinese parenting style which is labeled as "authoritarian" under the Baumrind typology, Chao enrolls the help of two concepts which find their roots in Confucian thought. These two concepts are *jiao-xun* and *guan*, which can be roughly translated as "training" and "to govern". The term *jiao-xun* refers to a parenting style which emphasizes the importance of hard work, self-discipline, and obedience, and reflects a parent-child relationship which emphasizes parental respect more than closeness or intimacy. Meanwhile, *guan*, which literally means 'to govern', also includes the positive meanings of 'to care for', or 'to love' as well as 'to govern'. Thus,

Chao (1994) describes how 'parental care, concern, and involvement are synonymous with firm control and governance of the child'.

Chao cites the Bond and Hwang (1986) description of three essential aspects of Confucian thought which can be seen as the root of these two concepts concerning Chinese parenting. Thus,

> (1) A person is defined by his or her relationships with others.
> (2) Relationships are structured hierarchically.
> (3) Social order and harmony are maintained by each party honouring the requirements and responsibilities of the role relationships.

The concepts of *jiao-xun* and *guan* (training and to govern) can be seen to be important elements within the Confucian structure of family relationships. The parent-child relationships are central to Confucian thought, and while the hierarchical nature of the relationships means that children are required to display loyalty and respect to parents, the parents are equally obligated to 'assure the familial and societal goals of harmonious relations with others and the integrity of the family unit'. In this light, the parenting which includes *jiao-xun* and *guan* can be seen as part of the striving toward social order and harmony, and importantly also include a 'highly involved concern and care for children'.

Two points arising from this discussion are of particular importance for the present study. Firstly, there are particular patterns of Chinese parenting style which may be distinctly different, both in their character and also in their effects on child academic performance, from that found in other cultural contexts. It can be argued that for Chinese families, the Confucian cultural heritage represents an important basis of parent-child relationships, and that various aspects of this relationship give rise to particular ways of approaching the business of teaching and learning. This cultural description may therefore provide some clues concerning how choices are made concerning the processes of learning and teaching in Taiwan, and help provide a context for the remarkable prominence of supplementary education in Taiwan.

Secondly, the very fact of there being this scholarly discussion on the definition of parenting styles is a reminder that certain concepts may not obviously be culturally-

specific until challenged, and for many such concepts, the challenge is not guaranteed. This echoes Pintrich's (2003) call for more emic descriptions and definitions of motivation, and suggests that a more 'open phenomenological approach' to gathering data, such as described by Spradley, in which the researcher's aim is 'to understand the world from your point of view' (Spradley 1979) (p.34) may be more appropriate in the present study. This theme is further elaborated in the Methodology in Chapter 3.

2-2-4   *The self in learning - agency*

The foregoing account of cultural differences in motivation, including the emphasis of collectivist self-definitions, and the previous discussion concerning Chinese parenting styles also relates to the question of agency in learning. The framework of Social Cognitive Theory developed by Bandura (2001) posits that 'to be an agent is to intentionally make things happen by one's actions', and further characterizes 'agency' in three modes: direct personal agency, proxy agency, and collective agency. The first relates to individually exercised 'cognitive, motivational, affective, and choice processes', while proxy agency refers to the enlistment of others in this pursuit, for example children turning to parents, when direct personal agency is either not possible or not desirable, and collective agency refers to group-level collective pursuits, where there is a sense of a collective synergistic element which transcends individual pursuit.

Under this framework, one can view the agency of motivational processes as being located in the three modes of agency proposed by Bandura. However, importantly for Bandura, these modes are not mutually exclusive. In his 'model of triadic reciprocity', Bandura (1986) describes how the three elements of 'person', 'environment', and 'behaviour' interact reciprocally:

> In the social cognitive view people are neither driven by inner forces nor automatically shaped and controlled by external stimuli. Rather, human functioning is explained in terms of a model of triadic reciprocality in which behavior, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants of each other.(Bandura, 1986, p.18.)

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Bandura's framework provides us a way to look at the particular phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan, as the question of motivation and the means to achieve educational goals can be seen to be located not only in the children who attend school and supplementary education establishments, but also in their parents, who are responsible for making the choices about the approaches taken by their children in learning, and who can thus be viewed as the proxy agency in their children's learning motivation, and the attendant choices of action. On the other side of the coin, we can also see the supplementary education establishments as being the proxy agency for parents who place a high value on their children's educational success. In this view, the supplementary education establishments can be seen as a formal structure which parents can employ to structure their children's learning activities, creating an environment with strong cues about particular approaches to learning, including special teachers, materials, and time structures.

Related to this concept of a highly structured learning environment, Schunk and Zimmerman (1997) describe a model of the development of 'self-regulatory competence' from 'social' to 'self' sources of academic skill. In their model, children advance through four levels of development of self-regulation, the initial two levels comprising social influences, ('observational' and 'emulative'), and the final two levels comprising individual influences ('self-controlled' and 'self-regulated'). They describe how socialization agents expect a higher level of self-functioning at adolescence. One question raised by this model is whether the structured learning environment expected in supplementary education establishments reflects a different pattern of development of self-regulatory competence for children in a Confucian-Heritage culture setting as found in Taiwan. Specifically, the degree of structuring of the processes of learning which characterizes the use of supplementary education services suggests an emphasis on 'social' rather than 'self' sources in academic learning settings. Rather than expecting children to grapple individually with homework assignments and preparation for assessments, there seems to be a reliance on more formal classroom structures and teacher direction in learning activities.

Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory reminds us that questions concerning motivation and behaviour in learning situations are influenced by, and in turn influence the

learner's environment, in a reciprocal and dynamic fashion. It is not attempted here to formally hypothesize the complex dynamics of this system in the Taiwanese setting, but it is important to underline the importance of viewing motivation of learners as being socially situated, and suggests that research on the characterization of learners' motivation in learning needs to take account of wider social spheres, including family, classroom, and the general culture.

2-2-5   Achievement goal orientation theory

The interest in achievement goal orientation theory in this study stems from the question concerning the reasoning which underlies the behaviour choices of children and their parents. A central concern of this theory is with the connection between the goals that students have in an educational context and the specific choices of behaviour which they choose in order to pursue these goals. Pintrich (2003) describes goal orientations as 'the reasons and purposes for approaching and engaging in achievement tasks', and so they therefore encompass both the goals and the means of attaining them. Goal orientation research has been a very active area of research in educational motivation studies, and has already yielded a wealth of knowledge concerning the explanation of achievement behaviour in educational settings. With this rich background of research, particularly in western contexts, but also to some extent in other national or cultural contexts, it would seem important to review the developments of goal orientation theory. The following sections explore, firstly, the definitions and scope of goal orientation theory and research, and secondly, how the cultural dimension has been treated in this research, with the possibility that this may offer valuable insights into motivation in education in the specific Taiwanese context.

2-2-6   Definitions and history

Pintrich, Conley, & Kempler (2003), in a review of current issues of achievement goal theory, describe how achievement goals are usually defined in the middle space between broader life goals and the more specific target goals for a task. Achievement goals thus include both the general focus for achievement and also the criteria for defining the actualization of that achievement. Thus, according to Pintrich,

> 'mastery goals reflect a focus on developing competence, learning, and understanding the task and the use of self-referenced standards of improvement. Performance goals reflect an orientation to demonstrating competence, being superior to others, and the use of social comparative or normative standards.'(Pintrich, Conley et al. 2003)

The roots of achievement goal theory can be traced back many years, with Elliot (1999) even citing James' early work on psychology in this regard. However, the current theory and empirical research can be traced back to the work of Dweck, Nicholls, Ames, Maehr, and others, dating from around the 1980s. Remedios (2009) confirms the crucial influences of Dweck and Nicholls, but also mentions the early psychological research of Murray (1938) in his published work entitled "Explorations in Personality". The key concept of achievement goals is seen to emerge from the work of Dweck and colleagues, with their introduction of the idea that individuals may have different goals in achievement situations, and their development of the concepts of *performance* and *learning* goals in response to the issue of 'learned helplessness', and efforts to categorize individuals' adaptive and maladaptive responses to success or failure. Dweck (Diener & Dweck, 1980) suggests that while some pupils are interested in demonstrating competence (performance approach), others are more focused on developing mastery and competence (mastery approach).

Following this earlier research, the nomenclature and theoretical framework of achievement goals has developed, and has attracted a significant body of research exploring the usefulness of the achievement goal construct to predict behaviour in various achievement situations. By 2001, the original two construct model of mastery and performance goal orientations had been expanded to include another dimension, namely the approach or avoidance focus, so that a 2 x 2 framework of four constructs was elaborated (Elliot and McGregor 2001). In this framework, approach forms represent the desire to demonstrate ability, while avoidance forms demonstrate the desire to avoid appearing less capable than others. The 2 x 2 framework is illustrated in Table 2-3.

Table 2-3 Two goal orientations and their approach and avoidance forms, adapted from a table in Schunk et al. (2008)

	Approach Focus	**Avoidance Focus**
Mastery Orientation	Focus on mastering task, learning, understanding. Using standards of self-improvement, progress, deep understanding of task.	Focus on avoiding misunderstanding, avoiding not learning or not mastering task. Use of standards of not being wrong, not doing it incorrectly relative to task.
Performance Orientation	Focus on being superior, besting others, being the smartest, best at task in comparison to others. Use of normative standards such as getting best or highest grades, being top or best performer in class.	Focus on avoiding inferiority, not looking stupid or dumb in comparison to others. Use of normative standards of not getting the worst grades, being lowest performer in class.

In terms of research findings, while the literature has broadly endorsed the positive aspects of mastery goals for optimal teaching and learning, performance goals, particularly performance-avoidance goals, have yielded mixed reports.

> Most goal orientation theorists note the benefits of mastery goals for both students and teachers and many of these theorists state that such goal orientations should be focused on more strongly in school. There is debate, however, about the relative merits of performance-approach goals. Because these goals relate positively to some important achievement outcomes some theorists believe that performance-approach goals can be beneficial to students; other theorists continue to think that mastery goals are the most favorable goals students can have. (Wigfield and Cambria, 2010)

Kaplan and Maehr (2007), in a review of the field, point to a significant body of research which has consistently found associations between mastery goals and other positive outcomes, including self-efficacy (Kaplan and Maehr, 1999), persistence (Elliott and Dweck, 1988), self-regulated learning (Graham and Golan, 1991), positive affect (Roeser, Midgley et al. 1996), and well-being (Dykman, 1998). On the other hand,

they note that the results concerning performance goals have been inconsistent, in that while there are reports of correlations between performance goals and negative learning traits, including maladaptive patterns of cognition, affect, and behaviour, a tendency toward surface as opposed to deep learning strategies , and negative affect in the face of challenge or difficulty (Ames 1992), there are also some weak positive correlations reported with self-efficacy, effective learning strategies, grades, positive attitudes and affect (Elliot, 1999). It is suggested that the move to distinguish approach and avoidance forms could alter this inconsistent pattern, on the assumption that a performance-approach goal orientation should be predominantly positive in its effects, while a performance-avoidance goal orientation are more likely to be associated with negative effects on learning.

2-2-7   Achievement goal orientation and culture

Maehr and Nicholls (1980) suggested that goals may operate differently for people in either collectivist or individualistic cultures. Urdan (2004) notes that performance goals, in contrast to mastery goals, include a strong reference to social comparison, and so may be experienced and responded to differently according to an individual's self-definition, and argues that the effects of performance goals may be moderated by different cultural self-definitions. In particular, with respect to the collectivist-individualist dimension, it is suggested that the purposes for pursuing performance goals may be different for either collectivists or individualists.

> Whereas students with individualistic self definitions might wish to outperform
> others for the sake of ego augmentation and feelings of personal pride,
> collectivists may pursue the same performance-approach goal for
> the purpose of bringing honor to one's in-group (e.g., making one's family
> proud).(Urdan, 2004)

Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama (1999), in a study of the concept of self-esteem across cultures (Canada and Japan), describe the different self-construals in collectivist and individualistic cultures, and elaborate on the resultant effects on motivational processes. In individualistic cultures, the self is construed as an independent entity, in which the pursuit of personal accomplishment and 'standing out' are emphasized. On the other hand, in collectivist cultures, the self is construed as an interdependent entity, in which the pursuit of maintaining group harmony and interpersonal relationships by

'fitting in' is emphasized. These different emphases subsequently lead to different motivational processes. While the individualist is focused on the attainment of positive information and characteristics in order to boost the sense of distinctiveness, the collectivist is focused on more negative information and on eliminating negative characteristics which may threaten interpersonal relationships or group harmony. This line of reasoning would therefore suggest that avoidance processes are promoted more in collectivist cultures, and approach processes are promoted more in individualistic cultures.

Elliot, Chirkov, Kim, & Sheldon (2001), in a series of studies including American, Russian, and South Korean samples, report evidence to support the above hypothesis, finding that members of collectivist cultures (Russia, South Korea, and Asian-Americans) were more likely to pursue performance-avoidance goals than members of individualistic cultures. The authors reasoned that in collectivist cultures such as South Korea and Russia, the avoidance of negative outcomes is emphasized, while in individualistic cultures, the attainment of positive outcomes is emphasized. Interestingly, they also found that the correlation between avoidance goals and indicators of subjective well-being (SWB) differed across cultures. Whereas for the American sample, avoidance goals were a negative predictor for SWB, there was no significant correlation in either South Korea or Russia. Thus, the American results tentatively support the view of avoidance goals as being relatively maladaptive responses in educational achievement situations, while the results in the collectivist cultures are less clear. The lack of a significant correlation between SWB and avoidance goals raises some questions concerning the possible relationship between avoidance goals and the concept of subjective well-being as reported in the study. The authors conjecture on the possible reasons for this absence, suggesting two possible scenarios. The first suggestion is that in collectivistic countries, avoidance goals 'may not negatively predict SWB because they are in accord with the cultural emphasis on avoiding negative outcomes, but they may fail to positively predict SWB because they are unable to produce the positive outcomes needed by the organism.' (Elliot, Chirkov et al., 2001, p.509). Another possibility is that the SWB instruments used are in some sense culture specific, and fail to measure well-being in a way which makes sense in a collectivist culture, where

perhaps an emphasis on collective self-esteem or relationship harmony may be more emphasized.

In a meta-analysis of achievement goal orientation studies in 13 different national settings, Dekker and Fischer (2008) show some variations of goal levels between cultures, further supporting the need to look at specific cultural contexts for a more complete understanding of the meanings and mechanisms of goal orientation in particular cultures. Comparing various societal values and human development indicators with students' achievement goal orientation data, the authors found that mastery goals were higher in egalitarian societies, while performance goals are higher in both embedded societies and in less developed societies. However, they did not find any strong relation of performance-avoidance goals to societal-level variables.

Embedded societies are characterised by conforming to group norms, meaning being derived from social relationships, and individuals working hard for group aims, and the authors predict that in such a context, individuals could be expected to display high performance motivation and avoid failure which would negatively affect the group. Autonomous societies, on the other hand, are characterised by more individual qualities of personal preferences, opinions, and feelings, and an emphasis on the individual, freer from social pressures to perform well, and so are predicted to display lower performance motivation.

The hierarchical-egalitarian dimension of societal values relates to the extent to which individuals are either socialized into hierarchically structured roles, and are expected to maintain such a social order, or alternatively socialized with a more egalitarian concern for others as 'moral equals' (Schwartz 2004). Dekker and Fischer (2008) hypothesize that 'hierarchy is associated with strong social pressures to perform well and avoid failure', leading to a higher incidence of performance goals, while in egalitarian contexts, mastery orientation is expected to be higher, where 'individuals are not constrained by role prescriptions and are free to pursue an error-prone and more experimental way of solving problems.'

The data presented by Dekker and Fischer (2008) incorporate the means of societal values derived from Schwartz' (1994) societal-level analyses, which indicate that Taiwan, along with China and South Korea, was characterized as both strongly 'hierarchical' and 'embedded' in the hierarchical-egalitarian and embedded-autonomous dimensions. The expected lower relative mean value for mastery goals, and the expected higher relative mean value for performance-avoidance goals seem to be confirmed by their data, although the mean value for performance-approach goals was in the middle range. There remain a number of questions concerning the reasoning behind the observed trends, and the quality of the data presented. It is quite conceivable that other societal factors not measured in this study may also play an important role in the variability of achievement goal patterns, and it is also important to note that societal values are neither totally homogeneous in a particular national context, nor are they fixed in time. In addition, the sample sizes for many of the countries involved were relatively small (e.g. N=242 in Taiwan), especially when compared to the large scale studies conducted in the USA (N=24,292), and it is not immediately clear how representative the samples are for international comparison. Nevertheless, these findings seem to fit with the hypotheses offered, and strongly suggest culture-specific variation in achievement goals.

The literature reviewed in this section points to the expected and observed variation in achievement goal orientation in different cultural contexts, and the findings suggest that further studies are needed to increase our knowledge of this area. In particular, although the papers above offer some tentative explanations and theories to account for observed differences, the complex interaction of culture and other factors make definitive conclusions difficult to draw. These studies nevertheless succeed in highlighting that the theoretical basis of goal orientation theory needs to be elaborated in order to account for cultural differences. In particular, whereas many American-based studies have consistently demonstrated the positive attributes of mastery goals, and the negative attributes of avoidance forms, especially with performance-avoidance goals, it may be that goal orientations work differently for those in different cultural or social contexts. This echoes Watkins and Biggs' (2001) description of the 'paradox of the Chinese learner', and underlines the need to look more closely at how cultural context factors may be involved in motivational processes, how this may affect the adoption of distinct

patterns of goal adoption, and how these patterns may be associated with different outcomes in terms of successful learning.

2-2-8   Cultural stereotyping

The foregoing discussion concerning motivation and cultural difference is a rich area of research, but it is also one with many hazards, including the danger of over-simplification of cultural characterization when making comparisons. Bandura (2001), for example, has voiced criticism of some cross-cultural research which emphasizes cultural differences in terms of dualistic concepts, arguing that they reify the social structure, separating it from people and personal agency, and do not allow for the concept of a dynamic interplay between 'person', 'environment' and 'behaviour'.

> Social cognitive theory explains human functioning in terms of triadic reciprocal causation … In this model of reciprocal causality, internal personal factors in the form of cognitive, affective, and biological events, behavioral patterns, and environmental influences all operate as interacting determinants that influence one another bidirectionally. The environment is not a monolithic entity. (Bandura 2001, pp.14-15)

Bandura objects to the use of conceptual dualities such as 'personal agency versus social structure, self-centered agency versus communality, and individualism versus collectivism', instead emphasizing that all 'human functioning is rooted in social systems'. Instead of seeing the self as merely a product of the social structure, Bandura stresses that 'personal agency and social structure operate interdependently', and that the dualities mentioned above can be misleading in their portrayal of cultures as monolithic entities, and can hide elements of intra-cultural diversity, intercultural commonality, and also ignore the dynamic forces of change impacting on all cultures.

Specifically referring to the common identification in much cross-cultural research of the Chinese 'self' as primarily social in nature, Li (2006) argues that Chinese adolescents show a wide range of both 'social' and 'individual' goals and agency in the domain of learning, and that it is therefore necessary to be open to the complexity of self-construal for Chinese learners. Chiming with the commonly mentioned Confucian emphasis on the maintenance of social harmony, Chinese adolescent learners saw

themselves as contributing to society, honouring parents and teachers, and cultivating good interpersonal relationships. However, they also described themselves as

> exercising the learning virtues of diligence, endurance of hardship, perseverance, concentration, self-discipline, taking initiative, and humility when they engaged in learning. They also articulated independence, competition, and actual self-generated learning activities as well as their social orientation toward parents and teachers and interactions with others. (Li, 2006)

Thus, Li reminds us that we have to be careful when applying some of the commonly encountered operationalizations of cultural difference, such as the 'embedded-autonomous' distinction, as we are reducing a complex and dynamic reality into a narrow generalization of culture.

2-3 Conclusion

In addition to social and economic themes which play their part in creating the particular educational landscape witnessed in Taiwan, particular cultural themes are also important in characterizing the motivation of both students and parents in their choices in education and in the uptake of supplementary education. Thus, alongside a competitive education system with a high-stakes testing regime, there may also be strong cultural reasons why the scale of supplementary education is particularly large in Taiwan. It is therefore important to attempt to describe these different influences in order to better understand firstly, how to characterize the phenomenon in terms of educational motivation, and secondly, how to approach suitable responses to it in terms of educational policy.

3 Methodology

3-1 Cultural context

Although the scale of the supplementary education phenomenon in Taiwan is extensive, the motivational aspects have so far not been extensively reported. The phenomenon of supplementary education is a complex and heterogeneous one, including many different types of establishment, catering to parents and students at different ages, subjects, and educational levels, and with different approaches to teaching and learning. Of necessity, this research therefore attempts to describe the phenomenon in an exploratory fashion, and with an awareness of its complexity. In order to improve the focus of the research it was decided to concentrate on the participation in supplementary education at the elementary school stage, before the intense competition for university entrance starts in earnest at the high school stage. The research therefore aims to measure and characterize the different types of supplementary education at the elementary school level in Taiwan, and also to explore the reasons for its uptake.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 provides some clues concerning participation in supplementary education in Taiwan, and suggests that the research needs to explore a range of cultural factors particular to the context of Taiwan, but to some extent also shared by a number of Confucian Heritage Culture states in East Asia. The literature review also attempts to locate the phenomenon within the field of motivation in education, and identifies that the observed motivational patterns may be distinctly different from other cultural contexts. Given this significant cultural component in the research, it was important to ensure that the research design allowed cultural factors to be adequately included and characterized.

This combination of a need to account for cultural aspects, and the desire to be exploratory in characterizing how the complex phenomenon of supplementary education is located in terms of motivation in the Taiwanese context, suggests the need to pursue a flexible approach to data collection, and specifically an approach which can make sense of the phenomenon from within the Taiwanese cultural context. The researcher therefore set out to include as much as possible the authentic voices of

Taiwanese people in the description and exploration of the phenomenon, as it was felt necessary to explicitly conduct the research with some sensitivity to the cultural dimensions involved.

From the standpoint of motivation theory in education, Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, (2008) suggest that qualitative research designs are appropriate for questions which try to locate motivation in social or cultural contexts, or where the meanings of actions are sought. In particular, as indicated in the previous chapter, there is an awareness of the possible pitfalls of using the convenient cultural descriptors found in standard survey instruments, the use of which may fail to show the rich complexity of the phenomenon under investigation, and would therefore only offer limited insight into the reasons for the choices and the strategies that are pursued by children and their parents in education in Taiwan. With a more exploratory qualitative approach, we may better understand the kinds of choices, the nature of the decision-making process, and the way that contradictions are faced and responded to within a particular cultural context. It is likely that parents will experience feelings of conflict in making choices about shadow education, and the complex weighing of pros and cons will not readily emerge from simple discrete questions as might appear in a questionnaire.

The present research therefore used a variety of data collection methods selected in a pragmatic fashion in order to gather different kinds of data. The details are given in the following section. Briefly, while surveys were used to measure the uptake of different kinds of supplementary education, and to measure achievement goal orientation following a more quantitative approach, interviews were used to provide 'thicker' descriptions of the way that Taiwanese parents, teachers, and students relate to the phenomenon, so that the subtleties and complexities could be adequately characterized.

3-2 Research questions

The principal research questions are:

1. What is the scale and character of supplementary education in Taiwan, particularly at the level of Elementary School?
2. What motivates Taiwanese Elementary school age children and their parents to enroll in supplementary education activities?

3. How do these findings reflect on possible cultural differences in motivation in education?

3-3 Outline of data collection methods

Table 3-1 Sources of data used in the research

Phase of research	Data source	Quantitative or qualitative	Number of participants	Data characteristics
Phase 1	Elementary school survey (5th and 6th grade elementary school students)	Quantitative	N = 164	• categories of supplementary education • proportion of student participation • amount of time involved
	Buxiban literature survey	Qualitative	10 buxibans	• types of buxiban • promotion focus
Phase 2	Teacher, parent, student interviews	Qualitative	12 elementary school teachers, 17 parents of elementary school students, 19 university students.	• perceptions of supplementary education • reasons for uptake of supplementary education • effects on mainstream schooling
Phase 3	University student survey (English major students enrolled in universities)	Quantitative Qualitative	N = 580	• years of participation in supplementary education • reasons for participation or non-participation in supplementary education • achievement goal orientation questionnaire

The research progressed in broadly three phases as summarised in Table 3-1. The initial research focus was on gathering information by survey concerning the phenomenon of supplementary education in the elementary school context. At the same time, the ground was prepared for the second phase of research, which involved semi-structured interviews with both teachers and parents of elementary school children. As the second phase interviews were being recorded and analyzed, a third phase of data gathering was initiated, comprising a combination of survey and interviews with university students. The availability of a range of different data sources allows comparisons of findings from different angles, and this allows the research to gather a richer description of the phenomenon of supplementary education as it is interpreted by different respondents.

3-4 Phase One - Initial survey

In order to explore the basic patterns of participation of students in supplementary education activities, a questionnaire was administered by the class or English subject teachers to all students in the 5th and 6th grade classes of one elementary school, (County Elementary School). It was originally intended to also conduct the survey at another elementary school (City Elementary School), but problems in obtaining permission to conduct the survey prevented this. The survey was intended to determine the proportion of student participation in different categories of after-school establishment, an indication of the subjects studied, and the amount of time spent on supplementary education activities. The text of the survey is included as Appendix A.

At the same time, a survey of supplementary education literature was conducted, involving the researcher travelling around the school neighbourhood and visiting supplementary education establishments to gather their promotional material. This gave the researcher a firsthand impression of the supplementary education business, valuable as background knowledge for subsequent interviewing. First, the field work allowed the researcher to witness and categorize the different kinds of supplementary education establishment, and secondly, the promotional material could be used to explore the key selling points of their businesses, which in turn may shed light on the motivations of parents and children in choosing to participate in supplementary education.

3-5 Phase Two – Interviews with Elementary School Teachers and Parents

3-5-1   Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were planned in terms of the semi-structured life-world interview as described by Kvale (2007):

> 'an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena' (p.8).

Interviewees were therefore encouraged to talk about their own experiences and perceptions concerning teaching and learning, and questions were focused particularly

on respondents' relationships with both mainstream and supplementary educational contexts, and on their rationalizations of behaviour in these contexts. Kvale (1996) recommends the use of a flexible question set, beginning with 'what' and 'how' before 'why' questions, and notes that although 'why' questions may force 'an over-reflected intellectualized interview, 'why' questions about the subjects' own reasons for their actions may nevertheless be important in their own right.

3-5-2   *Chinese-Taiwanese native-speaker interviewer training*

A native Taiwanese/Chinese speaker was chosen to conduct the interviews with parents and elementary school teachers. This choice has a number of benefits, but also poses some challenges for the research. In terms of benefits, the use of a native speaker allows for informants to use their own language freely in responses, and for the interviewer to achieve a rapport with informants in their own language, and with a shared cultural background, and thus facilitates a closer approach to the informants' life world. It is also likely that reactivity effects inherent in using a researcher from a foreign culture would be minimized. In addition, although the researcher has a basic knowledge of Mandarin Chinese language, it was realized that many interviewees, particularly parents, would also use the Taiwanese language, the principal dialect in the southern part of Taiwan, in many of their responses.

The major challenges in using a native speaker interviewer are those of interviewer training and the increased distance between the researcher and the data. Interviewer training is important in the effort to reduce sources of bias in interviewing, including poor rapport, changes in question wording, and poor prompting, and is therefore a key element of ensuring validity of the interview procedure. The interviewer was therefore given an explanation of the background of the research and an overview of the central research questions, and a preliminary set of interview questions was discussed. Key points concerning interviewing technique were also discussed with the interviewer, and two practice interviews were conducted with acquaintances, after which the researcher and interviewer discussed key issues in the interview procedure and the style of

questioning. The researcher was also present at all subsequent interviews in order to obtain immediate impressions of the interview procedure, and questions about direction of questioning were agreed following each interview, in preparation for subsequent interviews. Thus, although a degree of removal is introduced by the use of an interviewer, it was decided that the advantages of shared language and culture outweighed these potential problems, which could also be minimized through appropriate interviewer training.

3-5-3   Interview study stages

The interview procedure was conducted according to Kvale's seven stages of an enquiry, as indicated below, and further discussed in the following sections:

1. Thematizing
2. Designing
3. Interviewing
4. Transcribing
5. Analyzing
6. Verifying
7. Reporting

3-5-4   Thematizing

Thematizing includes identifying and specifying the purpose of the interviews, and the development of background knowledge and familiarity with the context. The researcher has lived and worked in Taiwan for many years, so to some extent there was already a familiarity with the context, although the immediate elementary school context was not so familiar, and the researcher was also aware that preconceptions may colour the researcher's viewpoint. The results of the surveys in phase one were therefore useful in providing some background information concerning the context of supplementary education and also allowed the purpose of the interviews to be more clearly specified. The key questions concerning teachers' and parents' views of education in Taiwan, and how the phenomenon of supplementary education fits into their view of the educational landscape were therefore the key focus of the interview study. At the outset, the interviews were therefore designed to be exploratory and descriptive, rather than hypothesis testing.

3-5-5   Designing

It was important to build in a recursive approach to allow analyses of early interviews to inform subsequent interview stages, to hone interview skills, and to develop themes for analysis. The procedure was complicated in that the interviews were conducted by a Taiwanese speaker trained by the researcher, requiring additional stages in data collection and processing, which added to the distance from the research process, as discussed above.

Planning the number of informants to include in the interviews is a question which partly depends on the nature of the data of interest, and how much variety in responses is observed in different interviews. Saturation is often cited as a key decider of when sufficient interviews have been conducted in a qualitative study. Kvale (2007) describes the process of conducting new interviews until a point of saturation, after which further interviews yield little new knowledge. A key element in the procedure is therefore ensuring that the later analysis steps are conducted to some extent before subsequent interviews are arranged. In practice, considering that transcription and translation are particularly time consuming, preliminary summaries of interview findings were decided upon as the main guide in planning subsequent interviews.

3-5-6   Interviewing

Selection of teacher informants was inclusive, as all fifth and sixth grade English subject and classroom teachers from the two selected elementary schools were able to participate. However, parent selection was more problematic. The sample cannot be said to be representative, as it only represents the small proportion of parents at one of the schools who expressed willingness to participate. However, as the research here is largely exploratory, it is not considered a threat to the validity in this case.

The interviews were semi-structured, with a preliminary set of interview questions to be followed by the interviewer (see Appendix C), but with considerable freedom to allow for follow up questions. An arrangement of general and specific questioning was designed to allow respondents to convey their own ways of seeing and thinking about educational issues, while also allowing the researcher to gather some specific information concerning the supplementary education phenomenon. The interviewer was

given freedom to conduct the interviews according to the responses given, and instructed to allow respondents space to elaborate their responses.

Effort was made to express the importance of the interviewees' role as 'informants'. For example, the interviewer explained that the researcher was not familiar with the education culture of Taiwan, and that their responses would help the researcher to better understand the Taiwanese educational context.

3-5-7   *Transcribing*

As the interviews were intended for exploratory and descriptive purposes, and not specifically with a view to further discourse or linguistic analysis, the transcription procedure followed a simple set of transcription conventions. The Taiwanese interviewer, who also performed the transcription, was instructed to note down speech verbatim from the audio recording, and to indicate with dots varying pauses between utterances. The transcribed texts were then given to a Taiwanese translator to translate Chinese text into English. The completed translation was then checked and amended by the researcher, who has a basic command of Chinese language, by both listening to the audio recordings and reading the Chinese transcription, so that the researcher was satisfied that the English version of the transcription was faithful to the original audio recording. A translated transcription is not equivalent to the original speech, involving both a different medium and a different language. The researcher was aware of the lack of a one-to-one correspondence, and the final arbiter on validity of the translated transcripts revolved around whether the resulting text communicates the original content for the purposes of the present research.

3-5-8   *Analyzing*

Kvale describes different modes of interview analysis, with a broad distinction between analyses which focus on either meaning or language. Given that the present research is engaged primarily with the level of meaning, attempting to obtain descriptions and rationalizations of choices and issues facing respondents in educational situations, the interview analysis is therefore principally concerned with the coding of meaning, the condensation of meaning codes into categories, and the interpretation of meaning codes, rather than with performing linguistic or conversation analysis. This affects not only the

methods used for analysis, but also the conventions and processes used for transcription and translation. Thus, the researcher's priority in the review of validity of the translated interview texts is to ensure a correspondence of meaning through the process, and not necessarily to remain mechanically faithful to every pause and choice of wording in the recorded interviews.

The major work of analysis of interview data was performed with the aid of NVIVO software, as explained in the Findings Chapter. The contribution of the software was limited to provision of efficient cross-referencing between the four coding levels:

1. Full texts of translated interview transcriptions
2. Passages highlighted in the texts coded by the researcher
3. Collections of highlighted quotes under particular codes
4. Lists of codes

This basic use of the software allows fast access between all four levels, so that themes emerging from interviews can be thoroughly explored and checked. It was however recognized that of prime importance in this analysis process was the researcher's familiarity with the interviews, the transcripts, and the translations, and that the researcher had been present during all of the interview sessions.

3-5-9   Verifying

In terms of the reliability and validity of interview-based research, the notion of 'fitness for purpose' is salient, as the purpose determines the way in which reliability and validity are to be judged. The purpose of the interviews is to capture the range of responses concerning the uptake of supplementary education, and in elaborating on various aspects of the relationship between supplementary and mainstream education. With this purpose in mind, the judgment of validity rests in how faithfully the whole interview process yields a truthful picture of informants' views concerning these phenomena. This of course begs the question of what is truthful, and could open up a plethora of questions concerning validity in educational research. Taking a broad conception of validity, Kvale (2007) suggests that 'validity pertains to the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate'. Following this general qualitative research position, Kvale suggests that the process of validation should be

included in all seven stages of the interview enquiry, and is not just limited to one stage of reflection. In this conception of validation, Kvale sees validity as 'quality of craftsmanship', and takes on the character of a process rather than a product. Instead of making validity checks at the end of a study, the researcher is continually engaged in a process of 'checking, questioning, and theorizing throughout an interview investigation.'(p.123).

One approach to ensuring validity is to address the issues of bias in interviews. Oppenheim(1992) describes several sources of bias in interviews, including biased sampling, poor rapport, changes in question wording, poor prompting, inconsistent coding of responses, selective or interpreted recording of data or transcripts. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2000) also contend that a practical way of achieving greater validity in interview research is to attempt to reduce sources of bias, including characteristics of interviewer, respondent, and question content. Thus, throughout setting up and conducting the interview study, attention was given to addressing these sources of bias, through a continual process of checking back on interview recordings, transcripts, translations, and coding in the analysis.

Kvale describes reliability for interview research in terms of consistency and trustworthiness, and so issues of whether interview subjects' responses would be different for different interviewers, and also similar issues concerning consistency of transcription, translation, and analysis need to be addressed. This approach includes some flexibility, as separate researchers in a single setting may produce different, yet equally reliable findings. Thus, the approach to reliability in the present interview procedure was to make conscious checks for consistency at all stages, particularly in choice of interview questions, the consistency of the transcription and translation process (by checking translation against original transcriptions and recordings), and the consistency of coding behaviour in the analysis stage (by conducting coding procedure twice on selected transcripts). As mentioned above, the use of NVIVO software facilitated a recursive process of checking and cross-referencing, which also helped to ensure consistency of analysis, and hence also reliability and validity.

3-5-10   Reporting

Given that the purpose of the interviews is to develop a sense of how parents and teachers engage with issues in education in their own terms, the reporting of interview data should convey the 'gems' of informants' responses which help us to understand how they see the phenomenon of supplementary education in the Taiwanese context. The reporting should include a substantial amount of direct quotes from the interviews in order to stay as faithful to the context as possible, and should also cover the range of different responses encountered in interviews.

3-6 Phase Three – Survey and Interviews with University Students

Until this point in the research, only teachers and parents had been interviewed about their perceptions of supplementary education, so in order to provide a more complete picture, the voices of students needed to be heard. Although the university students were not immediately engaged in supplementary education, their relative maturity allowed them to offer a fuller account of their educational experience, and there would also be the advantage of being able to reflect in hindsight on the value of their supplementary education experiences.

When selecting students for interview and survey, it was decided to narrow the study to the field of English learning. This was for a number of reasons. Firstly, following the initial survey and interviews with parents and teachers at elementary school, it became apparent that English *buxibans* take up a major proportion of the supplementary education market, and so their influence on the education system and the experience of learners is particularly salient for Taiwan. Secondly, the interviews with teachers and parents revealed that the supplementary education market is extremely diverse, with many different kinds of establishments offering slightly different services, so it was decided to narrow the field by focusing on English learning in particular. Thirdly, on a practical level, with access to students of English departments in three different universities, it was possible to explore students' accounts of their English learning experience from elementary school, or even kindergarten, through high school, and up to university.

3-6-1 Survey of Achievement goal orientation, reasons for buxiban attendance, and English buxiban attendance history

A questionnaire survey of university students enrolled in English Language Departments was designed to gather data on the possible connections between participation in supplementary education, measures of achievement goal orientation, and measures of student performance in English. Also included in the questionnaire were open-ended questions concerning the reasons for participation in supplementary education. The rationale for the survey was to further explore the questions addressed in the interviews, but to adopt different methods of data collection, and thus achieve an element of triangulation in the study. Thus, in addition to detailed information concerning students' English buxiban attendance history, students were asked, in a more exploratory fashion, to give possible reasons for attendance or non-attendance of English buxibans, both in respect of themselves and also in respect of other students. Finally, a standardized questionnaire on achievement goal orientation was included, (Elliot and McGregor, 2001) first, to measure the students' reported achievement goal orientation, and secondly, to further explore any correlations between goal orientation, buxiban attendance and English test performance. As achievement goal orientation has been investigated in a number of different cultural settings, such as described by Dekker and Fischer (2008) and Elliot, Chirkov et al. (2001), it was decided to use principally the same instrument in the present research, thus offering a contribution to cross-cultural comparison with respect to achievement goal orientation. The sample of students (N=580) was large enough for statistical treatment using SPSS, although unfortunately, owing to procedural problems, it was impossible to obtain the planned student test performance data in the present study.

3-6-2 Student Interviews

The interview procedure for students differed in a number of respects from those conducted with elementary school parents and teachers. Firstly, the interviews were conducted principally in English, thus avoiding the need for a separate interviewer, transcriber, and translator in the research process. As informants were all English majors, it was felt that the streamlining of the interview procedure outweighed any language problems stemming from students' lack of communicative skills in English.

This was particularly the case as the researcher could also use basic Chinese in situations when English responses were not forthcoming.

Secondly, in contrast to the semi-structured interview questions used for parents and teachers, students were first asked to think about their English-learning experience from their earliest memories until the time of senior high school graduation, and were shown a sheet with a list of prompts to help them structure their recollections. The prompts consisted of a set of items set out as a heuristic device to encourage respondents to focus on significant events in their English-learning experience. Following ideas of narrative enquiry and the concept of 'critical events' (Webster and Mertova 2007), the categories of *time*, *place*, and *events* were modified to give the categories *times*, *places*, and *people*. Under these three headings, subheadings relating to different school levels (e.g. elementary, junior high school), different learning locations (e.g. school, *buxiban*, home), and different people (e.g. parents, teachers, friends) were also listed. The list of prompts was then used as a focus during the interview, allowing students to relate their own narrative concerning learning. The interviewer also added further questions as suggested by the occasion in order to elicit accounts relevant to the research.

Finally, while the selection of students for interview was to some extent a sample of convenience, being limited to those students who offered contact details on the questionnaire form, there was also a conscious effort to select student informants with varying levels of attendance in supplementary education, including not only students with substantial supplementary education experience, but also those with little or no record of buxiban attendance.

Although the student interviews were conducted separately from the parent and teacher interviews of Phase Two, it was envisaged that the analysis of the teacher, parent and student interviews would be grouped together in one chapter, allowing for a comparison of accounts from three major participants in supplementary education.

3-7 Ethical considerations

At all stages of the research, confidentiality of all participants was maintained, and all interview participants gave informed consent for their participation. In addition, names of the schools included in the research are kept confidential, with alias names provided in the reporting. In the process of satisfying ethical requirements, the research methods used in this study, including a detailed description of interview procedures and survey instruments, were initially reviewed and approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee.

Prior to all interviews, interviewees were shown a 'participant information sheet' and were asked to read and sign a 'consent form', both of which were translated into Chinese. English versions of the 'participant information sheet' and 'consent form' are included as Appendix H. Interviews with teachers and university students took place on school premises at agreed times, while parent interviews took place at parents' homes. Small gifts were prepared for all interviewees to express thanks for their help. Prior to conducting all surveys, descriptions of methods used were given to school authorities, and approval was obtained from these participating school authorities. For the student interviews, the researcher did not interview any students enrolled in the researcher's current class, and it was made clear to all students that responses were completely confidential and independent of any school assessments.

3-8 Summary of research approach

The research thus uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in order to help uncover the principal themes underling the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan. This combination may raise questions about the lack of a unified conception of epistemology. However, the eclectic approach offered here can also be seen as a pragmatic way of attempting to answer different questions in different ways. While the survey may provide quantitative data concerning participation, and some semi-quantitative data concerning reasons, the interview data provides a deeper description of those reasons and behaviours, so that together we may construct a more rounded picture of the phenomenon in a particular cultural setting.

4 Findings & Analysis – preliminary research

4-1 Preliminary Elementary school survey

A survey was conducted among the students enrolled in one of the elementary schools visited (made anonymous as County School). The principal aim of the survey was to get an idea of the scale of supplementary education in the elementary school setting. Table 4-1 and Table 4-2 show the key results of this survey. It can be seen that of the pupils in the final two years of elementary school, grades 5 and 6, with a total valid sample of 164 students, 117 students (71%) reported that they attended some kind of private supplementary education, while only 18 students (11 %) reported that they did not attend any kind of supplementary education, and 29 students (18%) reported attending the elementary school's own after-school programme.

The private supplementary education included a variety of different types, including *anqinban,* (which is responsible for a daily after-school programme, in which children are often picked up from school, fed snacks, and supervised in their school homework), *buxiban,* (supplementary study class, which offer supplementary classes in various school subjects), and private tutoring. The *buxibans* may specialize in English or mathematics, or they may offer a range of different school subjects, and there are also 'talent' *buxibans*, where other extra-curricular subjects are taught, such as music, dance, or arts and crafts. Of the students surveyed, 27% attended private *anqinbans*, 46% attended *buxibans* just for English, 21% attended *buxibans* for subjects other than English, and just 4% reported home tutoring. In terms of hours spent in supplementary education, 23% of students reported spending at least 10 hours per week at private *anqinbans*, while for English *buxiban* attendance, 46% reported spending at least 2 hours per week, and 29% spending 4 hours per week.

Table 4-1   Attendance in supplementary education - Students in 5th and 6th year of County Elementary School

Kind of supplementary education attended	No. of students	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Elementary School after-school class	29	17.7	17.7
Private supplementary education	117	71.3	89.0
No supplementary education	18	11.0	100.0
Total	164	100.0	

Table 4-2   Attendance at English *buxiban* - Students in 5th and 6th year of County Elementary School

Hours per week at English *buxiban*	No. of students	Percent	Cumulative Percent
9	1	.6	.6
6	3	1.8	2.4
5	3	1.8	4.3
4.5	2	1.2	5.5
4	39	23.8	29.3
3	20	12.2	41.5
2	8	4.9	46.3
0	88	53.7	100.0
Total	164	100.0	

The survey also attempted to gather information concerning parents' educational attainment and type of employment to see if there were any obvious links between these variables and the attendance of their children at *buxibans* or *anqinbans*. Owing to difficulties in coding responses, it was felt that the data obtained was not sufficiently reliable for further analysis. The surveys were completed by elementary school students themselves, and their knowledge of parental work and educational qualifications was often absent or vague. However, one measure, whether mothers were working mothers or homemakers, was considered to be more robust, and this did show some variation in *buxiban* attendance. It was found that children of working mothers tended to spend more time at anqinbans than children of homemaker mothers (private anqinban: 4.89 hours per week vs. 3.17 hours per week; In-school anqinban: 2.2 hours per week vs.

1.47 hours per week), although this trend was reversed for English and other *buxibans*.
The sample is not very large, with 32 of 163 mothers being classed as being
homemakers.

Table 4-3   Attendance in supplementary education – according to working or homemaker mothers

	mean hours of attendance in supplementary education per week	
	Mother = at work n=131	Mother = homemaker n=32
Private anqinban	4.89	3.17
In-school anqinban	2.2	1.47
English *buxiban*	1.56	2.43
Other *buxiban*	0.87	1.55
Home tutor	0.21	0.09

These results show an expected suggestion concerning the trend for busy parents to
entrust their children to *anqinban* services partly for the purposes of childcare, although
the reverse trend with respect to *buxibans* still requires explanation. One possibility is
that, as *anqinbans* already fulfill the demands for extra tuition for the children of
working mothers, there is less of a need to attend other establishments. There could also
be financial or time considerations which preclude additional investment in
supplementary education, so that the children attending *anqinban* are less likely to
spend many hours at a *buxiban* as well.

Thus, although detailed information about the profiles of students who enrolled in
supplementary education was not obtained in this survey, there is sufficient information
to show both the scale of supplementary education, with a large majority of children

attending some form of extra schooling in addition to regular school, and also a basic picture of the different types of supplementary education which are available.

4-2 Supplementary education promotional literature

In the initial research stages, in order to get more general information about the phenomenon of supplementary education, in particular to get some idea about the messages used to attract parents or students to their establishment, the researcher explored the immediate neighbourhood of the elementary school chosen for the initial survey. The researcher proceeded to visit any *buxibans* encountered in the area, and collected any promotional literature offered by *buxibans* which advertised English classes. Of the ten English *buxibans* which were visited by the researcher, a total of nine freely offered samples of their promotional literature. The samples were then translated into English, and the translations were then checked against the original brochures or leaflets. The content of the brochures was then briefly analysed in terms of the messages concerning their services and their selling points. The survey was not designed to be exhaustive or comprehensive, but instead was designed to gather a basic portrait of the manner in which supplementary English education is promoted to its clients in Taiwan. As the phenomenon of supplementary education is likely to be quite different to that to be found in other societies, the value of this exercise is in drawing a fairly rough sketch which conveys some of the flavour of the supplementary education phenomenon. The translation of the promotional literature is included in Appendix B, along with a table of themes and comments gleaned from the literature analysis procedure. A list of common themes extracted from the promotional literature is shown below:

Themes from buxiban promotional literature

1. Business model – large national chain, local city chain, small independent. The scale of businesses was observed to vary greatly.

2. Target age-groups and system of levels – kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, and senior high school.

3. Service description focus

   a) Focus on tests and traditional teaching - test preparation, competitions, 'success', 'be the best'.

   b) Focus on 'English as an International Language' and 'active teaching methods'

   c) Focus on Parental Approval – claims of parental approval

   d) Focus on teacher qualifications, experience, and use of foreign teachers

e) Focus on skills taught – pronunciation, speaking, reading, writing, memorizing, drama.

f) Focus on service to children – individual assistance, help weak students, care for children.

The first observation the researcher made was concerning the variety of promotional material encountered, reflecting the very different range of resources involved, ranging from the large powerful educational chain brands, such as "Hess" and "Sesame Street", which were able to provide glossy, professional-looking colour brochures, to the smaller, independently-run *buxibans*, which tended to produce simple photocopied leaflets. This contrast was also evident in the differences in terms of resources of space and organization available, as witnessed by the researcher when visiting the establishments. While the "Hess" chain brand *buxiban*, for example, occupied relatively large premises, and their reception staff were smartly dressed in uniforms, somewhat resembling what one might expect at an airline check-in counter, and the brochures were expensively colour printed, the independent "Lee" *buxiban*, run by a local teacher, occupied a more modest shop front, with rows of desks and a whiteboard set up to become a classroom, and the promotional literature was equally basic in nature.

In addition to the range of business models encountered, there is a range in the target age groups mentioned in the promotional literature, with *buxibans* offering courses tailored to particular age groups, and offering varying degrees of sophistication in the system of levels in the programmes offered. The larger business model establishments described sophisticated differentiation of levels and ages, with clear learning stages built into their systems. In contrast, smaller establishments offered less detailed differentiation, often allied to the corresponding school grade levels.

Various themes were observed in descriptions of service focus, which illustrate the range of emphasis to be found in the English *buxiban* offerings. These themes may help to provide clues concerning the common reasons for participation in supplementary education, and the expectations that parents may have about the services offered. Thus, in terms of teaching approach, while there is a strong element of the attention to test performance, competition, the pursuit of academic success, and a 'step-by-step'

teaching approach, there are also many references to the importance of English as an international or global language, and some emphasis on more 'active' teaching methods. These references in turn reflect the variety of reasons involved in the decisions to participate in supplementary education. References to test performance and a competitive engagement with the learning process strongly suggest that *buxibans* are viewed by parents as offering ways to improve academic performance as measured in school grades and tests. Meanwhile, references to the global importance of English suggest that parents are also looking beyond immediate test results, and are positively interested in effective language learning for their children, sensing that language skills are important beyond their children's immediate academic performance.

Other themes found in the promotional literature relate to various selling points which *buxibans* may use to attract custom. These include claims about parental approval ratings and the quality of teaching staff, as well as the special services that *buxibans* can provide for children, such as the provision of individual help for children and help for 'weak' students, and the focus on learning particular language skills. The literature aims to give the impression that their children will benefit from *buxiban* help in both performance terms and in increased language ability, and that this will be given in ways which are not just a reinforcement of mainstream schooling, but may represent help which is alternative or complimentary to that offered by mainstream schooling.

This brief description of the content of English *buxiban* promotional material thus provides some indication of the wide diversity of provision which supplementary education includes, and points to some of the main themes of the functions of supplementary education which can be seen in the educational landscape in Taiwan.

5 Interview findings & analysis

The following sections comprise an analysis of the interviews conducted with a total of 12 teachers and 17 parents of elementary school children, and 19 university students enrolled in English departments. The elementary school teachers included both general class teachers and English subject teachers in two different schools in a city in the south of Taiwan, while the parents were found through contacts with one of the selected schools. The university students were also enrolled in three different universities also located in or near the same city in the south of Taiwan. The data from interviews helps to paint a picture of the phenomenon of supplementary education, as seen and experienced from these three different perspectives, and the following analysis attempts to describe and explain each of the various themes which arose.

5-1 Selection of respondents for interview

The process of selection of respondents for interviews differed for teachers, parents and students as described below. The initial contact was by introduction to two elementary school teachers in two separate elementary schools, both located in the general area of a large city in the south of Taiwan. One school, here given the alias 'City School' was located in a city district, while the other school, here given the alias 'County School' was located in a county district, although practically in the same urban conurbation as City School. Following interviews with the two introduced teachers, it was possible to arrange further interviews with their teaching colleagues in the two schools. For the purposes of the study, teachers in the upper grades (5th grade and 6th grade) of elementary school were chosen. At City School, a total of 7 teachers were interviewed, including 5 classroom teachers and 2 English subject teachers, while at County School, a total of 5 classroom teachers were interviewed, of whom 2 teachers also doubled as English subject teachers. City School is a comparatively larger school, with approximately 10 class groups for each academic year, while County School is smaller with approximately 4 class groups for each academic year. Each class group has approximately 30 to 35 students and one classroom teacher. Teachers were in every instance willing to attend the interview when asked.

The story of selection of parents is very different. It was first attempted to gain permission to approach parents of children in both of the schools involved, but eventually only County School gave permission, including permission to conduct the initial survey of all children enrolled in the 4th and 5th grades concerning attendance in supplementary education. A request for parents to consent to being approached for interview was sent to all parents in a circular distributed by the classroom teachers to the students. The response rate was very low, so it was decided to directly approach parents at the next available Parent Teacher Association evening gathering. A total of 17 parents were interviewed in the study. There were of course concerns that the sample is extremely unrepresentative. However, as the purpose of the interviews is not to quantify, but rather to explore the range of possible responses, it was felt that the sample was satisfactory.

The selection of university students for interview followed the administration of the survey concerning participation in supplementary education (covered in the next chapter). As the majority of respondents offered contact details, it was possible to select some students for follow-up interviews. There was a conscious decision to include students with different degrees of participation in supplementary education, with some having had no reported supplementary English instruction, while others reported extensive attendance at English *buxibans*. As in the case of teacher and parent interviews, where it is the range of responses which is of principal interest, no other conscious selection criteria were used in the selection process, and no claims are made for a representative sample in the interviews. A total of 19 students were interviewed, including 16 who were enrolled at Beta University, and 3 who were enrolled at Alpha University.

The procedure for interviewing was as described above in Chapter 3.

5-2 Interview analysis procedure

The analysis of interview data was accomplished with the aid of NVIVO qualitative research software (NVIVO, version 7, QSR International Pty, Ltd.). Interviews were recorded, transcribed, translated, and then coded, and all names of interview subjects were either changed (for teachers and parents) or replaced with a number label (students). The coding was conducted without a prior set of categories, so that as the researcher encountered responses of possible interest, selected portions of text were given a new coding label. As the reading of the interview transcripts continued, a large number of codes was collected within the software, and this process yielded 179, 158, and 221 separate codes each, from teacher, parent, and student interviews respectively. Through combination of equivalent or closely related items, the codes were further consolidated to 26, 46, and 31 codes each, for teacher, parent, and student interviews respectively. The preliminary lists of codes which emerged from the procedure are shown in Appendix D. At this stage, the researcher reviewed all of the quotations coded for each coding category, and a description of emergent themes was composed in note form. Further review and comparison of codes was undertaken, and the accounts distilled from the three groups of interviews (teachers, parents, and students) were further compared and organized into a descriptive framework, which is illustrated in Table 5-1.

One of the advantages of using NVIVO software for this procedure is in the ease of instant switching between views of coding structures and the original text quotes, so that the process of organizing can follow a recursive pattern, whereby the codes emerging from textual analysis can be checked by reviewing the quoted extracts in context, and further refinements and changes of coding can be readily undertaken.

Table 5-1 Descriptive framework of themes from interviews.

Reasons for participation in supplementary education	1. Following the trend 2. For competitive advantage 3. Parental responsibility 4. To avoid failure 5. For discipline and control 6. To provide additional learning opportunities 7. School insufficient 8. Take over parental supervision role 9. Coping with changes in curriculum and policy
Reasons for non-participation in supplementary education	1. Financial concerns 2. Reduce pressure on children 3. Encourage self-study active approach 4. Supplementary education not helpful 5. Prefer parental supervision 6. School performance satisfactory
Effects of supplementary education	1. Effect on Children's approach to learning 2. Effect on Teachers' approach to teaching. 3. Effect on Parents' approach to mainstream and supplementary education
Effectiveness of supplementary education	1. Better grades 2. More confidence 3. Complementary help 4. Childcare & supervision 5. Distortion of educational goals 6. Passive learning 7. Marginal help
Influences of others	1. Parental and family influences 2. Peer influences 3. Teacher influences

It was decided that this descriptive classification which centred on the reasons for and against the participation in supplementary education would yield a manageable structure for further analysis and reporting. Additional themes were also included in the description when they were judged to be relevant to the phenomenon of supplementary education, the various factors involved in parental and student choices over the uptake of supplementary education, and the various effects which the phenomenon of supplementary education has on the education system as a whole. The structure of the following sections reflects the descriptive framework outlined above. For each of the

themes identified, the phenomenon is described and discussed with reference to selected quotations from the interviews.

5-3 Reasons for participation in supplementary education

Each category of reason is introduced below, with examples of interviewees' responses being offered in order to illustrate their perceptions of the phenomenon of supplementary education.

5-3-1   Following the trend

The first theme concerning participation in supplementary education is the power of the trend. As a majority of elementary school students are attending *buxibans*, there is a sense that attending a *buxiban* has become the norm or default choice, and it seems that parents and children have to think of reasons not to attend rather than the opposite. Parents will see their neighbours' children going to the *buxiban* or *anqinban*, and will find supplementary education businesses in plentiful supply in the streets surrounding every elementary school.

> They like to compare their children with other children, with neighbors'. They even like to compare with other people and say "Do you go to the *buxibans*?" For example, the neighbor's children go to the *buxibans*. Their children don't go and feel sorry for that. They didn't give the children this opportunity. Therefore, they feel that other children go to the *buxiban* so our children should go as well. They can compete with others. (Teacher David)

Even if a parent feels confident enough that the *buxiban* is not necessary, the social pressure to attend is also felt by the children, perhaps wanting to have the same experience as their peers.

> The mother thought you didn't need to go to the *buxibans* until junior high school. You needed to work hard at the primary school level. He kept his results at a good level. But he was still nervous and kept repeating: "Teacher Amy, I want to go to the English *buxibans* but my mother doesn't let me." I said what do you feel? He said: "But other children go to the *buxibans*". (Teacher Amy)

The perception of *buxiban* attendance as a common experience is confirmed by students' accounts. Thus, Student 08 comments how the vast majority of his classmates would have attended the *buxiban* for English or other subjects, and also adds that those who did not attend had apparently 'given up' on learning English.

Student 08:   Yes I think most of our age students they went to *buxiban*, and just like my experience, I think so.
Interviewer: So did some of your classmates not go to the *buxiban*?
Student 08:   Yes, but only one or two.
Interviewer: Just one or two. Out of the class of 30 or more.
 Student 08:   Only one or two. And they were also not very good at English. And just give up.

With the large scale of supplementary education, with so many children attending, and the high visibility of the private supplementary education business in the community, parents also confirmed that attendance at the *buxiban* or *anqinban* is almost a requirement, so that for parents to go against the trend would not be an easy step to take.

More *buxibans*. I think it's because many parents think that every child goes to the *buxibans*. It's kind of strange if my child doesn't go. Many parents think this way. Yes.. (Parent 05)

This sense of a trend is not just a recent fashion in the educational environment of Taiwan, but has been a part of the schooling experience for many of the parents interviewed.

This is because that we were raised up this way. I have to keep reminding myself. You have to tell yourself that you need to use another method for your own children. When we were little, our parents asked us to go to the *buxibans*. The mother often said that social activities were not important. You didn't need to attend many activities. She only wanted me to study hard and I understood this well. As I got older, I started to realize the importance of studying. In the past, I felt that I studied for my mother. After I went to study the Master's degree, I started to think about this question. I saw my past. You have to let your children realize that they are studying for themselves, not for me. All parents want their children do well. But they don't know that if the children don't have real experience, they do it for you. If you are not around, they do less. In the past, I was like this. I try not to have my children have this kind of thinking. That's why there are more and more *buxibans*. That's how we were raised up. When we have our own children, we can't help use the past experience teaching our children. (Parent 13).

Thus, we can see here a picture of how the supplementary education sector is not just an adjunct to the educational system, but is part of the fabric of schooling for children and parents in Taiwan. In this situation, it seems that there is a general acceptance of *buxiban* attendance as a normal activity, and that for parents, the challenge is to support the choice for non-participation, as this choice is to go against the general consensus.

5-3-2   *For Competitive Advantage*

Teachers emphasized many parents' strong concerns with test results and grades, and it is clear from the interviews that the pursuit of better grade performance is a major reason for the choice of supplementary education. When parents learn that their children are not performing as highly as they would like, a common reaction is to enlist the help of the *buxiban* to try to raise their children's school performance. The impression given was that not only do parents want their children to do satisfactorily in their tests, but a large proportion of parents wanted their children to perform better than other children, to be at or very near the top of the class. Parents' perception of the severe competition for coveted places at prestigious national universities, or alternatively for their children to be selected for 'A' stream classes in high school, seems to be a strong theme in their choice of supplementary education.

> Most parents ask their children's results to be on top of the class… speaking about the school results, I talked about this with several parents and I think they worry more about this. They know in Taiwan's society, most people think qualifications are important. "Degree is everything." Therefore, they want their children to go to good universities in order to find a good job after they graduate. Basically, they consider about the reality. They hope their children have a more stable life in the future.…I think it's a big factor. Because in Taiwan people care very much about qualifications…. They (*buxibans*) can help with the students' results. It's because the *buxibans* and after-school classes must have business. The students must have good results, thus the parents are willing to send them to these places. The after-school teachers work very hard on helping the students getting good results. (Teacher Betty)

> They don't think about the universities at the primary school level. They only see the numbers moving up and down. If they have good results, they (parents) feel very happy. (Teacher David)

It seems that many parents have high demands on their children to do well, and school performance expectations can be very high. This high proportion of competitive-minded parents will further fuel the already competitive education system. Even when parents may say that grades are not so important, this still assumes a basic level of performance from their children, below which grades become an important issue. Thus, parents will commonly say that "90 points is OK" in school tests, but "80 points" may set off warning signals for parents that performance needs looking at. If the grades start to drop, parents will ask their children to improve their performance, and may also demand their children attend the *buxiban* for extra tuition to help their grades improve.

> For their school work, for their monthly tests, as long as it's above 90 points. I don't mind if you don't get number 1 in the class, as long as you are above 90 points. It's OK. I don't mind. In the past, I thought that they knew it well. My child knew they only needed to have more than 90 points on tests. It's OK if sometimes they did around 80 points. I didn't yell at them. … If they don't do well on this test, we only talk about it and say that they were being careless. You need to pay attention next time. Some students start crying after they get their test paper. It's because they know they will be punished or yelled at after they get home. They feel under pressure. Some of their classmates keep crying after they get their test papers. I asked them "why?" They say that after they go home they will be beaten. So, they care more about the children's school work." (Parent 03).

To be as good as the others is sometimes not enough. Some parents want their children to be better than all the others. As one parent mentions, it seems that parents hope that their children perform not just to a satisfactory level, but to outperform their classmates, and to be top of the class.

> Father: It's very competitive here. Everyone wants to get 100 points for their tests.
> Interviewer: Do you mean this school or..
> Father: Every school is the same. The education is like this here. We hope that the children can all get 100 points. (Parent 04).

> Father: Taiwan is an island country and has a high density of population. There are many people who want to fight for one position. There's limited resources. … There are some famous High schools. Many parents have this kind of "ancient Chinese" idea. They want their children to be the number one. They expect their children to be the number one at the elementary school, Junior high school and High school. So, they want their children to start learning earlier. For example, a seven-year-old child might only know phonics but they want their children to know phonics at the kindergarten level. When the children are seven-year-old, they want their children to learn 3rd and 4th grade stuff. So, their children can become the top one in the peer group. They want their children's school results to be the best. Many parents only care for the "intelligence" aspect or for "school work". (Parent 13).

There is a sense that 'to do well' at school may be defined differently by parents in Taiwan when compared to parents in other cultures. While this may be attributable to cultural factors, in particular the importance placed upon educational attainment in the society, this emphasis could also reflect a perception of a very competitive employment market. Although it is difficult to quantify, it seems that for many parents, performance expectations for their children are particularly high.

Teachers also offered other manifestations of the highly competitive atmosphere in schooling. For example, the desire of parents to know the grades is strong, and despite official guidelines which prohibit the publication of rankings of individual students, parents may put pressure on teachers to reveal this information. The suggestion is that hearing that one's child is 'doing alright' is not enough for many parents, and that they are particularly interested in seeing high performance in their children's tests and school grades.

> Interviewer: Are tests important at primary schools?
> Teacher Carol: You need to take into consideration of primary school results. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Education regulations state that "grade ranking" is not allowed at junior high and primary schools. But parents still want to know. So we read out their ranking in the class. In the past, the students' ranking list was printed out and was taken home with them. But it's not allowed, so now we just read it out. (Teacher Carol)

This competitive atmosphere was also confirmed by the accounts of many parents, who talked of the increasingly competitive nature of schooling in Taiwan, even at the level of elementary school. This sense of competition is undoubtedly a key part of parents' choice to enroll children in supplementary education.

> Father: *Buxibans*… Some parents think that if their children need to go to the good schools and find a good job in the future, they need to send their children to the *buxibans*. They think this way. (Parent 07).

Some have pointed to the role of a severe test culture in education, where progress to the next stage is controlled by highly competitive tests. However, reforms of testing systems do not seem to have been the answer so far. While University entrance used to be a privilege of the elite, Taiwanese high school leavers are now almost guaranteed the chance of a university place, albeit not necessarily in the most prestigious institutions. Despite increased opportunities to pursue higher education, and despite the efforts to simplify and streamline the education system from elementary to high school in the 9 year curriculum, parents feel competition increasing rather than decreasing. Although university education is almost universally available, there are clear divisions between the elite universities and the less prestigious ones, and competition is keen in assuring places in the best universities.

> There are some reputable universities in Taiwan. Some are public, some are private. Those new schools might not easily stand out. That's what I think. Therefore, I worry that in the future if you don't work hard yourself, we don't care for their education, they can't compete with others. … Apart from the textbooks used at school, you must buy the additional reference books and test paper. You are afraid that your children can't compete with others. In the past, the childhood was much happier. Now, it's different. There are many choices for higher education, but it's still difficult to get into the reputable schools. You have to work hard for it. In contrast, I think the burden is getting heavier. (Parent 02).

> In Taiwan, it's for further education. Many *buxibans* are to help students with tests or further education. I think that we have a big problem with our education reform. They don't go to the *buxibans* because they are interested in or they want study. They go there for further education. Yes. I don't think that it's good for the children's future development. In this environment, if you want your own children to be able to compete with others, you have to accept it. (Parent 11).

The sense of competition, and the perceived need to get their children to become accustomed to a competitive atmosphere goes beyond striving to enter the best schools and universities, it also encompasses a sense of the highly competitive workplace, and so parents see a need to encourage a competitive spirit in their children, and a need to encourage their children to perform as well as possible in school for any possible advantage this may offer them in their future.

> They face great competition. The competition at school is smaller. After they start working, the competition is much greater. If the financial condition allows, they can start learning earlier. Thus, they have better advantages. (Parent 18).

Thus, concerns about competition in education and the future job market were cited as major reasons for sending children to *buxibans*. Entry to good careers depends on attending a good university, which in turn depend on attending a good high school, so the pressure to perform well in tests starts at least at junior high school level, or even earlier, with some pupils opting for private junior high schools, which have their own entry tests, and these schools may also stream their students into classes with different attainments. Tests are the key element in selection of students at each stage, so the competition can be intense. The highly competitive tests are university entrance and senior high school entrance. Previously there was also a junior high school entrance test, but this has now been abandoned, although private high schools still regulate entry and perform streaming of classes according to tests.

> In Taiwan, the parents are used to have their children do many tests. The education is to help pass the tests. The basic thing is to have tests. It's a stage. If you want to go to a university or a good Senior High school, you have pass entrance tests…. For most children to have education is to go to a good school. It makes it easier for their further study. (Parent 08)

For many parents, attending the *buxiban* is often seen as necessary for children at junior high school rather than at elementary school, but they fear that the transition from elementary to junior high might be too much. Parents may therefore get children used to going to *buxibans* in elementary school, so that the transition is not so hard to bear. Also, parents may feel that children need to get used to a competitive element earlier in their educational career, in order to be better prepared for a competitive future.

> When he goes to the Junior High school or Senior High school or University he needs to improve his ability. For example, at the Junior High school, they need to attend extra classes to improve their ability. There will be some problems. If the child has never been to the *buxibans* since little, he or she might not like it when they have to go to the *buxibans* at Junior High school level. (Parent 08).

To summarize, the perception by parents of the need for a competitive advantage to be gained in a competitive educational system, combined with a situation where a large proportion of parents have relatively high expectations of school attainment, can be seen to strengthen the demand for supplementary education in Taiwan, and can therefore explain to some extent the scale of supplementary education witnessed in this study.

5-3-3   *To Avoid Failure*

In contrast to the accounts concerning competition for top places in good schools, another theme mentioned in interviews is the fear that children may not be performing well in school. With the continual pressure on children to keep up and perform well in competitive tests, the parents fear that children will be 'left behind' and then languish at the bottom of the class rankings.

> Some parents think their children's results drop too much. … In this case, the parents get nervous and think why the results drop so much. What are the children going to do when they get to junior -high school level? The parents start looking for the *buxibans*. The children go to the after-school classes for Math. After they finish the homework, they go to the Math class. It's at the same school, thus it's very convenient. The *buxibans* have Math and English classes. The students can attend these classes and do more practice there. That way, the

> parents feel better about this. The *buxiban* teachers are very good at giving pressure in their homework. They do practice, practice and more practice. Before the monthly exam, if your ability is not good enough, you can come on holidays to do more revision. They go and search for all kinds of information to improve their ability. It's constant reinforcement – parents have this reason. The parents think the children's level is low. (Teacher Amy)

This theme was supported by accounts from parents, who may perceive that the pressure on children is not to perform outstandingly, but merely to survive, or to find some sense of security. Some parents and teachers spoke of the M-shaped distribution of student performance in school tests, and expressed worry about how their children could avoid being sucked into the bottom part of the M-shape distribution. Parents were concerned that their children could keep up with classmates, and not get left behind – worried about losing at the starting line. Thus, a common reason given for sending children to the *buxiban* is as a reaction to low or falling grade performance of children in their school subjects.

> When the children don't do very well at school, the parents ask them to make improvement. I don't think that I am like that. I don't insist them going to the *buxibans*. …. Some parents think that their children should go to the *buxibans* in order to compete with others. (Parent 08)

> Recently, he said to me that he didn't do very well in English on tests. He was behind in the class. He didn't know what to do. In July, he started going to the English *buxibans*. Until now, October, it's less than 5 months.. only 4 months. Slowly, he's improving …. Slowly, he is catching up with his classmates. In Taiwan, it's necessary that you have to go the *buxibans*. In his class, most students go to the *buxibans* at Grade 2 or 3. Some even start from the kindergarten level. (Parent 19).

The phrase "Don't lose at the starting line" frequently appeared in interviews with parents. The phrase in the context of education in Taiwan has been used in advertising material for *buxibans*. The parents gave some interesting comments and interpretations. Parents perceive that other children are being pushed to learn things earlier than normal in order to give them a competitive advantage, and that if you just let your own child follow the normal schooling schedule, you will discover that your child has been left behind.

> Mother: I think that all parents are afraid of their children "losing at the starting point". They want their children to start learning earlier ... My third

child is now facing a problem when going to the 1st year of the elementary
school. Other children in the class know this but he doesn't know. That's why I
have to help him every day. He feels tired about this. He feels that he used to
have lots of free time at the kindergarten level. Now, he has to face this kind of
problem every day. Other people say "you didn't let him learn earlier at the
kindergarten level". If I did that, he had to give up the happiest time at the
kindergarten level. The teacher says that he is the slowest one in the class. He
has to work hard. When he comes home I ask him "what else did the teacher
say?" The teacher told him to work harder. I am afraid that the teacher has a
negative idea about him which might make him feel sad. However, he is quite
confident in himself at the kindergarten. He knows that he needs to work hard,
even though he doesn't like me teaching him again and again. He feels bad
about this. I tell him that I will help you and you have to help yourself. Some
parents are worried that their children play too much. They can't see what they
can learn when playing. The children need to have "knowledge". Like counting
1, 2, 3 or know phonics. They feel that their children are learning something. All
parents want their children to do better than other children. They feel better if
the children are doing some learning. All parents want their children doing better
than others. Of course, I expect my children to do well at school. (Parent 13).

The parents sense an obligation to push their children to perform, but also fear that the
extra pressure of education is not without a price, with children spending more time in
academic endeavor at the expense of play time and a more relaxed environment for
child development.

5-3-4   *Parental responsibility*

One key factor in the choice of supplementary education is the high value placed on
education in the society, and in Taiwan, families see education as a crucial part of
succeeding in the social world, not just for better employment prospects, but as an
indicator of social status in itself. Traditional values dictate that families have a
responsibility to provide the best possible resources for their children's education, and
high educational attainment has strong social connotations, with high educational
attainment bringing honour to a family. Despite the financial sacrifices demanded,
parents are frequently found to pile significant resources into a child's education, and
this tendency will tend to raise the stakes for all children and parents.

There is also the sense that the pursuit of education by the child is not just a matter of
the child's own effort, but includes the parents' effort and responsibility to push or
guide the children in the right way. Thus, Taiwanese parents have a high stake in their

children's education, and so the choice to attend supplementary education can be seen as a manifestation of this strong alignment of values concerning education. It is not merely investing in the child's education, but also fulfilling parental or family responsibility.

> Mother: It's a tradition in Taiwan that you have to work hard to give the children good education ... It might be different culture or something. The Taiwanese people have high expectations for their children. They care for their growing process
> Interviewer: Care for the children's achievement?
> Father: Yes, achievement
> Interviewer: Can you tell us more about what you think about "caring for the children's achievement?
> Father: Yes… We are a bit selfish. We want to be proud of our children in the future. In the West …
> Mother: Chinese people want their children to bring the family honor. (Parent 02)
>
> For Taiwanese parents, we are different from the parents in the Western countries. We always worry a lot for our children. We worry that if they have eaten yet, if they have water, if they go to the toilet. For the Western parents, their children seem to be more independent. (Parent 08)

On the other side of the coin, a number of parents mentioned the worry that if they failed to provide the best resources and create the best opportunities for their children, then children may later blame them for neglect of their parental duty. Given that so many children attend *buxibans* for extra schooling, parents may feel that to deny their own children this resource could be seen to represent a lapse of their parental responsibility. Sending the children to the *buxiban* can thus be seen as a kind of insurance against accusations of parental neglect.

> "I don't give my child too much pressure. I don't ask her to be the top student. You need to do your best to do what you can. If you do your best, it's OK you don't get very good results. She needs to do what she needs to do. If you go to the *buxibans* like others, but you still don't get good results, then it's your problem, not mine. I have done what I need to do for you." (Parent 18).

Interviews with students also confirmed the pursuit of better grades, in order to ensure entry to better high schools and universities, and hence better job prospects, as reasons to engage in supplementary education.   There is also a sense that this pursuit is

important for social status, not only for the child himself/herself, but also for the status conferred on the whole family. Thus, Student 18 describes how 'high scores' represent 'everything' for parents and teachers, and Student 19 refers to the 'honour' conferred on a family by their child attending a prestigious university rather than attending a less prestigious one:

Interviewer: And finally, why do you think *buxibans - buxibans* are so popular in Taiwan?
Student 18:   As I say, I just try to get a high score, right. And the high score I think means everything in Taiwan. Just you have to get a high score.
Interviewer: Means everything?
Student 18:   High score to make your parents your teachers happy, and get high score, can enter a good school, and that means everything for job seeking or anything else, for status in the family

Interviewer: So why do you think *buxibans* are so popular in Taiwan?
Student 19:   Because every parent wants their children to enter a good school. When they are in junior high school they want to enter a good senior high, when they are in senior high, they will be very greedy, want to enter a good university, so ..
Interviewer: So what's a good university?
Student 19:   mm .. the good university in Taiwan means when you told them the name of your university, and others will know, and that means a good university.
Interviewer: Like National Taiwan University [NTU]?
Student 19:   Yes, because NTU you tell to old people about 60 years old, they know about it, but they .. but in *shih hsin* you know, another university in Taipei, but it's a private university, when you told them this name or another university, they will be confused, 'where is it?' so they will not very popular
Interviewer: So the famous good universities
Student 19:   Yes, everyone wants to search for that
Interviewer: Because …
Student 19:   Because . mm … in truth, they have the .. what's the feeling? It's .. mm ..I don't know how to say it, it's the feeling of .. honour, it's a feeling of honour.
Interviewer: A feeling of ..
Student 19:   Honour
Interviewer: Honour. Like status?
Student 19:   Maybe
Interviewer: Or it's honour.
Student 19:   Maybe their neighbours will always ask what's your university, what's your senior high, and when say when you tell them the name of your university or senior high school, they will, 'Oh it's good', but if it's not, maybe they will say something behind you, because they just not for they have no bad .. they don't have .. bad purpose, but they just want to chat with other neighbours, and talk about what's going on with you.
Interviewer: So they are comparing

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Student 19:   Maybe compare, very, very [laughs]

The references to honour and family status underline the importance of education for many Taiwanese parents, and this sense of value can be seen as providing an impetus to use supplementary education. The parents have a high stake in the learning process, and supplementary education represents a way to persuade children to concentrate more time and effort on school attainment.

5-3-5   *Discipline*

It used to be common to hear of students suffering physical punishment at school, and not merely for behavioural transgressions, but also for poor performance in school tests. Nowadays, although physical punishment is illegal in all schools in Taiwan, private *buxibans* and *anqinbans* may somehow escape this rule, and, presumably with the support of parents, continue to use physical punishment on children as a means of discipline and encouragement to perform better in school tests. Some of the teachers interviewed spoke of this phenomenon, and suggested that parents who sought a more severe regime of discipline may be tempted to send their children to suitable *buxibans* or anqinbans.

> The students say" but the teachers at the *buxibans* punish me". I say" why? Does your mother know about this?" "My mother asks the after-school classes teachers to punish me because my test score is too low." We don't do this at schools. If the students don't do well on the tests we tell their parents. Now if the student gets lower grades we go to their parents. The parents tell the after-school classes teachers to do more… Yes. These days the parents don't often physically punish their children. However, they still hope the children can get good results. But they don't know what do to. That's why they spend money on paying the *buxiban* fee. (Teacher David)

> This is a very strange concept. At schools, the parents don't allow the teachers to blame the students for their results problem. At the *buxibans* and after-school classes, they are allowed to do that. The after-school class teachers blame the students for bad results. (Teacher Betty)

Although many parents reject the use of physical punishment, teachers mentioned that they believed that some parents send their children to *buxibans* where teachers may not be as constrained in their use of such forms of discipline.

I support physical punishment. You can't do physical punishment above the shoulder area. I support the policy they have in Singapore. If you do something against the law, they get electrified on their butt. Therefore, I support the school using physical punishment on students who don't behave. You can hit their butts but not the shoulder or push them against the wall. Some students are really naughty. Physical punishment is not allowed by the Ministry of Education. … Last semester, I counseled 6 students at Hao-Jia High school. They didn't listen to the teacher in the class. The teacher couldn't do anything about it. They didn't write their homework. They didn't do well in the tests. … Sometimes you need to use stick. They are afraid of that. You still need to have the stick. (Parent 10).

While Parent 10 supports corporal punishment, Parent 17 offers a very different view, which illustrates an alternative concept, and it is interesting to note that this parent also did not force her child to attend supplementary education.

I don't think that it should be like this. He has a horrible childhood. I feel painful as well. In the past, my brother's two children study very well. My sister-in-law had to sit next to the table holding a ruler supervising them "You didn't write this character well. Write it again." She beat them. That child cried and did the homework at the same time. You felt that it's cruel to them? Now, they have started working. They don't want to do more study. They find it painful. I think that it's a pity. Learning should be happy. As long as you have interest and you like to learn, you feel happy. That's my attitude. (Parent 17)

5-3-6   *To push children to study*

A related theme concerns the view of children as passive learners, where *buxibans* are seen as a choice which helps to structure a child's learning. Instead of having to rely on a child's independent study, or on a parent's efforts to structure the child's learning, parents may opt for the *buxiban* to take care of this task. A number of students reported this view of passive learning in attempting to explain the widespread attendance of *buxibans*. Thus, Student 13 describes how students in Taiwan are used to being pushed by teachers, and tend not to study unless pushed. There is also a hint that school performance is not valued per se, but only in terms of its utilitarian outcomes, i.e. a good or well-paying job.

Interviewer: Why do you think *buxibans* are so popular in Taiwan?
Student 13:   Maybe because the children in Asia are, especially in our country, that they don't like to study a lot, they won't push themselves to study, they are always pushed by teachers. The teachers in our country and in or in England or in America are very different, because the teacher in foreign country won't push

students, they just want students to think, to talk, to write, by themselves, they won't push them even you are answers wrong, that's a good one, right?

One of the students interviewed had spent approximately 6 years in Canada, during his high school years, and so was able to give some comments about the perceived differences between his experience of school in both Taiwan and Canada. Two particular threads emerged from his account, the first being the contrast between parenting styles in Canada and Taiwan, and the second being the contrast in class atmosphere and teaching/learning style. These both resonate with the passive approach to learning as described above.

The view of parenting described by Student 16 seems to support the picture of Taiwanese parents as being more likely to make choices on behalf of their children than Canadian parents, allowing children a lesser degree of independence, being stricter, and putting a greater emphasis on the importance of study. Canadian children were seen as being given more freedom to make their own choices, and also to be more 'mature' than Taiwanese children of a comparable age. This lack of independence and an encouraged passivity in the children is also offered as an explanation for the widespread use of *buxibans* by Taiwanese parents.

Student 16:   Well I think *buxiban* is like, maybe it's important maybe it's not, it's just like, I think it's like trying to tame their own sons and daughters, like, 'hey, don't go play after school, go study' because Taiwan is like 'study, study, study'. And in Canada it's like 'Hey it's your thing. If you want to .. you have to grow up yourself' That's I think it's kind of like, so sometimes I think foreign people are more mature than Taiwanese people, because they are like 14 and 16 years old and they can think for themselves, in Taiwan they are like, 'oh, I got a test tomorrow, I just want to play I want to relax'. So I think it's not really necessary, but I think learning, getting to know, if you really want to get into the subject I think it's necessary, but I don't think parents have to force their kids to go in there .... my cousins are like an example. 'I don't want to go to *buxiban*.' But their parents make them go.
Interviewer: You mentioned the word 'tame', as in like taming a wild animal.
Student 16:   Yes, it's like they, I don't know but is it, I think it's very strict in Taiwan, they are just like, 'no you can't play, no their bad friends, no you can't hang out with them, no you shouldn't play ball, you have no future playing ball, and you should just study, study, study.' Yes, from preventing them from going out, they can sometimes just throw them into *buxibans*.

The second thread concerns the differing teaching/learning style, in particular the use of student-centred group work, reflection, and discussion in the Canadian classroom, which is contrasted with a view of Taiwanese teaching/learning as being of a more 'spoon-fed' teacher-centred variety.

> Student 16:   Well really English isn't really taught there [Canada]. It's like your language, you don't really talk about English a lot, but we start learning English like grammar and things in the 7th grade, which I didn't really get a lot of. And then I came back. It's like our teacher [in Canada]starts teaching us grammars, yes, we start with grammar, not quite different, but the only difference is that the teacher doesn't just like talk, for the whole class. Alright, there's this thing, we all sit in groups, and like there's this subject, and want you to discuss it, and then I want to hear the answers later. And so we have to really discuss it, and sometimes they give us homework like, here's this homework, they do this in a group, and then I want you up for presentation for like next week, or next next week … yes, in Taiwan it's like up on the blackboard, start writing, and start talking, you sit alone, and you are just staring at the blackboard, not just looking at it and thinking by yourself. When you have difficulties or if you don't understand, it's really difficult to ask someone, because the teachers say, 'Hey, don't talk' or something.
> Interviewer: So a very different classroom management
> Student 16:   Yes, different.
> Interviewer: So in Canada there's more
> Student 16:   Group
> Interviewer: Group work, and in Taiwan it's more teacher and the whole class
> Student 16:   Yes, because in Canada we are like hey, make mistakes, I want you to make mistakes, I want you to make mistakes and come and ask me. And we are like, 'I give you the subject, it's in the book, you read, you discuss, if you have a problem, you come and ask me'. In Taiwan it's like 'I teach you everything, and if you don't get it, you come and ask me.'
> Interviewer: I see
> Student 16:   But it's like an environment thing, because in Taiwan, you don't really ask questions, you feel ashamed of yourself or something, I don't know. And like, 'I ask questions, I'm stupid.' Kind of like that, that kind of feeling, so they usually put those confusing ideas in their mind, in their heart, and they just don't ask about it. Yes.
> Interviewer: So a very different atmosphere.
> Student 16:   Yes, a different atmosphere

In the above interview, the student respondent also alludes to the difficulty of asking questions in class, and it is interesting to note here that a number of students mentioned that they felt more at ease asking questions in the *buxiban* setting, possibly with much smaller class sizes, and also possibly with different teacher-student relationship

involved. So in addition to the *buxibans* catering to parents' desire for a highly structured, limited-choice, learning environment, it could also be that *buxibans* alternatively allow for a more active learning experience for children who are usually used to a more passive style in the school setting.

5-3-7   To provide additional learning opportunities – school is not enough

Set against this background of competition and the concern for survival, there is also the sense that just relying on what the state school supplies is not sufficient for ensuring one's child's success in school. The state school is seen as only providing a minimum basis for what a child needs for succeeding in their academic career.

> In fact, the school doesn't give enough. It's because the school is only for general education. If you have expectations of your own children and have other ideas, only the family can provide this. The school can't give a lot. The school can only provide basic needs in every aspect. (Parent 05)

In the subjects where parents feel least adequate to help their children, namely English and mathematics, the use of supplementary education for elementary school pupils is widespread. For English in particular, as the elementary school curriculum has been limited in scope when compared to what many parents would like to see, there is a vibrant market for supplementary English classes in what has been termed the 'English Craze'. Interestingly, many parents are looking beyond the school curriculum when considering English classes, as many see English as a key component to a better future job or life, more or less as a key to a global opportunity.

Elementary school English classes are limited in timetabling, limited in class size, and are also limited in curriculum, as they need to cater to those pupils who have not previously studied English. Unfortunately, because such a large proportion of parents send their children to private English classes, some even starting during kindergarten, parents and teachers are acutely aware of a sharp divide between those children with a rich exposure to English, and those who are facing it for the first time in elementary school. There is therefore intense pressure on parents to consider supplementary

education for English, as the parents feel that the English *buxibans* can help to keep

their children on track with their English learning.

> It's different from school. The school teacher can't teach enough. He really
> learns more at the *buxiban*. He pays attention. It might be because of small class.
> They teach according to the students' needs. At school, the teacher has to catch
> up with the curriculum. At the English *buxiban* or after-school class, they have
> more time for the students. They can teach them individually. Yes. I think it's
> more thoughtful. (Parent 11).

> For the Elementary school, it's for basic level. In Taiwan, we only started
> teaching English at school for a few years. There's a lot of room to make
> progress in teaching. They might not be very good or cram style teaching or just
> follow the textbook. There's a lot of room to make progress. I don't know. The
> ones who don't go to the *buxibans* don't do too well at school. (Parent 09).

Teachers tended to support the idea that elementary school English is not sufficient for

children, some even to the extent of admitting that the English *buxibans* are responsible

for the bulk of English teaching at the elementary school level.

> Interviewer: Does it help their English?
> Gill: Yes. Frankly speaking, I think it's a, at the school, because, you
> know it's just er 2 hours a week.
> Interviewer: Yes.
> Gill: So I think we can say that they learn, learning English is from the
> *buxiban*, not from us.
> Interviewer: Yes, right. Because they have more time there.
> Gill: Yeah, and because they just learn from, maybe some is from the
> *xiao ban* [1st year kindergarten] kindergarten, they 3 years, 3 years.
> Interviewer: 3 years of…[kindergarten].
> Gill: Yeah, so now we teach, because in school, when we choose the
> books, it's according to the students who have never learned English
> Interviewer: So, do you find that the students can follow the English class, that
> you give, even if they don't go to a *buxiban*?
> Gill: Er, I think it's difficult, because really, just 2 classes, not two
> hours, one class just 40 minutes. (Teacher Gill)

Official education policy in Taiwan has discouraged foreign language learning from too

early an age, lest such early English classes may interfere with mother tongue

instruction, and so English has only fairly recently entered the elementary school

curriculum. The status of English in the curriculum is still curtailed, with limits to

timetabling, and an official reluctance to offer English classes in the first year of

elementary school. However, especially under strong pressure from parents, and a

realization that the supplementary education demand for English classes is so high, there is a trend for elementary school English programmes to be developed. There seems to be a tension between policy on one hand, and the demands of parents on the other. Thus, while government policy seeks to limit the encroachment of English instruction on other parts of the early elementary school curriculum, the parents often come to the conclusion that school English is insufficient, and so this importance placed on English is translated into a vibrant 'Children's English' *buxiban* market.

In some cases, the importance of English for many parents goes beyond the requirements of English as a school subject. English is seen as a key to future success in life and work, as a component of a more global society, and so parents feel that English language learning is a valuable asset for their children. There is also a sense that for language learning, it is best for children to start young. Thus, in addition to the *buxibans* which emphasize help for the school English syllabus and test performance, many English *buxibans* stress an English learning curriculum which is geared to a more communicative approach.

> The English course at this *buxiban* doesn't use the school one as the main focus. It's more close to a country… the whole system doesn't care for the progress very much. It's not to do tests. I chose this one because other people introduced us. I was told that if I wanted to use it for school work you might not get what you want. But if it's for them to use in the society after they graduate from the University, it might be useful. It's because many people in Taiwan who learn English, they might do well at school. However, they can't use the English when they work in the society. After that, I decided to transfer them to that *buxiban*. I care more for their future use. So I decided to transfer them there. (Parent 03)

Students also confirmed that in order to keep up with English at school, it would have been more difficult if they had not had additional help from outside the school, specifically mentioning that attending English *buxibans* would put students at an advantage in school English classes, and would also help them to perform better in the English tests in school. This not only points to the observation that many parents want their children to have an early start in English, frequently before they start English at elementary school, but also to a phenomenon where school English teachers are to some extent assuming that children have already had outside help in English. Those children who have attended *buxibans* for English are able to keep up with the school curriculum,

while those who do not have this experience may find themselves lagging behind, and meeting significant difficulties in their English learning.

> Interviewer: So do you think if you didn't go to the *buxiban*, would your English be different?
> Student 17:   Yes, very different. My English would become very poor, poor, poor. Because some of my classmates in elementary school, they started to get to *buxiban* … no they go to the *buxiban* in the … teachers in Taiwan teach taught themselves, and that is the efficiency is quite different, because they went, they go, they went there when they are 5th grade, I think, and I think that is a little bit too late, I think, and still have some basic problems about English, so when I was in higher grade in elementary school, I know much more letters or vocabulary than them and they still cannot understand so much, and when the exam came, I mean English exam, they have a .. they have difficulty understanding what the textbook's talking about
> Interviewer: This is the exam in elementary school?
> Student 17:   Yes, elementary school
> Interviewer: So they have problems in the test
> Student 17:   Yes, most of them

There is a sense that the children are expected to attend English classes outside school, and that the school curriculum and approach to teaching has adapted to this phenomenon by expecting a higher basic level of English in elementary school students.

A strong theme in the interviews with students is the range of difference between school and *buxibans*, and while it was clear that neither *buxibans* nor schools are homogeneous, there are clear contrasts in many aspects of the two kinds of educational institutions. The *buxibans* can be seen as offering either a reinforcement of school curriculum or offering complementary help for children, which cannot be supplied easily in mainstream schooling.

For elementary school age pupils, there are broadly two kinds of English *buxiban*; the first type follows the traditional English curriculum, and aims to prepare students for the English curriculum to be found in junior high school, and the second type aims to teach children spoken English, following a more communicative approach. Thus, some parents will send their children to the traditional type of *buxiban* in the final year or two of elementary school to allow them to preview the English curriculum of junior high school. The materials used will mirror the textbooks of junior high school, which can be

described as following a traditional grammar-translation approach, including reading texts, vocabulary, and grammar.

The second 'children's English' type of *buxibans* are popular from a much earlier age, as parents of kindergarten and early elementary school age children may choose to send their children to this kind of *buxiban* to give them an 'early start' to their English learning. The latter type also often hires native English speaking teachers in addition to Taiwanese English teachers, and the teaching activities also tend to be more dynamic, and also aim to be attractive to the students.

In high school, the range continues to be diverse, with *buxibans* either continuing to mirror high school curriculum, with preview, review, and test practice related to the high school writing curriculum and university entrance tests, or otherwise developing the communicative approach to English learning, with an emphasis on speaking and listening, and development of a view of language learning in a wider context.

Students mentioned that while the school English classes tended to be of the traditional 'follow the textbook' variety, with an emphasis on grammar and reading, a number of *buxibans* offered a more diverse and lively approach, with an emphasis on spoken English, and incorporating activities to make the learning more fun, but also more relevant. This was particularly true of the 'children's English' type of *buxiban*. Comments found in interviews with students pointed to these differences between the teaching approaches of regular school English classes and those of the 'children's English' *buxibans*. One noted difference was in the contrast between teaching predominantly from the traditional textbook, as found in the regular school English classes, and the emphasis on 'everyday English', 'spoken English', 'culture', and 'games' in the *buxibans*.

> Student 01:   In *buxiban* we can, teacher's way like play game and we can learn, but in elementary school it's always stay at your seat and teacher say, what shall we learn … I think in elementary school it's the basics.
> Interviewer: Basic yeah?
> Student 01:   Yes and the *buxiban* is *shenghuo hua* [every day speaking]
> Interviewer: It's more everyday English

Student 01:   Yes … Junior high school, in school it's more grammar, and but in the *buxiban*, they don't teach grammar, they just want you to speak more and teach everyday English …

Student 09:   Yes the teacher is also good, and they have about 30 teachers in the *buxiban*, so they, you know *buxiban*'s teacher is funny and knowledgeable, and they can let you learn lots of things that you can't learn in school. Because if you in school, you only learn the books, but *buxiban* is *shen huo hua* [every day speaking]
Interviewer: Um, English for everyday life?

Student 10:   Yes, um, because I think I want to learn more about English, not just only in text book, I want to learn more about culture, and .. culture, or the teachers learning about English experience

Another contrast mentioned by students is the difference in class size. Whereas regular school classes consisted of a teacher with approximately 30 students in a group, the *buxiban* experience is different, with much smaller class sizes, often under 10 students per group. In addition to the difference in class size there is also a difference in atmosphere, and some students mentioned the greater approachability of teachers in *buxibans* compared to their regular school teachers.

Interviewer: The teaching style is different in the school or in the *buxiban*.
Student 02:   Yeah.
Interviewer: Can you tell me more about that? You mentioned that in the school that the teachers were not so patient.
Student 02:   A little. She's really easy to get angry
Interviewer: Right ok. Is the class situation different? Like number of students in the class?
Student 02:   Yeah, in the *buxiban* it's about 6 people.
Interviewer: 6 people
Student 02:   Yeah, so we know each other, and we're not afraid to make mistake in front of each other
Interviewer: Right, but in the school class where you have about 30 people
Student 02:   Yeah when you make a mistake, everyone will stare at you, and still look at you, or even laugh at you.
Interviewer: Right, so a different atmosphere.
Student 02:   Yeah.

Student 17:   … Actually, when I took the class in our school, I mean the elementary school, and I didn't understand what the teacher is talking, was talking about, I cannot step, … I cannot follow my teacher, and for example we have to remember ABCD to Z, the characters, or the letters, and I still cannot

remember, and the teacher just kept going on and because the class is very big, about 30 students, so it is less efficient, so she could not care for every student.

Interviewer: I see

Student 17:   So that is what is different from *buxiban*

Interviewer: So the class size is very big

Student 17:   It's bigger

Interviewer: It's bigger, and so what about in the *buxiban*?

Student 17:   *Buxiban* is smaller, and you can have a .. more contact or you can talk, you can just talk to the teacher .. directly

Interviewer: Directly, yes

Student 17:   Yes, so if you have any question, can raise your hand and you can response .. at once, you can response at once.

Interviewer: So you couldn't talk to the teacher in elementary school?

Student 17:   No, no, I .. I dare to, but I don't know what my question is. I just cannot follow the teacher, so I still cannot understand what my question is, so I know I have a problem, but I don't know what my problem is, that is difficult.

These accounts from students attest to a contrast in the atmosphere to be found in regular school and *buxiban* English classes, and while class size could be an important contributing factor, there may be other factors involved, such as the differences in teaching style, teaching material, class time, or possibly even the particular nature of the contract between teachers and students or their parents. Thus, as one student mentioned, the fact that the *buxiban* teacher is clearly in the role of providing a fee-based service to the clients (student/parents) seems to influence the level of effort given in the class situation:

Student 08:   In the *buxiban* it's different, so the teachers they .. they will try any way to persuade us

Interviewer: Why do they do that?

Student 08:   Because we give them money, and go to the class. We have tuition for this, then the teacher will be more persuade for us.

Interviewer: Right, so you pay them for the service

Student 08:   Yes

Interviewer: And they give you the service

Student 08:   Yes

Students also mentioned the extra level of help they felt that they received from *buxiban* teachers

Student 03:   … the *buxiban* teacher I prefer more than the school teacher, because maybe my junior high school's English teacher is not really good. But it's not bad, but not really good, so I depend on the *buxiban*. And in senior high school, my teacher is too .. he only teach the text book, so I don't think it's enough, so I go to *buxiban*, and the teacher teach me many things.

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Interviewer: Not enough. Not enough for ..
Student 03:   For study and have tests. We have exam for university, so I went
to *buxiban*.

To summarize this theme, the additional or complementary help which the
supplementary education establishments offer parents and children can be seen partly to
represent a reaction of parents to their perception of gaps in the mainstream schooling
system, but also as a reaction to the observation that the scale of private instruction has
so altered the school experience that it is necessary to participate in supplementary
education or else face being left behind.

5-3-8   *Take over parental supervision role*

A combination of busy working parents and the increased availability of child
supervision in *buxibans* and *anqinbans* has meant that the traditional parental role of
supervising children's homework has been taken over to some extent by these private
supplementary education establishments. The following interview extracts illustrate this
changing pattern of families, but there is also a sense of homework supervision as being
better left to the 'professional' educators in the *buxibans* and *anqinbans*. These
organizations are seen to offer all-inclusive services of picking up children from school,
supplying snacks, supervising homework, offering extra classes in English or
mathematics, and even checking the teacher-parent contact books. Many of the teachers
expressed the view that parents increasingly feel unqualified to supervise their own
children in school work, sensing that the *buxibans* and *anqinbans* are more professional
in this role.

Teacher Betty: One part of the reason is that I think the function of a
family is quite weak. It's related to the *buxibans*. In the past, the mother was
just a housewife. The mother checked their children's homework. Despite the
fact that the mother's education was not very high, at least the mother could
accompany the children to finish the homework. At the exam time, the mother
pushed the students or sat next to the students to review with them. Even if the
mother's ability is insufficient, the mother was willing to do this part. It's
because of the big change in the economic condition. If the father is the only
one to make money in a family, it's not enough. The mother needs to make
money to support the family as well. With the situation of double-income
families, no one can help the students with their homework. The parents who
have enough money but can't supervise the students on their homework, can pay
others to do it. With this kind of attitude, the parents think it's OK that I can't

supervise my children's homework. The after-school class teachers can help me with this. Therefore, some functions of families disappear. That's why there are many *buxibans* and after-school classes. They believe that they don't have the ability to teach their children on their homework. The *buxiban* teachers have their own techniques. They collect all kinds of materials and they edit them. They have sorted out all kinds of information and give it to the students. It's better if they don't have any ideas themselves. (Teacher Betty)

Interviewer: What do the parents want for the students' results?
Teacher David: The funny thing about the parents is that they don't want to spend too much time to encourage their children. But they hope their children can get good results. They are willing to pay for their children to go to the *buxibans*. They don't want to spend time but they are willing to spend the money. Of course, it is not all like this. According to my observation, half is like this. They are willing to pay for their children to attend the *buxibans*. They don't want to spend the time to accompany the children to do some more stable work. The *buxibans* only help to do more practice… Yes. These days the parents don't often physically punish their children. However, they still hope the children can get good results. But they don't know what do to. That's why they spend money on paying the *buxiban* fee. (Teacher David)

Thus, in addition to the problem of busy working parents, there is also a sense that traditional parenting roles are undergoing a change. As the culture of mass supplementary education takes over the role of homework supervision, and as the school curriculum undergoes major changes, parents become less sure of their traditional supervisory role, and may feel that the supplementary education business can do a more effective job in helping their children than the parents could do themselves. Alternatively, the temptation to spend money on this 'professional service' rather than struggle to communicate with their children may be significant for some parents. There is a sense of a change in values, and a conflict between the traditional authoritarian style of parenting and a more liberal approach can also be seen as causing tensions and uncertainties in families. If there are parent-child issues in the approach to education, it may well be that the supplementary education business can offer a way for parents to exert some control over their children's learning activities which they otherwise could not manage.

I think that most parents don't have much interaction with their children. They don't have the patience to communicate with their children about education, attitude, concept or future... They spend money to send their children to the *buxibans* to make up for this. There are two main reasons. One is that the children have too much free time. Are the *anqinbans* really like the *buxibans*?

No. They make sure that the children don't go out to play computer games. To be honest, for the *anqinban*, it's about time. The parent's don't have time to accompany the children or they are too busy at work. They worry that the children stay at home alone and can't keep them company. They can't control them. *Anqinbans* are about time. That's what I think. (Parent 09).

It's because that many parents can't communicate well with their children. They only care for their school results. They don't know why their children don't do well. If the parents are like this, the children don't feel like communicating with the parents. The parents use the school results to judge if their children are good or bad. The children become rebellious. The communication between the children and the parents becomes worse. The parents think that the school results are very important. The children don't tell them why they don't do well. They think that the children need to learn it again. At this point, the parents think that it's necessary to go to the *buxibans*. The children are OK with it. Many cases are like this. (Parent 06).

Many parents mentioned their feelings of inadequacy to the task of helping their children with their homework. For many, particularly with English, but also with mathematics, the parents' own experiences of learning seemed to leave them with little confidence to help their children, so one reason for sending their children to learn at the English *buxiban* was at least partly because the parents themselves felt unable to help them with this subject.

He started going to the *buxiban* since grade 1. My English is not very good. I didn't learn English well. I can't teach him English. When he was at Grade 1 he started going to the English *buxiban*. He goes there twice a week. 2 hours per class. He does quite well because he's quite serious. (Parent 06).

To summarize, the *buxibans* and *anqinbans* can be seen to be taking over some parental supervision functions, partly from the time problems experienced by busy working parents, but also possibly as a reflection of other societal changes which have impacted on traditional family roles, and also a sense of inadequacy of parents to the task of supervising their children's homework in subjects like mathematics and English.

5-3-9   *Coping with changes in curriculum and education policy*

The ministry of education has introduced major reforms of the curriculum in the last 10 years or so, the main element being the unified 9-year curriculum, covering compulsory schooling from elementary school through junior high school. There are now plans to extend this to a 12-year compulsory schooling programme taking students up to senior high school graduation. Changes in the curriculum, such as the reform of textbook selection, the simplification of the syllabus, and the addition or changes in taught subjects, were cited as causing some confusion for parents, and also contributing to the increases in *buxiban* attendance.

In the past, a single set of official textbooks for all elementary schools and junior high schools was compiled and mandated for all state schools. Recent policy changes have meant that the choice of textbooks is now open to each individual school or school district, and instead of the Ministry of Education issuing mandatory textbooks, private publishers have been encouraged to supply the market for school textbooks. This is a significant change to the system, and one of the problems in the transition is that parents may be not confident about the particular choices that schools make. They worry that there may be gaps in the curriculum, and that other textbook choices may have more comprehensive content, and so fear that their children may be missing out as a result. Parents are then persuaded that the *buxibans* can help by distilling the content of the whole range of textbooks, and this can be given to children at the *buxibans*. In a sense the *buxibans* can cash in on parental insecurity and feelings of inadequacy in this climate of curriculum change uncertainty.

> In the past, we had only one publisher "the National Institute for Compilation and Translation" owned by the government. Now, each school has different version. As they have tests, the students are afraid that they are not learning enough by reading only one version of textbooks. So, they have to go the *buxibans* or buy lots of textbooks. That gives the children lots of pressure. As parents, we think about this. I used to give myself lots of pressure "how come my child doesn't go to the *buxibans*?" it's not saying that my child was better than others. I said to my son "why don't you go to the *buxiban* for Math?" It's necessary to go to the *buxibans* for English and Math. He said to me "I often get 100 points for my Math. Do I need to go?" I said to him "you only learn the textbook version provided by the school. When you have tests, it uses different version of textbooks, what do you do?" My husband told me that the education

foundation is the same for everyone. Some teach first, some later. As long as you pay attention at school, do your homework and pass the tests. You don't have to ask the children to go to the *buxibans*. I started to change myself. (Parent 19).

The Ministry of Education reforms were also intended to reduce the pressure on students in mainstream schooling, particularly in junior and senior high schools. However, according to the accounts of parents, there is a sense that the policy reforms have not had the intended effect. The suggestion is that if the curriculum is liberalized and simplified, although the immediate pressure on students may be reduced, parents still feel that the competition for the best university places and the best jobs is still the same, and that they need to reinforce their children's performance beyond the levels set by the Ministry of Education curriculum.

> I think the pressure of education reform is on the Junior High school. It hoped that it could reduce the Junior High school students' pressure for going to classes and exams. It didn't happen. It made it worse. It's more serious for Asian people. Ha.. In ancient Chinese system, it doesn't matter how you change the education system you still have to have tests. To pass the tests, you have to have *buxibans*. You can't change this concept. It's difficult….(Parent 06).

Interviews with teachers also confirmed that uncertainties and lack of trust in the changing system in schools has given rise to some anxiety on the part of parents, who either lack confidence in helping their children in learning, or otherwise do not trust the new system to help their child without some extra help from outside.

> Teacher Betty: We just mentioned about the education system. Now, although we are not very sure about the 12 year compulsory education system, we have already started implementing it. However, it's in the experimental stage. I think most people worry more about the "Grade 1~9" policy which is being implemented now. There are many problems and people don't trust it. The result of this is that you need to look after yourself first. Never mind about the government policy. You need to increase the students' knowledge standard. We work with the government's policies. Therefore, the whole education environment is in an unstable situation. I think this is maybe one reason why the *buxiban* business is so popular. (Teacher Betty)
>
> Teacher Carol: At that time it was to make students happier and to have less pressure. That's why we started to implement Grade 1~9 policy. However, after the implementation of Grade 1~9 policy, the students don't get less pressure. This is because the curriculum becomes simpler. They need to go to the *buxibans* to learn more difficult things. (Teacher Carol)

Teacher Carol's comment is particularly interesting, as it seems to highlight a conflict between policy and common parental expectations and behaviour. Whereas the Ministry of education policy has attempted to lessen the competitive test-taking school culture, parents are seen to be holding to the assumption that for their children to succeed, they need to perform well in academic tests. The following policy statement by the ministry illustrates the government position on education reform, while the comments above by Teacher Carol expose a situation where parents will strive to support a competitive environment despite the government position.

> "Decades ago, Taiwan's education focused too much on the results of the entrance exam that senior high school students had to take and most course content were designed for students to pass it. However, as Taiwan society became more open and liberal, more parents accepted an educational concept that enabled students to demonstrate their talents instead of just scoring high in exams. The MOE has spent more than ten years carrying out an education reform that seeks to transform a static and tedious learning system into one with a more dynamic and creative style. The ultimate goal of Taiwan education is to mold citizens for the 21st century, an era that calls for young people who are competitive, adaptable to a changing world, creative in their thinking and humanistic in their outlook." (Ministry of Education, 2011).

Thus, we can see that the supplementary education phenomenon reflects some of the tensions between official education policy and the parents who may not trust the mainstream school to provide what they want for their children.

5-4 Reasons for non-participation in supplementary education

The following sections describe and discuss the reasons for non-participation of supplementary education which arose from interviews.

5-4-1   Financial concerns – parents

Financial concerns may be an important issue for some parents, and there are certainly questions concerning equity in educational provision, especially in light of the strong supplementary education business, and its effects on the education system as a whole.

> Teacher Amy: Yes, almost all go to English *buxibans*. It's like they have to go. Unless the parents have financial problems so their children have to stop going to the *buxibans* … The economy is in recession. Many families' economic condition is terrible. I feel sorry for them. That's why there are two extreme conditions in Taiwan. The good ones are very good. The children have everything. The bad ones can't even afford the lunch meal fee. (Teacher Amy)

While none of the parents interviewed said that they could not afford the cost of supplementary education, many of the parents described the heavy toll it takes on the family finances, and that undoubtedly there are many parents who are unable to afford the cost of extra tuition. (Bearing in mind the very small proportion of parents who volunteered for interview, it seems quite likely that parents experiencing financial stresses might elect not to be interviewed). However, while the cost of supplementary education is significant, it is interesting to note that many families were willing to make sacrifices for the sake of their children's education.

> Many parents don't think that it's necessary. I know that most children go to the *buxibans*. A few of them can't go because the family can't afford. (Parent 08).

> I spend what's necessary. We try to cut our other expenditures, but we don't save costs on the child… no special reason, it should be like this… most people think like this. They spend money on children, they do what they can. If they don't have enough money, they try to save. Most people or friends that I know are like this. (Parent 18).

> Yes. The *buxiban* fee takes up at least a third of our income .… Yes. There aren't many families which have 3 children in Taiwan. Around a third. (Parent 09).

The responsibility of families to provide for children's education is thus a high priority in Taiwanese society, reflecting the value placed on education in terms of family status or honour as well as future job prospects. Although the costs are substantial, a large proportion of families are prepared to make sacrifices. However, there are serious concerns that the supplementary education market has significantly added to the inequalities in educational provision. It is also interesting to speculate whether the onerous financial burden of supplementary education may also be a significant factor in the dramatic lowering of the birth rate in Taiwan over recent years.

5-4-2   *Reduce pressure on children*

One reason given for non-participation is that parents are loath to put too much pressure on their children in learning. Teachers, parents, and students alike gave responses which indicated non-participation as a reaction to the perception that children already face enough pressure in study. The following responses also indicate that these parents also tended to discuss the question of attendance with their children, rather than deciding for them.

> Some children reject going to the after-school classes. They know that the *anqinban* will set a lot of homework and the teachers will push them. They might ask and communicate with the parents, and the parents might agree with them. The parents often say it should not be a big problem if your results are OK and you can finish your homework, then you don't have to go to the *anqinban*. Some parents who don't work can look after their children's homework. But most of them go. (Teacher Eva).

> He works very hard at school. He goes out at 6am and comes back at 4 or 5pm. After he comes back, he has to do homework. It's very tiring. In Taiwan, going to the *buxibans* is like a national sport. I think that it's very strange. It's seems strange that we don't go to the *buxibans*. Their parents say "How come you don't go to the *buxiban*? His school work is very good, isn't it?" The main point is that the children don't feel happy. … Most of them go to the after-school classes, *buxibans* or skill-training classes. My children don't go to any of them. (Parent 19)

However, it could also be the case that the children of these parents were already performing at school to a satisfactory level, and it is not clear whether the responses might have been different had the children's school results been less than satisfactory.

5-4-3   Encourage a more active self-study approach

Another reason for non-attendance is the belief that students are able to study on their own, without need for learning to be structured by the *buxiban*. There is also a sense that parental support or encouragement may be key elements of this strategy, as the responses given here seem to indicate particular parental ideas about a preferred approach to learning.

> When the children don't do very well at school, the parents ask them to make improvement. I don't think that I am like that. I don't insist on them going to the *buxibans*. Yes. For example, his Math is not very good. I ask him to work harder. I allow him to do what he wants, e.g. painting or music class. I prefer this way. Because they are only at the elementary school level. Some parents think that their children should go to the *buxibans* in order to compete with others. They go to classes like English, writing etc. I don't do that. My child writes Math test paper. No teacher teaches him. He can think himself. … For English, I teach him at home myself. For my son, his teacher graduated from English major. I talked to his teacher. His teacher cares a lot for English. The teachers at the County Elementary school care a lot as well. When he was at Grade 3 or 4, his English was quite good. That's why we didn't send him to the English *buxiban*." (Parent 08).

5-4-4   Supplementary education not helpful

Some parents felt that *buxibans* were not a good choice for their children because of undesirable influences from other classmates. There is also a suspicion that parents do not trust the *buxibans* to be conscientious about education, but instead sense that the *buxibans* are simply out to make money.

> Mother: Most students learn bad things from there [*buxiban*]. There are some bad students there who affect other students. Therefore, I don't support *buxibans*. I think that you need to push the mother, especially at the elementary and Junior high school stage. For Senior High school… The *buxiban* owners need to work hard. The level of *buxibans* is very different. Some cheat on customers. (Parent 10).

5-4-5   *Prefer parental supervision*

Some parents commented that they preferred to have a more direct contact with the child over study and learning issues, and that parents would have a better understanding of the child's particular needs in study.

> I understand my child's level, personality and needs. That's why I think that he doesn't need to go to the *buxibans*. I tried my best to help him. At Junior high school, he has problems with Math, Physics and Chemistry. If he does have problems with this, I have the ability to help him. So, I don't think that he needs to go to the *buxibans*. (Parent 06).

5-4-6   *Give children choice*

Occasionally, parents commented that they would consult the child over whether to attend the *buxiban*, rather than force them to go, and so non-attendance may also be the child's choice. Parent 16 also refers to the importance of a happy learning experience in this regard.

> We check with him if he wants to go to the *buxibans*. It depends if he wants to go or not. I don't force him. If you force him, he doesn't learn anything. My way is to let him talk about it himself. If he wants to learn something, he is willing to learn. Many children go to the after-school classes after school. After that, they go to the skill-training classes. At the elementary school level, learning takes up most of their life. I think that the children should have happy growing environment. You can only be a child once. From 6-year-old to graduation, he might be happy. After they grow up, they felt happy during the elementary school level. I was happy to go to the school. I was not forced to go to the school. So I think that they should grow up in a happy environment at the elementary school level. (Parent 16)

> For me, it depends on the children. Sometimes I asked him how many students in your class go to the *buxibans*? He said "half". Do you want to go? He said "it's useless going to the *buxibans*?" He doesn't want to go. It's OK with me. If he wants to go, we can send him there. (Parent 07).

5-4-7   *School performance satisfactory - students*

Some parents may feel that if performance in school is satisfactory, then attendance at *buxibans* is not required. Supplementary education may be viewed by parents as a resource to tap in the event of problems with their child's learning or school

performance. If performance is deemed to be satisfactory or acceptable, then there is little incentive to send children to the *buxiban*.

> Student 01:   No, maybe they think they can have good grade in English so they don't need to go.

5-4-8   *English not important*

Finally, if parents do not regard that English is important for their children's education, or if parents do not care about school performance at all, then their children will not enroll in supplementary education. However, the interviews suggest that this category would only represent a small proportion.

> Interviewer: Right, so you were saying before about 5 percent don't go to *buxiban*, and maybe that's because of family financial situation?
> Clare: Or parents think English is not important, either.
> Interviewer: Or they think …
> Clare: Yeah. Some parents don't seem to care about English, either because, again, in Taiwan, we don't use much English, and it's very rare to meet a foreigner, where you really have to talk. (yes). So, for some test, sometimes we did the test in class even just do the vocabulary dictation, some students get zero, and we write on the communication book for parents to see, they don't care. (Teacher Clare)

> Interviewer: Right, so what about the … what about the children who don't go to the *buxiban*, what do you do for them?
> Gill: Yeah, because. One is no money, right? The other one is they don't have interest, and they think, I have go to a *buxiban*, Chinese, so *anqinban* every day, 'How can you ask me to go to English again', he doesn't want to learn. Or someone just really didn't learn it, so you also feel frustrated at English class, so it, just, oh they didn't want to go. Or, they didn't like that teacher, you know. 'Oh, the activity is too boring, I don't want to go to that school' (Teacher Gill)

5-5 Effectiveness of supplementary education

Comments in interviews concerning the perceived effectiveness of supplementary education are covered in this section, divided into positive and negative appraisals below.

5-5-1   Positive appraisals

5-5-1-1   Better school performance

Teachers suggested that *buxibans* are effective in that they can provide a regimen of practice and reinforcement, giving their students extra homework, and focusing strongly on the monthly test scores and how to improve them.

> They can help with the students' results. It's because the *buxibans* and after-school classes must have business. The students must have good results, thus the parents are willing to send them to these places. The after-school teachers work very hard on helping the students getting good results. After 10 days holidays, I asked the students, "What did you do during the holidays?" "Teacher, we went to the after-school classes." I said "What did you do there." "We went there to write test papers. We couldn't finish them. Teacher, there were many test papers. We couldn't finish the tests. You can't image there are so many test papers to do." Because if the after-school class has students from different elementary schools, and at the schools, each class teacher has their own test papers, then the after-school class teachers can collect all the test papers for each class. These collected test papers will be distributed to the students at the after-school classes. The students get to practice different class test papers. They even have the chance to do the test papers from other classes. So they really write lots of test papers. (Teacher Betty)

> The *buxibans* have Math and English classes. The students can attend these classes and do more practice there. That way, the parents feel better about this. The *buxiban* teachers are very good at giving pressure in their homework. They do practice, practice and more practice. Before the monthly exam, if your ability is not good enough, you can come on holidays to do more revision. They go and search for all kinds of information to improve their ability. It's constant reinforcement – parents have this reason. (Teacher Amy)

Similarly, some students mentioned that their English school test grades or English ability were better for the help from the *buxiban*. Although the reports of Students 08 and 15 are qualified in their response, Student 17 states that the difference would have been significant.

Interviewer: Yes so you think going to the *buxiban* helped you in your English?
Student 08:   I think it will help
Interviewer: So you got grades of A or A+
Student 08:   Yes
Interviewer: And if you didn't go to the *buxiban*, do you think your grades would be different?
Student 08:   I think would get lower, just a little bit lower, get something like B+ or B, the worst situation.

Interviewer: So if you did not go to the *buxiban*, would your English be the same or would it be different?
Student 15:   Maybe it's lower. My English ability would be lower. In junior high school I didn't learn much English, I mean in school, but in senior high school I learned very much, and in *buxiban*.

Interviewer: So do you think if you didn't go to the *buxiban*, would your English be different?
Student 17:   Yes, very different. My English would become very poor, poor, poor. Because some of my classmates in elementary school, they started to get to *buxiban* .. no they go to the *buxiban* in the … teachers in Taiwan teach taught themselves, and that is the efficiency is quite different, because they went, they go, they went there when they are 5th grade, I think, and I think that is a little bit too late, I think, and still have some basic problems about English, so when I was in higher grade in elementary school, I know much more letters or vocabulary than them and they still cannot understand so much, and when the exam came, I mean English exam, they have a .. they have difficulty understanding what the textbook's talking about
Interviewer: This is the exam in elementary school?
Student 17:   Yes, elementary school
Interviewer: So they have problems in the test
Student 17:   Yes, most of them

The common conclusion therefore seems to be that English *buxibans* contribute to better performance in school, and that this improvement results from a number of factors, including the early start compared to elementary school, the extra time spent in study, their ability to structure the learning process of children, and the freedom which *buxibans* have to focus on English language instruction.

5-5-1-2   *More confidence in English*

In relation to English *buxibans*, those children who attend are generally more confident in their English ability, and more willing to try to speak English. However, it is also mentioned that parents of *buxiban* attending children tend to emphasize their educational performance, and their children may already be performing well in school,

so it is therefore not clear how much of the children's confidence is due to the *buxiban* or other factors in their family environment.

> Interviewer: You think if students who go to the English *buxibans*, if their English level is better and they go back to the school class…
> Teacher Ella: They tend to be more active and be more willing to speak English. For those ones in my class who go the English *buxibans*, their parents put more emphasis on their education. Their school grade is usually above the average. They become more confident and more willing to speak English. But some are too shy to speak English. Because I know he goes to the English *buxibans*, I ask him and he tells me I know these. In the class, I divide the class into several teams and each team has one student to go up the stage to make a speech. It always happens that students who go the English *buxibans* are more willing to speak English… As a class teacher, I also teach them Chinese and Maths. If I found their English is not very good, they don't typically do well in Chinese and Maths. Therefore, I think it's a problem of learning attitude and it doesn't have obvious relationships with students going to the English *buxibans* or not. (Teacher Ella)

5-5-1-3   Complementary help

Another common thread was that the English *buxibans* were useful in that they offered help which was complementary, but different to that given in schools, although there is a wide variety to be found in the aspects which respondents mentioned as significant in this regard. Thus, while Student 02 mentioned a more supportive and encouraging teaching style in the *buxiban* in contrast to that offered by the school teacher, Student 14 stressed that *buxiban* English classes were more interesting or engaging than the school classes, and Student 06 appreciated a more traditional 'cramming' style of *buxiban*, where students were given ample test practice and preparation.

> Interviewer: Could you tell us about how that happened?
> Student 02:   She's not as [like] my school teacher yeah she's not just read the text book and ask us to repeat that, and she explain the rules and she's very patient, because when I was confused the teacher at school just angry and not happy, so I'm not interested in English.
> Interviewer: Yeah.
> Student 02:   And she's different, when I was wrong, she didn't angry, just encourage me say, 'that's ok, we can do better next time' and so on, so I think it's not, it's ok to get wrong. And she told me a very important thing is that you can learn from your …
> Interviewer: Mistakes?
> Student 02:   Yeah
> Interviewer: A good way to learn English is to make a lot of mistakes
> Student 02:   Yeah

Interviewer: So do you think they were both useful, or do they both help you to learn English?

Student 14:   Both.

Interviewer: So if you did not go to the *buxiban*, do you think your English would be different?

Student 14:   Yes, … if I didn't go to the *buxiban*, I feel English is very boring, or and I didn't like it.

Interviewer: So the *buxiban* English classes were more interesting

Student 14:   Yes

Interviewer: And they made English more interesting for you

Student 14:   Yes

Interviewer: How about your English now? Do you think if you didn't go to the *buxiban*, do you think your English would be different now?

Student 06:   Yes. Sure. If you didn't study that before, you won't get so much knowledge in English. Yes, and that definitely help you for your junior high school and senior high school

Interviewer: Ok. In the school they have English classes

Student 06:   Yes but in the elementary school they just teach you the basic English, maybe they teach you how to spell 'cake' 'dog' something else, just easy

Interviewer: And in junior high school?

Student 06:   Junior high school, it's getting harder than you study in elementary school, and you have to learn more about grammar, you have to notice in what word you have to use

Interviewer: Yes

Student 06:   In the right way

Interviewer: And the *buxiban* will help you with that too?

Student 06:   You get more words

Interviewer: More words

Student 06:   Yes, and it's not easy to learn.

Interviewer: So do you think if some of your classmates, if they don't go to a *buxiban*, will they miss out?

Student 06:   They might not get so enough information of the English, and I think the *buxiban* will prepare everything for you

Interviewer: Ok

Student 06:   Maybe you should pay the money for them but you get more information, yes it helps you a lot.

Interviewer: Ok

Some parents characterized *buxibans* as offering a good learning environment for their children,

It's not so strict at the *buxibans*. They encourage students, I think. I don't know how many students in one class. I know some only have 10. One to ten students,

and one to 30 [at school]. Of course, for one to ten, the teacher can look after each student better. Even if they get noisy, it's not too noisy. 30 students gets very noisy. Sometimes, when the teachers lose their patience, they punish the children. Then, you waste time in the class. (Parent 02).

The English *buxibans* also have the advantage of more class time, and smaller class groups than is possible in elementary school. Whereas scheduling pressures in the mainstream elementary school limits the amount of English to approximately two 40-minute periods per week for a class of 35 students, the *buxibans* are able to arrange extra class time for English instruction, with smaller groups of between ten and twenty, allowing for more individual attention.

> Clare: I think they help, because in regular school, we only have, like, also we have 2 classes per week, …   And there's only 40 minutes, for each class, and we cover 35 students in every class, so it's really hard to look all of them. So, um, if they go to the *buxiban*, they probably can get some more individual attention, I think ….   Yeah, the classes are smaller, they usually have 10 or 20, 10 to 20, the size, smaller, so, and some of them may have 2 teachers, one main teacher, and one assistant. So I think they can get more attention.
> Interviewer: OK. And also they spend more time there than they spend in the English class in the school. (Teacher Clare)

Buxibans thus have more freedom to organize their services, whereas mainstream schools and teachers are more constrained in their flexibility concerning class times, size, and teaching approach. This organizational freedom allows *buxibans* to offer complementary help for children and their parents, who then sense a benefit from a more responsive service.

5-5-1-4   *Childcare and supervision*

It is apparent from a number of parents' accounts that the *anqinbans* help busy parents with child care, and help ensure that children are supervised while doing their homework. It is evident from interviews that this is an important service for working parents who would otherwise have to arrange alternative child-care for their children.

> Mother: *Anqinbans* outside the school.
> Interviewer: Every day?
> Mother: Yes.
> Interviewer: To go there to do homework?
> Mother: More than that. It helps us picking us the children from the school. The teacher there also assigns some homework, does revision or does some test papers. They help to do the preparation for school work. Maybe each *anqinban*

is different. Some are only for homework. The *anqinbans* they go to work very hard. (Parent 15).

5-5-2   Negative appraisals

A number of parents and students expressed doubts about the effectiveness of *buxibans*, with some commenting that parents could easily do themselves what *buxibans* do, or that *buxibans* tend to distort educational goals, emphasizing performance in subject tests and knowledge at the expense of losing the rounded education to be found in the elementary school, and tending to encourage a passive learning style.

5-5-2-1   Distortion of educational goals

Parents and teachers mentioned the limitations of *buxibans* in terms of educational goals being too narrow. While the *buxibans* might be effective in getting children's' academic performance to improve, they tend to neglect other aspects of a rounded education.

> Parent 05:   It's very different. The school cares for you in every aspect. It's not like that at the *buxibans*. If you go to the *buxibans* for Math, they only care for your Math. Let's take Math and Science as an example. They don't care for your personality or other things. They only care for your school results. If you do well, the parents are willing to send you to the *buxibans*. But the schools are not like that. In fact, I think that the elementary school teachers work very hard. The elementary school teachers help the children to build up their "personality". … they can help you with every aspect according to your personality. They understand your personality and teach you.
> Interviewer: At *buxibans*?
> Parent 05:   It doesn't happen at the *buxibans*. (Parent 05).

5-5-2-2   Passive learning

Another criticism of supplementary education is that, although they may help with short-term improvement of school performance, this is at the cost of encouraging a passive approach to learning, which a number of teachers and parents felt was detrimental overall.

> Interviewer: How do you think the *buxibans* help the children?
> Parent 04:   For the big environment, the *buxibans* don't help much. It's got more burdens on the children. That's how I feel. In the past, we didn't have many *buxibans*. Around 30 years ago, there were only a few *buxibans* around. Now, the *buxibans* are everywhere. Many people around us think that the *buxibans* are like the after-school classes. The parents are busy. They send the children to the *buxibans*. They don't want to teach themselves. The *buxiban* fees

are not very high. The children go to the *buxibans*. The teachers help you with your study. If you still can't do it, then it's your problem. I don't think that it's very good in the society.
Interviewer: Do you think that the *buxibans* don't help the children?
Parent 04:   No.
Interviewer: You mean.. no help. Do you mean for schoolwork?
Parent 04:   Of course, it helps on the schoolwork. It's a very passive way of learning. (Parent 04)

5-5-2-3   *Marginal help*

Finally, some respondents felt that the help from *buxibans* on subjects is of marginal

help, such as in the account from Student 18:

Interviewer: So if you did not go to the *buxiban* in the 5th grade, do you think your English would be different now?
Student 18:   Maybe, I don't think the *buxiban* affected me a lot, because I don't think I learned anything from, I just followed the school programmes, and the *buxiban* just make me meet friends, playing games, and maybe there is some effect, but I don't know.

5-6 Effects of supplementary education

Given that supplementary education is so widespread in Taiwan, and that it becomes a significant part of a child's educational career during the time of elementary school learning, the question of how the phenomenon of supplementary education impacts on mainstream education is therefore crucial to a fuller understanding of the whole educational environment. Teachers made mention of various effects of supplementary education, both on learning and teaching experiences, and on how parents, teachers, and students adjust to these effects. In interviews, the teachers mentioned a number of distinct effects of supplementary education, and they are dealt with below in three parts (see

Table 5-2). The first set of effects relates to how supplementary education affects children's learning experience, and the second set refers to how teachers in mainstream schools are affected by the widespread attendance of children in supplementary education. The third set relates to how the parents' approach to their children's education is affected by the presence of supplementary education.

Table 5-2   Effects of supplementary education on learning and teaching.

Effect on Children's approach to learning	1. Passive learning approach or superficial learning 2. Rejection caused by too much cramming 3. Homework overload
Effect on Teachers' approach to teaching	1. Conflicting teaching approaches 2. Classes with very large ability range 3. Teaching to the top ability range 4. Adjusting to expectations about teaching approach – English must be 'fun' 5. Group teaching approach
Effect on Parents' approach to mainstream and supplementary education	1. Different expectations of supplementary education and mainstream schooling 2. Conflict of priorities over mainstream school or supplementary school homework

5-6-1   Effects on Children's approach to learning

A common theme mentioned by many teachers was their perception that the *buxibans* and *anqinbans* tend to reinforce a more passive style of learning, through their structuring of the children's supervised study, and through their techniques of arranging frequent tests and practice sessions. While these organizations may help to boost

children's school performance, teachers point to a lack of development of the child's

own motivation to learn, and ability to take control of learning.

> Teacher David: At the *anqinban*, they give you endless test papers. After the students finish them, the teachers correct them. The teachers give you more and the students write more. It's useful. It's a kind of practice. The students become a bit like robots… Yes, they become more passive. After a while, it becomes their personal quality, personality, for ever and ever. [laughs] It's fixed, maybe.
>
> Interviewer: Why do students become passive?
>
> Teacher David: I think the parents arrange them to go to the after-school classes. It's because the after-school classes are like a kind of business organization. Therefore, the after-school classes must have some good results to show to the parents. What are the effects? The school results. If the students get good results, they can show to the parents. This shows that the interaction has a value. But the result of this kind of interaction might be that the children get very good results. Is it a long-term technique, skill? It's difficult to say. You need to observe the children's situation …
>
> Interviewer: Do you think there are differences between students who go to the *buxibans* and who don't go to the *buxibans*?
>
> Teacher David: My personal feeling is no. The students who don't go to the *buxibans* can study on their own. (learning by themself) The ones who go to the *buxibans* do lots of practice so both are good. The results are the same. But it gives us teachers a different feeling. Some are from being trained and some are from doing it on their own. The feeling is different.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think going to the *buxibans* help with the children's study?
>
> Teacher Eva: I believe they are useful for some people. But I worry that it becomes superficial. It's only because they get help from *buxiban* and after-school class teachers, that they can perform like this. If we take away this factor, most children can't do it on their own. They are passive. This is a vicious circle … They might make improvements on the results. But I think that they don't really learn it. It's because they practice 2 or 3 times to learn how to do this questions. The after-school classes give them the test paper 2 or 3 times. …
>
> Because I feel that going to the *buxibans* can't help the students with their own motivation. The teachers push them and check their work.   … However, if they don't have the foundation, they will just be passive at the after-school classes. They depend on the teachers to push them and they can have good results. If the teachers don't push them, there will be a big difference.

One possible effect of the long hours children spend in supplementary education is a

reduced level of engagement, in which the emphasis on extra hours is counterproductive,

and the children fail to engage in their study or homework tasks, and their level of

concentration is reduced.

Teacher Francis   What I think is that children in Taiwan sometimes won't express their feelings, and they just follow and do what their parents' said. And sometimes when children cram too much subjects and spend lots of time in *buxibans*, they'll show rejection. (Teacher Francis)

Interviewer: How does the students going to the *buxiban* influence your teaching?

Teacher Eva: It depends on the students. I think one kind of child needs it. It's because they are too passive. Their parents are too busy at work and don't have time to understand their child's learning situation at school. If you can accept this kind of culture, then you can say this kind of culture is useful. It can at least help the students to finish their homework on time. This might not be suitable for another kind of child. It's because they might reject this kind of culture and they don't like going to the *anqinban*. But they go to the *anqinban* because their parents have to work. They send their children to the *anqinban* and children must go. As a result of this, it's not very effective. They only finish their homework. … Basically, I think it depends on the children. It's not absolute that this kind of culture is no good or what. Some children go to the *buxiban* or *anqinban* to keep their school results at a good level due to repeating practice. This can make up for what we can't give them. Because we cannot teach them a lot. … They might make improvements on the results. But I think that they don't really learn it. It's because they practice 2 or 3 times to learn how to do this questions. The after-school classes give them test paper 2 or 3 times.   … This affects their results a little bit. But it doesn't change his whole learning method. In fact, if you really want to learn, it's enough to write the test paper once. If they want to understand it, and are willing to make corrections, they will really understand it. Once might be enough. If they do it one more time, the impression will be greater. That's enough. However, there are some students who keep repeating and still don't know what to do in the exam. This is because they don't really want to learn. (Teacher Eva).

Homework overload is a problem mentioned by teachers, and while this area is also a source of tension between teachers, parents and the *buxibans*, it seems that many children have to cope with heavy homework schedules, with their regular mainstream school homework being topped up with extra assignments from the *buxibans.*

Interviewer: Does students going to the *buxibans* give you any problems in your teaching?

Teacher David: Yes, it does. For example, I ask them to go home to do homework. They complain that it's too much homework. Why is it so much homework? They get lots of homework from the school teachers as well as from the after-school classes and *buxibans*. Students go there to finish school homework. After they finish their school homework, they have homework from there as well. Sometimes I feel sorry for students and give them less homework. However, if we give them less homework, they get more homework from the *buxibans* or after-school classes. Some teachers still give the students lots of

homework. The parents say to the teachers 'it's too much homework' because they think their children are very busy. (Teacher David)

Gill: Yes, so of course to them, they learning English is just from *buxiban*, so they care that more. Sometimes they don't care the school, you know. They don't care us. We ask them to write the homework, they didn't write.
Interviewer: So the students, they don't care about the school English, but they care about the *buxiban* English?

5-6-2   *Effects on Teachers' approach to teaching*

Elementary school teachers mentioned a number of themes relating to how supplementary education directly affects what teachers do in the classroom. One area of tension is created by conflicting methods of instruction being used by teachers in the elementary school and the *anqinban* or *buxiban*. The following teacher describes this in relation to mathematics teaching.

Sometimes it will emerge some problems, for example; some students think my teaching style is different than their *buxiban*'s teachers' and this is quite hard for them to absorb two different constructions at the same time. Thus they sometimes bring what they've learn from *buxiban* to school even though that construction has some problems. And it is also quite hard for me to correct them…..maybe that's because they've learn and absorb and they will consider there's no need to correct. And the other thing is concern with some subjects may need "operations or manipulations skills"; for example, Math class will require students to draw vertical lines with a setsquare, however, some *buxibans* don't use the proper way to teach students. I don't know how do they teach students…but I think they may not show students the actual procedure in drawing vertical lines…this might be the *buxibans*' deficiency. (Teacher Francis)

Elementary school English teachers mentioned that English teaching methods in school are to some extent driven by the expectations created by the supplementary English programmes of kindergartens and English *buxibans*. Thus, English teaching techniques tend to include more entertaining activities than Chinese classes, as children are exposed to the entertaining English teaching from an early age in supplementary English classes, and this then becomes an expectation of elementary school classes.

Celeste: Sometimes they will think it's much more interesting to go to a *buxiban* because some teachers they will use some games or activities to draw their attention, but I don't know, because I have worked in a *buxiban* for a long time, so sometimes I will use these kind of methods to teach them, and in my class it's very interesting, if I say 'if you are talking, go back to your seat, then I won't ask you any question, you don't have a chance to get a point for your

team.' So it's kind of the punishment for them. But I know other teachers, maybe some teachers they will just only teach the book things, or they just, OK, just read, I mean, not this school, some teachers will just teach from the book…

Gill: Well, they just want you have prepare for more games. Yeah, so if you just teach the grammar, they lose their interest, so you have, and you prepare for different games for different classes. For example, you teach the vocabulary, every lesson you have to change the game. ….
Interviewer: Yes, OK. So in general, all of the students, they prefer to have activities, than
Gill: Yeah, I think not generally, it's 'every'.
Interviewer: Every student, OK. Do you think that might be different in other subjects? I know you're the English teacher, but when they learn Chinese, or math, do they expect activities too?
Gill: Oh, of course not. Because they from the 1st grade or from the kindergarten, they get used to that way, they think the Chinese, Math, they just a teacher teaching, and test. (Yes). So they don't expect they learn more activities. But because they go to, from the kindergarten learn English, the teacher all, because they are little, so we have to attract their focus. So these teacher prepare activity, so they think 'learning English should be very interesting' because of the activities.
Interviewer: So this expectation, for activities, that comes from the English classes in kindergarten, or.
Gill: Yeah I can say because of the first experience,

A major challenge for elementary school teachers is the large attainment range in their classes. This is particularly true for the English classes, as English *buxiban* attendance is high, and many children learn English in the 'Children's English' programmes from an early age, in contrast to the situation at elementary school, where English instruction is restricted by timetable considerations and policies to prevent foreign language instruction from interfering with mother tongue instruction.

Clare: Yes, yes, it shows a lot of, a very big difference. Like for some students, they can understand probably 70, 80 percent, in class, if I talk in English, whole English I mean, in class, but for some students they don't even know how to spell easy words, or how to write a sentence. They don't have the grammar with them. So, the level is very different.
Interviewer: So, is that just a small minority, or is that..
Clare: Yes, for the top and the very low end.
Interviewer: So, what kind of percentage of students do you estimate, the bottom end…
Clare: It differs in different classes. Yes, for some classes, you can find, maybe they have like 10 percent with very good English background, and like about 5 percent, they don't even enjoy your class, even you're doing games or

other activities. You can tell they are not really interested in English. Because
they don't have as much English as others.

There is a strong temptation for teachers to focus on students at the top of the attainment
range, and there may also be pressures on them to do this from parents of better-
performing children, as they hope to see the results of their investment in the English
buxiban education. Teachers are therefore faced with a challenge in how to cope with
this wide range in English performance, and teachers are forced to be resourceful in
finding ways to ameliorate the problem.

> Interviewer: What about the students who do not go to the *buxibans*?
> Clare: Yeah, I think that's the major problem, like I … because it's
> really hard for me to do, other than the class, we got like 23 classes per week, so
> we only, and for other, you know like space-time, we have to correct this
> notebooks, workbooks, so I used to use my, like, lunch break, to cover some
> lower end students, and I think what I'm doing now is, I don't really teach them
> that much, but I will ask them to reach a certain point, or to encourage them not
> to afraid, not to be afraid of English. I think that's what I'm doing to the other
> end of the students. Because some of them, they feel it's really hard, like to …
> when they look at their classmates, like someone can really speak English well,
> or can read, or write, I think they lose their confidence of learning, so what I'm
> doing is I don't really ask them to learn that much, but I will encourage them not
> to be afraid, like keep trying, I will give them more time in the class, actually.
> (Teacher Clare)

While some teachers may be tempted to tailor their teaching to the top performers in the
class, or to arrange for remedial teaching programmes, there are also efforts in many
elementary schools to develop group teaching methods which offset the challenge faced
by the wide disparity of English learning experience.

> Clare: And also I think, well sometimes I will sort of use the students
> who have already know the subject, the materials, they can help the slow
> learners too. So sometimes we will do grouping, and then I will, you know, give,
> well, ask them to be the leaders to teach or, you know, push them, or whatever
> you do. Let them enjoy the class, or let them enjoy the activities that we will do.
> Because they will teach, there's some peer teaching in the class too.
> Interviewer: Do they respond to peer teaching? Are they happy with that?
> Clare: Yeah. Well for most of the students, yeah. Some will be like, 'Oh
> no, he's too stupid'. That's what students will say. Or 'he don't know much
> English, he don't know anything'. So sometimes they will complain, but when
> they do teamwork, they still will help each other. So that's a good thing, I think.

Thus, although the English *buxibans* can be seen to be effective in raising the level of English for a significant proportion of children, this also creates potential problems for school teachers and policy makers.

5-6-3   *Effect on Parents' approach to mainstream and supplementary education*

Teachers described how they perceive that parents have different expectations of supplementary education and mainstream schooling, and how these differences may also lead to tensions between the two systems. While the elementary school teachers emphasize the importance of a well-rounded education, with academic performance being seen as just one part of the function of schooling, the *buxibans* are portrayed as having a much more constrained focus on academic performance in school subjects as measured in school assessments, and they are also known for using strict discipline techniques to further their business focus. This leads to a situation where parents may have differing expectations of school and supplementary education, and may give rise to further challenges for teachers.

> What kinds of effects on life and study for students who go to the *buxibans*?
> Betty Teacher: If you separate life and study, I think the function of *buxibans* and after-school classes doesn't have much power in life. Because they focus on their business. They care more about students' results. They ask for the students school results. For the students' behavior they are not as good as schools. School teachers have better influence in this respect. In the after-school classes if students don't get good results they receive physical punishment. But if at schools, students feel that…. because now there's a Teacher Regulation that physical punishment is not allowed. So parents hope the teachers go up to this point, but not any further. I asked the students in my class that if they get punished if they don't do well in tests. It happens at after-school classes. It's only not allowed at schools. For results, after-school class teachers are more powerful than school teachers. (Teacher Betty).
>
> Teacher David: We don't need to worry about "high points". If they go to the *buxibans*, they get better results. I don't worry too much on this aspect. What I care about is their behavior. They don't know what's right and what's wrong. They often get blamed by the teachers. The basic reason is that they really don't know what's right. They do what they like when they feel like it. It's a cycle. They don't think about it. That's why they get blamed. They do it again and get blamed. And then they do it again. It's this kind of a cycle. I have always paid attention to their behavior. Unlike the knowledge part, if we don't teach them well, they can learn that at the *buxibans*. For behavior, we can pay

attention to their behavior at school. When they go to the after-school classes, they only write test papers. They don't care about the students' behavior. The students can't have correct thinking. They don't know what' right or wrong. (Teacher David).

As the *buxibans* are seen to be taking on the role of ensuring academic performance, there is also a sense that the role of the elementary school is somewhat diminished in this respect. This is illustrated by the observation that parents viewed the homework set by the *buxiban* to be of higher priority than that set by elementary school teachers.

It's quite strange. The parents want their children do *buxiban* homework first. It's ok not to do school homework. They must write *buxiban* homework. Some parents who have this strange concept have asked for this before. (Teacher Betty)

Gill: Yeah, so now we teach, because in school, when we choose the books, it's according to the students who has never learned English.
Interviewer: Yes.
Gill: Yeah, so we teach like, they think it's too easy.
Interviewer: Yes.
Gill: Yes, so of course to them, they learning English is just from *buxiban*, so they care that more. Sometimes they don't care the school, you know. They don't care us. We ask them to write the homework, they didn't write.
Interviewer: So the students, they don't care about the school English, but they care about the *buxiban* English?
Gill: Yeah…

5-7 Significant people in English learning experience

Following a narrative approach to interviewing, students were asked to describe significant events, including times, places, and people, in their accounts of their own English learning experience, and their accounts are described here. The most significant influences were predictably those of family members, particularly parents, followed by some influential or memorable teachers in their learning experience, and finally, there is some mention of peers.

5-7-1   Parental & Family influences

The interviews with students revealed a variety of influences from their families, with parents, siblings, and other family members having a significant influence on students' choices and attendance at *buxibans*. Many students reported that their parents had encouraged them to study English, and felt that English was an important subject to learn. While some parents were reported as emphasizing the importance of English as a tool of communication in an international context, this emphasis was also combined with a practical recognition of school and test performance in English as being important for future school and employment choices. A number of students mentioned that parents would strongly endorse *buxiban* attendance, not just to catch up with other students in the face of lower performance, but more in an effort to help their children get ahead of the rest, to 'win at the starting line', either by starting their English learning before the subject is introduced in the school curriculum, or by giving them extra classes in an effort to boost their performance. Students 03 and 06 both reported their parents choosing early English programmes outside of school:

    Interviewer: So tell me about learning English.
    Student 03:   I started to learn English during my elementary school. My mother and father think English is really important, so when we was a child, they sent my sister, me, and my brother go to *buxiban*

    Interviewer: So do you remember when you first came into contact with English?
    Student 06:   Yes, my father encouraged to study to learn more about English, just about 5 years old.
    Interviewer: Really?

Student 06:   My father took me to somewhere just like anqinban, so learn English there, and learn how to speak ABCD

Students 08, 10, and 15 each describe parents' desire to see their child perform not just at a satisfactory level, but to outperform classmates and achieve the best possible grades in school tests, in the hope of seeing their child attend a 'famous school'.

Interviewer: I see. Now as well having English classes in your junior high school and senior high school, you also went to the *buxiban*, *buxiban*
Student 08:   Yes
Interviewer: Was that every day?
Student 08:   Every single day
Interviewer: Every single day.
Student 08:   Yes. It's just for tests. And I was forced to go to the *buxiban*.
Interviewer: You were forced.
Student 08:   Yes, I was forced to stay there and study.
Interviewer: Why was that? Do you remember the situation?
Student 08:   Oh I think my parents hope me to get the good grades in the tests, and I think can be an excellent student, you know can study in a famous school, yes.
Interviewer: I see, so this wasn't your idea?
Student 08:   It wasn't my idea.
Interviewer: Did you want to go?
Student 08:   No, I didn't want to go, and even now, I don't want to go, to any elementary school
Interviewer: You mean ..
Student 08:   *Buxiban*
Interviewer: *Buxiban*. You think it helped?
Student 08:   It helped, but I think it's a .. If you are forced to do something, you don't feel happy, even if it's working.
Interviewer: I see, yes. So you didn't want to go. And you didn't feel happy about it. But your parents thought it was a good idea because..
Student 08:   Because they thought I could get more good grades of my English
Interviewer: Better grades
Student 08:   Better grades
Interviewer: Were your grades okay before?
Student 08:   I think that the best one is English.
Interviewer: The best one was English. But they wanted you to get even better.
Student 08:   Yes
Interviewer: So what would be the difference?
Student 08:   You know, better and better, better and better, to be excellent.
Interviewer: To be the best.
Student 08:   To be the best, and my parents think they want all the grades of English is all A+. All of them A+
Interviewer: And did that happen?

Student 08:   No.
Interviewer: No.
Student 08:   It's all A, to A and A+, between them.
Interviewer: OK. So you spent a lot of time in the *buxiban*?
Student 08:   Yes.

Interviewer: So why are *buxibans* so popular in Taiwan?
Student 10:   I think just they want their, they focus on their grades
Interviewer: Who focus? The students?
Student 10:   Yes the students
Interviewer: The students focus on the grades.
Student 10:   They will get more pressure from their parents because they want to go to .. a popular school
Interviewer: A popular school, a good, like a good reputation, do you mean?
Student 10:   Yes, yes.
Interviewer: And why is that important?
Student 10:   .. maybe they want their *ziwei* [position]
Interviewer: In work?
Student 10:   Yes
Interviewer: Or in society?
Student 10:   Work.
Interviewer: Work, so a good work position, yes?
Student 10:   Yes, to get many money [laugh]
Interviewer: To get more money or higher social status?
Student 10:   Yes

Student 15:   Yes, Taipei's parents are very [laughs] they want children to be the first in class, so they will send children to many *buxibans*, and force them to study, study, study.

In addition to this pursuit of excellence, there are also those parents who opt to send their children to *buxibans* for remedial purposes, choosing the English *buxiban* in response to 'low grades' in their school English classes:

Interviewer: So some of your classmates go to the *buxiban*, and some like you do not
Student 09:   Yes
Interviewer: Do you remember why?
Student 09:   Why? Maybe because their parents .. tell them they should go to the *buxiban* because they are not very good at English, I'm not sure, but I think if you don't want to go to *buxiban*, but your parents .. *jiao ni qu* [tr. tell you to go]
Interviewer: Tell you to go
Student 09:   Yes, but they're not very well into learning, so their grades also are not very well.
Interviewer: So even though they go to the *buxiban*, it still might not help.

Student 09:   I think so

Interviewer: So going to the *buxiban*, do you think it was, so you think it was your own idea, or do you think it was your parents or family idea? Or is it because of classmates, what do you think the influences are?
Student 02:   At first it's because my father, he thinks English is very important, and he found my English ability is not as good as my same age child, he started to get nervous.
Interviewer: Your father started to get nervous.
Student 02:   Yes, because he can speak English too, a little.
Interviewer: Right ok. And he thought English was very important?
Student 02:   Yes
Interviewer: Any particular reason?
Student 02:   Because he has some foreigner friends, Japanese or American.

However, lest one make a sweeping generalization that all Taiwanese parents act in this way, at least two respondents noted a more relaxed parental attitude, with students reporting parents being receptive to the wishes of their children and not forcing them to attend the *buxiban*, or seemingly even not showing much interest in their education.

Interviewer: Did many of your classmates go to the *buxiban* as well?
Student 10:   Maybe I think.
Interviewer: And would they start at the same time, in the 6th grade, the same as you? Or do they start at different times?
Student 10:   Mm, maybe earlier.
Interviewer: Earlier. So was there a difference between you and the other classmates if they went earlier?
Student 10:   Maybe they are asked by their parents, yes, I think, just I think.
Interviewer: Ok, but your parents didn't ask you?
Student 10:   No, I just I decided to go to the *buxiban*.
Interviewer: Ok, and what did your parents say?
Student 10:   They didn't say anything, yes
Interviewer: They didn't say anything.
Student 10:   They just say 'good'
Interviewer: Good?
Student 10:   Yes

Interviewer: Ok, so you chose to study English. Did your parents have ideas about what you should study?
Student 11:   No. no, I just by myself, just myself.
Interviewer: So did they have ideas?
Student 11:   No.
Interviewer: No idea.
Student 11:   Yes, no idea.

Interviewer: So they listened to you?
Student 11:   … what I make decision, and they support, they don't ask me
don't do that
Interviewer: Ok so did they ask you what you wanted to do?
Student 11:   No.
Interviewer: So did you choose the school?
Student 11:   Choose school?
Interviewer: The high school, was that your choice?
Student 11:   My, yes, my choice

5-7-2   *Peer influences*

Classmates are often an important resource, particularly when students did not have access to other help, such as *buxiban* resources. Student 12, who only attended English *buxiban* for one year, mentioned getting help from classmates, while Student 14 recalls borrowing her classmates' *buxiban* teaching materials.

Student 12:   Senior high is the same as junior high. My English is didn't have any problem. I can keep my grades in the test.
Interviewer: And so if you had any problems with your English, what did you do?
Student 12:   Discuss with my classmates. And in my class I have some classmates, their English is very well, so I will try to ask them how to write or ask them this problem, yeah.

Interviewer: So you didn't want to go there.
Student 14:   Yes.
Interviewer: So how about studying on your own?
Student 14:   I will write some … notes in class and also read the book from my friend.
Interviewer: So you read your friend's *buxiban* books.
Student 14:   Yes.
Interviewer: So do you think that was good enough?
Student 14:   Maybe
Interviewer: Maybe. And if you have any problems, what would you do?
Student 14:   Ask the friend or teacher
Interviewer: And your friend or the teachers could help you?
Student 14:   Yes.

5-7-3   Teacher influences

While recalling their experiences, many students mentioned particular teachers as being influential or significant in their process of learning English. These comments referred both to teachers they particularly appreciated or particularly disliked, and also to how the experience of meeting different teachers affected students' subsequent approach to learning English. While these accounts represent individual stories about influential teachers in each student's experience of learning English, it is interesting to note here that these influential teachers included both mainstream school teachers and *buxiban* English teachers. This underlines the wide variation of experiences, and also reminds us not only that the provision of supplementary education is quite heterogeneous, but that the experience of learning English in Taiwan is very often a complex combination of mainstream school and supplementary education experience.

5-8 Summary of interview findings

The interview findings are now summarized according to the main themes as follows:

1. Reasons for participation in supplementary education
2. Reasons for non-participation in supplementary education
3. Effectiveness of supplementary education
4. Effects of supplementary education
5. Influences of others

5-8-1   Reasons for participation in supplementary education

The high level of participation in supplementary education in Taiwan can be seen to reflect the convergence of a number of factors in the educational landscape which work together to increase the pressures on children and families to spend more time and resources in the hope or expectation of improved academic performance. Given the wide variety and levels of reasons which have emerged from the interview data, it is a challenge to create a manageable picture of the phenomenon which could still remain faithful to the complex web of connections and influences involved. Taking the items listed in the descriptive framework (Table 5-3), one way of rationalizing the different reason themes is by looking at the role of supplementary education in terms of the parents rather than the children. Although it is the children and their education which are directly served by the phenomenon of supplementary education, the themes emerging from interviews indicate that it is largely the challenges defined by parents which represent a significant way of interpreting the phenomenon.

Table 5-3   Reasons for participation in supplementary education

Reasons for participation in supplementary education	1. Following the trend 2. Parental responsibility 3. For competitive advantage 4. To avoid failure 5. For discipline and control 6. To provide additional learning opportunities 7. School insufficient 8. Take over parental supervision role 9. Coping with changes in curriculum and policy

Thus, although the themes of 'competitive advantage' and 'to avoid failure' relate to the competitive environment which children face in schooling, the perception of this competitive environment, and the choices concerning appropriate responses to this perception, are predominantly located in the parents. Indeed, there is some evidence in the interview data to support the view that the competitive nature of the educational environment is in part created, or at least inflated, by the collective responses of parents to the perception of competition, and the desire to see their children to perform better than others.

Teachers, parents, and students alike all noted that a good academic performance is important in that it confers honour not only on the student himself/herself, but also on the whole family. The interviews showed that parents place a great deal of importance on their children's academic success, and this may go beyond the utilitarian necessities of entry to good schools and good jobs, as it is also bound up with cultural values which give parents a high degree of responsibility to ensure that their children reach high academic attainment. Because the driving force behind the students' academic performance is significantly that of the parents, it is reasonable to suggest that participation in supplementary education is a response which parents are likely to make for their children, rather than children choosing themselves. Although a number of students mentioned wanting to attend the *buxiban*, the overall picture indicates that the choice to attend the *buxibans* and *anqinbans* is overwhelmingly to do with parental decision-making. Parents see it as their responsibility to persuade their children to study hard and perform well at school, and the supplementary education businesses offer parents a convenient method to translate this responsibility into action. Structuring children's study time and effort is a task which the *buxibans* and *anqinbans* can perform on behalf of the parents, so we can see that the scale of participation in supplementary education is also significantly influenced by the need to satisfy parental responsibility. The structure which supplementary education creates, allows parents to sense that they have fulfilled their parental responsibility by enrolling their children in this system.

In terms of the academic functions of supplementary education, there are two clearly visible scholastic improvement motivations to be seen in parents' choices. The first is that of trying to ensure a competitive advantage for children, to try to give them a boost

in their school performance over and above the average, so that they have a chance to enter the best schools, the best universities, get the best jobs, and earn respect for themselves and their families. There is a clear theme that a significant proportion of Taiwanese parents want their children to be academic high-fliers, and that families will spend significant resources in order to achieve these ambitions. This is both a result of, and a contributor to, a highly competitive atmosphere in education, and so the availability and high participation in supplementary education is a reflection of this desire for academic excellence. The second scholastic improvement motivation lies at the other end of the scale, and refers more to a survival strategy, where parents are concerned that their children will be left behind in the competitive educational environment, and will miss out on even the basic level of educational attainment. This group of parents will also tend to look to the supplementary education sector for help. So there is a combination of two styles of parental attitude, both of which are fueling a demand for supplementary education: those parents who want their children to 'win at the starting line', and those parents who fear that their children will instead 'lose at the starting line'. There is a sense that this competition is driven as much by the consistently high expectations of Taiwanese parents as it is a result of competition for school or university places.

The themes of 'school insufficient' and 'to provide additional learning opportunities' can also be seen as a reflection of the competitive environment referred to above. While the mainstream schooling is engaged in an effort to provide a balanced approach to education, with teachers mentioning the importance of child development socially as well as academically, it seems that parents do not trust the system of mainstream schooling to provide their own children the competitive edge to either survive or perform well. Without extra help, children will either 'lose at the starting line' or fail to 'win at the starting line'. Supplementary education offers parents a more flexible, tailored education service which may be seen to help satisfy the desire to see their children perform better in academic tests.

Notwithstanding this parental need, the provision of 'additional learning opportunities' may nevertheless constitute a valuable resource for help in learning. It is clear that for English *buxibans* in particular, many respondents attested to a variety of advantages in

the approach to learning/teaching which may be of significant help for English language learning. Many teachers, students and parents mentioned how English *buxibans* were an almost necessary component of a successful English learning experience. English *buxibans* offered more class time, smaller class sizes, better teacher/student interaction, and often emphasized a more long-term view of the importance of English, beyond the requirements of school tests, and more in tune with the concept of English as an international language.

The themes which highlighted the parent-child relationship also suggest a special role of supplementary education in helping parents in the control of children's learning. In particular, the comments which mentioned aspects of discipline and control of children's learning, and the extent to which *anqinbans* and *buxibans* are responsible for taking over the traditional parental supervision role, suggest that supplementary education fulfills various functions traditionally handled by parents. Thus, a range of functions, including basic child-care, picking up children from school, providing snacks, structuring play time, helping children finish homework, giving remedial help on difficult subjects, teaching extra subject material or test practice, and even checking the parent-teacher contact book, have been mentioned as being taken over by *anqinbans* or *buxibans*. This shift from parents to supplementary education is partly a response to the changes in families, with perhaps more working parents, longer working hours, and possibly a trend toward more nuclear family than extended family homes, so that children can be better supervised after school if they attend the *anqinban* or *buxiban*. The supplementary education market therefore caters to busy working parents, who might otherwise be unable to arrange for suitable child supervision.

However, there is also a sense in which the shift has gone beyond this purely practical help. Teachers and parents both mentioned a tension or divide between parents and children, which leads parents to sense that the supplementary education services can help to ensure that children follow the study schedules which parents request. There is a suggestion that the traditional authoritarian style of parenting is facing challenges, or that parents are facing more obstacles to the traditional culture of discipline of children, so that parents are finding it more difficult to supervise their children's learning. Parents and teachers mentioned communication problems between parents and children, and

that instead of facing issues about homework and school performance by discussion with children when school results are not satisfactory, parents may alternatively opt to just send the children to *buxibans*. This is also echoed in students' accounts of parents who forced their children to attend *buxibans* in an attempt to structure not only their learning experience, but also their free time. There is a sense that the *buxibans* are enlisted to reinforce the efforts of parents to set a restrictive style of parenting, focused on study at the expense of other pursuits. The *buxiban* offers a relatively controlled environment which is focused on study, and relieves parents of the need to enforce a strict parenting regime.

With this shift of responsibility of child supervision away from parents to *anqinbans* and *buxibans*, and given the high proportion of children who participate in supplementary education, there seems to be a trend to increasing reliance on supplementary education businesses, to the extent that parents feel inadequate to the task of supervising their children's homework. Particularly in a climate of changes in the school curriculum, there is a perception that the supplementary education businesses are more efficient than parents at the task of supervision, and can bring more resources and expertise to the job of teaching their children. It may well be that many busy parents are just tempted to pay the *buxiban* to conveniently take over the responsibility of supervision, but there is also a feeling among parents that they are themselves unqualified to do the job, and would not trust themselves to do a good job. This is particularly true of English instruction, where many parents have only limited language ability themselves, but extends to other subjects as well. Most parents' own experience of school involved a much more centralized and controlled curriculum, with nationally prescribed standard textbooks, and fairly rigid teaching practices, and both teachers and parents mentioned the significant changes in current teaching materials and practices.

5-8-2   *Reasons for non-participation in supplementary education*

A description of the reasons for non-participation is relatively simple, with the key themes relating to financial concerns, attempting to reduce study pressure for children, a

preference for a more active approach to study, and doubts about the necessity or effectiveness of supplementary education.

The financial burden of supplementary education is a significant factor for many families and their children, with many parents, teachers and students citing financial reasons as a barrier to participation in supplementary education. This raises concerns for equity in the provision of education, as it is clear that the effects of supplementary education on mainstream schooling are significant, and that for some children, missing out on some extra help may give them a competitive disadvantage. A few parents mentioned that they would make other sacrifices in order to pay for supplementary education, so it seems that although the financial burden is heavy, even relatively low income parents will strive to pay for *buxibans* for their children. Thus, the imbalance of provision of education caused by the private market is a significant issue confronting Taiwanese policy makers, educators, and parents.

Most parents, teachers, and students attest to the high pressures on children in their schooling, and one reason which respondents gave for choosing not to attend supplementary education was to try to limit the amount of pressure on children, particularly for the children of elementary school age. Thus, some parents chose to limit or stop attendance of their children at *buxibans* or *anqinbans*, although it is not clear if this choice is exclusively concerned with pressure. Another key reason given is that parents may view their children's school performance as satisfactory, so that supplementary education is no longer deemed necessary. In circumstances when the children are already performing well academically, parents are perhaps more likely to consider further attendance at *buxibans* as an unnecessary extra load. Also, some parents and students mentioned that parents sometimes gave children some degree of say over their activities, so that the choice to attend the *buxiban* or not is shared with the children.

The final theme concerning non-participation is that of the attempt to encourage a more active approach to study in children. Many respondents mentioned the passive nature of much of the supplementary education approach to teaching and learning, and some would mention a preference for encouraging a more active approach, based on the

child's own initiatives and choices about managing study and homework, indicating that self-study was more effective than being pushed by a *buxiban* system.

5-8-3   Effectiveness of supplementary education

With the highly heterogeneous nature of supplementary education provision and the variety of reasons for participation, there is a wide range of responses concerning its effectiveness. On the positive side, a proportion of teachers, parents, and students mentioned how *buxibans* were good for helping students to improve their school performance. Particularly for English, the *buxibans* helped students to keep up with classmates, and improve performance and confidence. Students sometimes mentioned that *buxiban* English was more interesting than school English classes, and that the teaching approach was more helpful. Some students strongly suggested that their aptitude in English, and possibly their subsequent English learning experiences, would have been substantially different had it not been for the help that they received from the English *buxiban*. Some of the English teachers also conceded that the English *buxibans* are responsible for a significant proportion of English learning, with often large differences being observed between those students who attend and those who do not.

On the negative side, there are also many respondents who are more doubtful about the contributions of supplementary education, judging their effect on school performance to be of marginal value, and their techniques being limited to test practice and performance, while ignoring other aspects of education and child development. While *buxibans* may have some effect on boosting grades in the short term, for many teachers and parents there are doubts that these gains can be translated into a long term improvement, as it is feared that the reliance on continual pressure to study in a passive learning approach tends to lessen the motivation of students.

5-8-4   Effects of supplementary education

Under this heading there are a number of themes which consider the relationships between mainstream schooling and supplementary education, and the way that parents and children engage differently with these two parallel systems. The relationships can be divided into three categories, relating to children, teachers, and parents respectively.

In terms of the effects on children's approach to learning, there are a number of negative effects which are mentioned in interviews, including the reinforcement of a passive approach to learning, and problems of overloading the children with excessive homework, revision, or test practice. Teachers in particular mentioned the different feeling of working with independently motivated children compared to those who had been extensively coached. The teachers' responses suggest that although both kinds of approach can yield results in the short term on tests and in school grades, there is a worry that the results are superficial, and possibly counter-productive in terms of decreased motivation to learn. So despite some accounts of effective learning, and a consensus that much of supplementary education is helpful, there is also a strong theme that supplementary education has a numbing effect on learning in general, as it replaces an active approach to learning with a highly structured, passive approach of preparing children for improved performance in school assessments. The danger which some parents and teachers alluded to is that the supplementary education experience of passive learning becomes a study habit which is hard to break; children are less likely to be active learners if their study time is continually structured by an experience of mainstream schooling during the day, followed by supplementary education during the evening.

There are caveats to this description, as many comments from parents and students also indicate that, for Children's English in particular, *buxibans* may actually have relatively progressive approaches to learning and teaching, and that the supplementary education experience may be one of enjoyment, with entertaining activities, more teacher-student interaction, and a sense of encouragement which is not always sensed in mainstream school English classrooms. It is therefore important to state that there is substantial variety in the provision of supplementary education, and that while there are many possible negative effects related to children's educational experience in supplementary education as outlined above, there are nevertheless some positive elements which also need to be acknowledged.

In addition to the effects of a passive learning style as mentioned above, the interviews also pointed to differences in teaching style between teachers in either mainstream or

supplementary education, suggesting that this may force school teachers to adapt to the expectations of children who have been exposed to different approaches in the *buxiban*. Also, the differences in attainment of children may be increased by the phenomenon of supplementary education, particularly in English, so that teachers are faced with groups of extreme attainment variations, and are then forced to form special strategies in order to successfully teach such heterogeneous groups.

Finally, for many parents, education is evidently not limited to mainstream school attendance and completion of homework for their children. An interesting aspect is the different expectations and reactions to either mainstream school or supplementary education which the parents display. Thus, elementary school teachers in particular were aware of the relatively narrow academic performance criteria which parents applied to *buxibans*, while elementary school is important for other aspects of education, including child development in aspects other than academic performance. This is exemplified in parents' prioritization of *buxiban* homework assignments over those set by the elementary school teachers, and in the willingness of parents to support strict discipline arrangements in *buxibans*, while the elementary school teachers are much more restrained in their discipline methods. Teachers mentioned potential problems for children who are either encouraged or coerced to perform well academically, yet are lacking concepts of appropriate behaviour and social interaction, areas which are not pursued by the private supplementary education business.

5-8-5   *Significant people in English learning experience*

The accounts of significant people in students' English learning experiences tended to confirm the central importance of parents in the decisions and motivations concerning study and the participation in supplementary education. This underlines the view that the engagement of children in education is undertaken with the parents very much in evidence as the prime movers.

6 Survey findings

Following the interviews with teachers and parents, it was clear that there were many interesting questions concerning educational motivation for children in Taiwan, and it was decided to pursue these questions with further research involving the students themselves. In addition to a series of interviews with university students (covered in the previous chapter), it was also decided to explore relationships between the extent of their participation in supplementary education and other quantifiable variables, including attainment in academic English tests, attendance at particular universities, reasons for and against participation in supplementary education, and students self-reported measures of achievement goal orientation. The interview data with teachers and parents had already highlighted a number of questions regarding motivation, and so it was decided to explore further whether there may be particular motivational tendencies which may be associated with the extent of supplementary education participation. In addition, given the particular importance of Taiwanese parental values concerning their children's education, and the high level of involvement of parents both in children's decision-making and in their children's orientation to educational goals, it was thought valuable to explore possible differences in goal orientations which may be found in a Taiwanese students sample, and how these differences may relate to participation in supplementary education and student performance.

The survey was administered in three different universities, all located in or near a major city in the southern part of the island of Taiwan. Each university selected has an English department, and students who took part in the survey were all enrolled as undergraduate students with English as their major subject of study. From the total of 600 surveys collected, the number of valid surveys was 580, of which 398 were from Private University 'Beta', 106 from Private University 'Gamma', and 76 from National University 'Alpha'.

In addition to the information provided by the survey responses, it was also originally intended to collect student attainment data to identify correlations between the survey data and student attainment. Although at the time of administration of the surveys it was believed that such student attainment data would be made available to the researcher,

unfortunately it later transpired that there were severe limitations and restrictions concerning the availability and quality of this data, so that no useful comparisons could be made as planned.

The survey was composed of 3 sections as follows:

1. **Survey of participation in supplementary education for English.**
   This section was designed to retrieve information concerning the number of years that students attended *buxibans* for English instruction during their education between kindergarten and senior high school graduation.

2. **Survey of reasons for participation or non-participation in supplementary education.**
   This section was intended to collect and describe the range of possible reasons which students gave for participation or non-participation in supplementary education.

3. **Survey of 2 x 2 achievement goal orientation**
   This section was intended to collect students' responses to a standardized achievement goal orientation questionnaire, adapted from Elliott & McGreggor (2001), and labeled the Achievement Goal Questionnaire (AGQ).

The questionnaires were administered to students by the researcher, and students were given a spoken introduction to the research, and then allowed sufficient time (approximately 10 minutes) to complete the surveys. Completed surveys were collated, and the responses entered into a computer database for subsequent analysis using either SPSS software (SPSS version 15.0) or Microsoft Excel. The English and Chinese versions of the questionnaire are shown in Appendix G.

Findings relating to each of the three sections of the survey are reported and analysed in the remainder of this chapter.

6-1 Survey of participation in supplementary education for English

The survey of supplementary education participation in English was designed to collect information about the scale of supplementary education, specifically the details of the number of years in which students attended *buxibans* for English, from kindergarten age until the end of high school. It was also intended to identify other trends concerning participation, including the balance between early years (Elementary school and kindergarten) and later years (Junior and Senior high school). In Taiwan there are six grades in elementary school, and three grades each in junior and senior high school, making a total of twelve grade years. The survey requested information concerning these twelve years, but also appended an extra option to report kindergarten age activity. Although kindergarten participation may vary from between one and three years, for the sake of brevity in the survey, kindergarten participation was counted as just one year. Thus, the total possible participation in the survey report would be 13 years, including 6 at elementary school, 3 at junior high school, and 3 at senior high school, and a maximum report of one year at kindergarten.

Table 6-1 Attendance at English *buxibans* by students between kindergarten age and high school graduation.

No. of years attending English *buxiban*	No. of students	Percent	Cumulative Percent
13	14	2.4	2.4
12	14	2.4	4.9
11	10	1.7	6.6
10	34	5.9	12.6
9	35	6.1	18.7
8	54	9.4	28.1
7	57	10.0	38.1
6	59	10.3	48.4
5	68	11.9	60.3
4	56	9.8	70.1
3	65	11.4	81.5
2	52	9.1	90.6
1	27	4.7	95.3
0	27	4.7	100
Total	572	100%	

Figure 6.1   Attendance at English *buxibans* by students between kindergarten age and high school graduation (graphical representation).

The results, which are summarised in Table 6-1, and graphically illustrated in Figure 6.1, confirm a high level of participation of students in supplementary education, and this high level of participation continues from the beginning of elementary school (and in some cases even from kindergarten age) until the end of senior high school. The mean number of years for participation in English supplementary education from kindergarten to the end of elementary school was 2.48 years, while the mean for the period covering Junior and Senior High school was 3.1 years. The mean total period of attendance is 5.58 years. The proportion of students who reported attending an English *buxiban* for at least one year was 95.3%, while 60.3% reported attending an English *buxiban* for at least 5 years. Together with the interview accounts in the previous chapter, these high proportions demonstrate the significance of this phenomenon for the whole education system. The scale of participation is high, and so the contribution of English *buxibans* seems to be a major part of the experience of English learning for a majority of students. In this light, it is not surprising that many of the school English teachers regarded the bulk of English instruction to be located in supplementary education rather than in the elementary school context. Playing such a large part of students' English learning experience, it is reasonable to suppose that the English *buxiban* activities will impact on

the management and content of English classes in mainstream schooling. It is also to be expected that the influence of English *buxibans* on students' approach to learning and their motivation to learn is also significant.

In addition to the influence which the supplementary education system has on the mainstream school system, there are also questions about equity in educational provision, as there is a wide variation of attendance, with some students reporting continual participation throughout their elementary and high school career, while others report not attending English *buxibans* at all. Although these differences in attendance may sometimes be down to matters of choice, there is evidence that the financial burdens on families can be considerable, and that financial concerns are sometimes responsible for non-participation in supplementary education.

6-2 Survey of reasons for participation or non-participation in supplementary education.

This section of the survey contained a set of 4 open-ended questions to elicit reasons for attending or not attending supplementary education, with respondents being asked to answer for both themselves and to guess reasons which might be given by other students. The English versions of the questions, (translated into Chinese for the survey), were as follows:

1. Please give 3 reasons why you attended supplementary classes for English.
2. Please give 3 reasons why you did not attend supplementary classes for English.
3. Please give 3 reasons why you think other students attended supplementary classes for English.
4. Please give 3 reasons why you think other students did not attend supplementary classes for English.

The results were collated in a spreadsheet programme, and responses were coded according to a scheme developed from the data. As responses were recorded, a category was created, and if further similar responses were encountered, then they were added to the category. If responses were judged to be different to previous categories, then new codes were freely created. As the coder proceeded, a total of 227 codes were created and used for the initial coding, 130 of them as reasons 'for', and 97 of them as reasons 'against' attending supplementary education. For further interpretation of results, the initial 227 codes were condensed into 44 revised codes, including 23 categories of reasons 'for', and 21 categories for reasons 'against' attending supplementary education.

The process of condensing the codes required the researcher to put similar codes into groups of comparable or similar meaning. To illustrate the process of recoding, the initial codes and the revised codes of two revised code categories are shown in Table 6-2. Although there is inevitably some loss of definition involved in the process of re-coding, the creation of a more manageable set of categories for further analysis can be argued to make up for this loss. The final set of 43 revised codes seems to allow for a degree of variety and completeness, and the mapping of initial and revised codes is still

available for reference. The full list of initial codes, revised codes, and frequency data are included in Appendix E.

Table 6-2 Process of revising codes in reasons survey.
The revised codes in the left-hand column correspond to the initial codes in the right-hand column

Revised coding category	Initial coding item
Code FB: Falling behind	• Afraid of falling behind in class. • Falling behind in class • To solve my problems in English • Think one's English not good enough • Having difficulty in memorizing vocabulary. • To keep up with school • Afraid of failing the course. • Grammar is bad. • Poor reading skill. • Need help with homework. • Don't want to give up. • To graduate from school • To make up my weakness
Code GU: don't care - give up	• Giving up hope on learning English. • They have given up on English. • Never understand English, lost confidence. • Don't think they can learn English well. • Think English is very difficult. • Giving up on themselves • been study too long on English and has lost interests and goals • They don't like to study. • English is bad, so don't want to learn • They have no confidence. • They are lazy. • They just don't care. • Lack of motivation • drop out of school

The results of the coding process are shown in Table 6-3 and Table 6-4, including the numbers of responses recorded for each reason, divided into 'for self'(referring to students' self-reported reasons for attending or not attending) and 'for others' (referring to students' ascriptions to other students' reasons for attending or not attending).

Table 6-3   Reasons to attend supplementary education reported by students.

CODES	DESCRIPTION	For self	For others	Total
IM	to improve	322	298	620
FB	falling behind	112	119	231
PP	parental pressure	84	143	227
EX	for help in tests	109	100	209
IS	for interest	94	84	178
IL	English important	77	62	139
EN	for enjoyment	57	46	103
CO	to be competitive	29	61	90
WF	to be with friends	39	44	83
BG	To have better grades.	22	45	67
AD	to advance	25	35	60
LS	better learning environment or system	46	14	60
OS	want to go overseas	15	43	58
TR	following a trend	20	20	40
TP	teacher pressure	21	10	31
GP	make up for gaps in state education	17	12	29
KT	to kill time	9	16	25
MO	have enough money	0	18	18
FU	for the future	7	9	16
SB	early start	6	3	9
PL	passive learning	2	6	8
CP	*buxiban* promotion	1	1	2
XT	other reasons	19	16	35
TOTAL		**1133**	**1205**	**2338**

Table 6-4 Reasons for not attending supplementary education reported by students

CODES	DESCRIPTION	For self	For others	Total
WM	money limitations	143	290	433
NT	time conflicts or problems	162	131	293
NI	not interested	37	171	208
OK	English is good enough	51	126	177
GU	don't care - give up	49	100	149
IN	choose independent study	50	81	131
DW	don't want to attend	34	37	71
SE	school classes sufficient	45	23	68
DL	don't like English	10	54	64
NH	not helpful	34	26	60
PR	too much pressure	40	11	51
AV	lack of availability	39	12	51
NP	no pressure to attend	24	27	51
SM	don't want to spend the money	15	17	32
TM	teaching style or method unsatisfactory	19	6	25
AB	studied or lived abroad	1	11	12
WK	need to work	1	9	10
NF	no friends to go with	6	1	7
SF	safety concern	3	1	4
FE	fear of foreigners	1	0	1
OT	other reasons	44	22	66
TOTAL		**808**	**1156**	**1964**

6-2-1   Principal reasons students offered for attending supplementary English classes

The major reasons given for attendance at English supplementary schools reflect the

expected concerns about wanting to improve English, or concerns about falling behind

in English. Thus, 'to improve' (620 responses) and 'falling behind' (231 responses) rank

highly, as do 'help in tests' (209 responses), to improve grades (67 responses), the

'importance of English' (139 responses) and 'to be competitive' (90 responses).

However, also ranking highly is the element of parental/family pressure to attend (227

responses). Other major categories include the 'importance of English' (139 responses),

'interest in English' (178 responses) 'enjoyment' (103 responses), and 'to be with

friends' (83 responses). Less frequently mentioned reasons, yet still with significant

numbers, include a 'better learning environment or system' (60 responses), 'making up

for gaps in state education' (29 responses), but also less proactive reasons, such as 'following a trend' (40 responses) or 'to kill time' (25 responses).

These findings are broadly similar to the themes which arose from the interview data, and thus support the varied description of supplementary education as revealed through interviews. Students and their parents see supplementary education principally as a way to either improve satisfactory school performance to a more competitive level, or to help avoid less than satisfactory performance. However, the responses also indicate that the role of English *buxibans* is not simply that of cramming for tests, as there are significant numbers of responses which point to positive long-term learning goals and a level of enjoyment in the subject. The number of responses not directly related to performance criteria indicates that for many students, English *buxibans* offer a positive learning experience, in contrast to the image of the *buxiban* as a controlled environment for children to concentrate on test preparation and practice. Reasons such as 'interest', 'enjoyment', 'to advance', and 'better learning environment' support the view of English *buxibans* as representing a significant locus of positive learning. Thus, the wide variety of provision of supplementary education is also hinted at by these student reports. Although it remains to be seen whether these responses, having been obtained from undergraduates studying English majors, are indicative of a positive skew in favour of English *buxiban* teaching practice, there is evidently more to English *buxibans* than just test practice and repetition.

Most of the reasons were given equally for both self and others, although there are some significant exceptions, with 'parental pressure' and 'to be competitive' both being significantly higher for 'others' than for 'self', while 'better learning environment' was more often mentioned for 'self' reasons.

6-2-2   Principal reasons students offered for not attending supplementary English classes

Concerning the reasons given for non-attendance in supplementary English classes, the most common responses given were 'money limitations' (433 responses), followed by

'time conflicts' (293 responses). The reference to financial resources seems to confirm the concerns about equity in educational provision, as 'money limitations', particularly as reported 'for other students' is significantly more prominent than other reasons offered, although interestingly, 'money limitations' did not rank as highly among students' self-reported reasons.

The reference to 'time conflicts or problems' is not often clearly explained in the students' written responses, with the most common initial comments being a relatively terse 'no time' statement (accounting for over half of responses in this category: 185 out of 293 responses), followed by a more clearly stated 'schedule conflict' response (accounting for about a third of responses in this category: 93 out of 293 responses).

A number of other reasons also rank fairly high, including 'not interested', 'English is good enough', 'give up on English', and 'choose independent study' along with 'school classes sufficient'. Along with these comparatively high scoring reasons, there are a number of slightly lower scoring reasons which also tend to reflect some of the issues which emerged from the interview accounts, including comments concerning excessive pressure in study, or alternatively a lack of pressure to attend supplementary education, along with responses such as 'not helpful' or 'don't like English'.

Once again, while many of the categories have comparable scores for 'self' and 'others', there are a few with a significantly greater frequency for 'others', including 'money limitations', 'not interested', 'English is good enough' and 'give up on English', so that the rankings of reasons for 'self' are somewhat different to those interpreted for 'others'. The case of money limitations is mentioned above, and other responses are indicated below in Table 6-5.

Table 6-5 Comparison rankings of 'self-reported' and 'other-student' ascribed reasons for not attending English *buxiban*.

Ranking	Ranking of 'self-reported' reasons not to attend supplementary education		Ranking of 'other student' ascribed reasons not to attend supplementary education	
	Reason	**No. of responses**	**Reason**	**No. of responses**
1	Time conflicts or problems	162	Money limitations	290
2	Money limitations	143	Not interested	171
3	English is good enough	51	Time conflicts or problems	131
4	Choose independent study	50	English is good enough	126
5	Don't care – give up	49	Don't care – give up	100
6	School classes sufficient	45	Choose independent study	81
7	Too much pressure	40	Don't like English	54
8	Lack of availability	39	Don't want to attend	37
9	Not interested	37	No pressure to attend	27
10	Don't want to attend	34	Not helpful	26
11	Not helpful	34	School classes sufficient	23

6-2-3   Alignment with Mastery or Performance Goals

One aspect of the research was to attempt to identify how reasons for choosing to participate in supplementary education may reflect on motivation in education. It was therefore decided to attempt to map the responses concerning reasons against the constructs of either performance or mastery achievement goal orientations. A few of the reasons given can be broadly aligned with either mastery or performance goals, although most categories could not discriminate clearly the approach and avoidance dimension, and a number of reasons fall outside this construct altogether.

Starting with a broad definition of the concepts of achievement goal motivation as summarised in Schunk et al. (2008), and shown in Table 6-6, the researcher matched these definitions against the responses concerning reasons to attend or not attend supplementary education, and noted any possible positive correlation. For the purposes

of this matching procedure, it was decided to match against the original codes of responses, rather than the revised, condensed set of categories, in order to ensure a closer connection with the original data.

Table 6-6 Two goal orientations and their approach and avoidance forms, adapted from a table in Schunk et al. (2008)

	Approach Focus	Avoidance Focus
Mastery Orientation	Focus on mastering task, learning, understanding. Using standards of self-improvement, progress, deep understanding of task.	Focus on avoiding misunderstanding, avoiding not learning or not mastering task. Use of standards of not being wrong, not doing it incorrectly relative to task.
Performance Orientation	Focus on being superior, besting others, being the smartest, best at task in comparison to others Use of normative standards such as getting best or highest grades, being top or best performer in class.	Focus on avoiding inferiority, mot looking stupid or dumb in comparison to others. Use of normative standards of not getting the worst grades, being lowest performer in class.

Table 6-7 Numbers of responses which could be aligned with mastery or performance goal orientation, or which did not match either goal orientation.

	Number of responses
Mastery Orientation	1161
Performance Orientation	538
Neither Mastery nor Performance Orientation	606

As shown in Table 6-7, the results of the matching procedure revealed a particularly large set of 1161 responses aligning with a Mastery goal orientation, a smaller set of 538 responses aligning with a Performance goal orientation, and finally, a set of 606 responses which did not align with any particular orientation. These results suggest an emphasis on mastery goal orientation evident in this survey, although it should be noted that the underlying achievement goal orientation is not always made explicit in responses, which makes the categorization tentative. Another initial conclusion concerning these results is that a significant proportion of reasons does not relate directly to achievement goal orientations, and instead reflect other concerns. It was therefore decided to take a closer look at the kinds of reasons which matched each category, in order to detect any particular pattern or trend. The principal results are discussed in more detail below.

Table 6-8 Ranking of responses aligning with a Mastery achievement goal orientation, grouped into categories.

New category	Original coding of response aligning with a Mastery achievement goal orientation	Number of responses	Totals
To improve English	Improve English	256	483
	To improve English skills	79	
	To learn more	56	
	To improve speaking skills	43	
	To improve phonic/ pronunciation	12	
	Increase vocabulary capacity	8	
	Improve listening skills	8	
	To improve writing skill.	7	
	To improve listening and speaking skills	5	
	To improve reading skill.	4	
	Use school and other resources to improve English	4	
	I think if I take extra courses my English will improve	1	
For interest	Interested in English	178	182
	The courses are attractive	3	
	It seems interesting	1	
English as international language	To talk to people from other countries.	34	124
	Learn English	22	
	To learn foreign culture	16	
	Train myself to speak English with people	12	
	To be not afraid of talking to foreigners.	4	
	To obtain a second language ability	9	
	English is an international language.	9	
	To increase opportunities to interact with people	9	
	To learn more English related information	4	
	To learn a second language other than Chinese.	3	
	To use English in daily life.	2	
Enjoyment	It's more fun	48	88
	I like English.	39	
	Like foreign language	1	
English not good enough	Think English not good enough	44	69
	Grammar is bad.	24	
	Poor reading skill.	1	
Go overseas	Want to study abroad	36	58
	I want to go abroad.	22	
To broaden my knowledge.	To broaden my knowledge.	18	39
	To have more experience.	11	
	To broaden my vision	10	
Improvement	Self-improvement	34	36
	To improve not only speaking but also acting.	2	
To advance	Self-challenged	10	29
	Have motivation	7	
	To be expert in English	7	
	Fulfill life	4	
	To help overcome the fear of a new subject	1	
Better learning environment	To learn better on basic English	21	53
	To learn what the school doesn't teach and better	18	
	Buxibans teach more thoroughly.	10	
	To learn English through various means	3	
	To learn English for specific purpose. (ESP)	1	
Other reasons	To form a language learning habit.	6	9
	Be used to English	3	
TOTAL			**1161**

The top ranking reasons aligning with a mastery goal orientation are shown in Table 6-8. Thus, under the umbrella of a mastery orientation, the major reasons for attending supplementary English education include references to 'improvement', followed by reasons related to 'interest' in relation to English, or reasons which relate to the challenges of learning English and its use as a language of international communication. These three categories are followed by references to 'enjoyment', 'English not good enough', a desire for international travel or study, and various responses related to long-term learning goals.

These responses therefore indicate that students may associate participation in supplementary education with processes of learning and understanding which are defined by deeper or more extensive knowledge or ability in the subject, rather than performance criteria per se. This tends to support the view that the English *buxibans* offer a valuable complementary service which contributes to effective learning of English language skills, and that the motivation to attend is possibly not merely for short-term test performance or school grade results, but is instead a central part of the language learning experience. Student participation in English supplementary education can thus be seen as an enrichment of their language learning experience.

Given the high loading of schooling which students reported, with extensive attendance at *buxibans* in addition to full school days, and the reported emphasis on getting good grades, it is perhaps surprising that students would list 'interest' or 'enjoyment' as reasons for attending to English supplementary classes. These reasons certainly suggest a mastery goal orientation for many students, but they also suggest that the English *buxibans* are fulfilling a meaningful role in students' education, and perhaps one which is not satisfied in their 'regular' schooling. This conclusion leads to further questions concerning the relationship between mainstream schooling and supplementary education, as there seems to be an assumption that mainstream school provision of English language instruction is insufficient for effective language learning, and that if parents and their children take English language learning seriously, then they are compelled to consider paying for private services in addition to the normal educational provision. This echoes some of the teacher's comments in interviews concerning the major role of English *buxibans* in the process of providing instruction in English

language, sometimes supplanting the mainstream school as the main locus of language learning.

The responses are not divided according to the approach-avoidance dimension, as the focus of most responses is generally not explicit in this respect, such as in the use of the term 'improve English', which does not in itself indicate whether a standard of 'self-improvement', or alternatively a standard of 'not being wrong' is involved. However, some responses could be categorized as having a mastery-avoidance focus, in particular the responses in the category 'English not good enough', which together accounted for 69 responses.

It is also possible that the term 'improvement' may refer to some extent to a performance orientation. Although 'improvement' in itself seems to sit happily in the mastery orientation category, it is conceivable that the 'improvement' may in fact relate to normative standards, such as a better test performance, rather than standards of self-improvement or progress, and thus be better placed in the performance orientation category. Thus, while many of the responses are clearly aligned with a mastery goal orientation, there remains ambiguity around some responses, given that students' responses do not always clearly differentiate between different goal orientations.

Table 6-9 Ranking of responses aligning with a Performance achievement goal orientation, grouped into categories.

New category	Original coding of response aligning with a Performance achievement goal orientation	Number of responses	Totals
For help with tests and school grades	To have better grades.	67	285
	To pass the Entrance Exam	66	
	To obtain an English certificate.	63	
	Help to pass exams.	62	
	To have academic credits	17	
	To graduate from school	6	
	Need to go on further study.	3	
	To prepare for junior high school tests	1	
For help with falling behind at school	To keep up with school	67	126
	Afraid of falling behind in class.	35	
	Falling behind in class	16	
	Afraid of failing the course.	8	
For competitive advantage	To be more competitive in the future.	66	107
	To be in advance of the rest of the class.	26	
	To go to better school	7	
	Peer competition	4	
	To show off	2	
	They want to have better score than others.	2	
For future work prospects	To get better job in the future	10	20
	For work.	10	
TOTAL		**538**	**538**

Turning to performance goal orientation, the responses in this category are headed by references to help with school attainment, including grades and examination performance, which underline the view of supplementary education in its role of preparing students for academic performance, and this represents a clear performance goal orientation at work in the decisions to attend English *buxibans*. While for this category of 'helping for tests and school grades', the nature of the focus as following either an approach or an avoidance form of the performance goal orientation is not apparent, the following two broad categories each suggest a clearer focus. Thus, 'for help with falling behind at school' clearly suggests an element of performance-avoidance, while the 'competitive advantage' category seems to emphasize the performance-approach focus.

These performance related responses support the view of supplementary education in the role of helping children (and their parents) in their efforts to improve attainment in school results and tests, and it is clear that they are often perceived as being effective in helping to raise students' competitive advantage. Whether it is to boost children's

performance above that of classmates, or whether it is to help children to just keep up with classmates, there is a clear perception that supplementary education is to some extent effective in this role.

Table 6-10 Ranking of responses NOT aligning with either a Mastery or Performance achievement goal orientation, grouped into categories.

New category	Original coding of response NOT aligning with either a Mastery or Performance achievement goal orientation	Number of responses	Totals
Parental suggestion	Parents' idea. Family pressure. My mom asked me to.	221 4 2	227
To attend with friends	To make new friends from other school. Go with friend(s).	53 30	83
Following the trend	Follow the trend. (Everybody goes to Bushiban)	36	36
Suggestion from school or teachers	School made me to. Teacher made me to For course requirement. Extra-curricular English course is compulsory.	14 8 5 4	31
Importance of English	English is very important. English is useful	20 7	27
To kill time	To kill time. Have too much time They have nothing better to do.	10 7 3	20
Better learning environment or learning system	Approve of teachers' teaching styles. Bushiban have foreign teachers Teacher at the bushiban were nice Better arrangement of levels	11 6 3 1	21
Passive approach to learning	Need help with homework. Don't have self-discipline	11 8	19
For improvement	To consolidate my English Necessary	11 8	19
Falling behind	To make up my weakness Don't want to give up.	15 3	18
Finances sufficient	Family can afford it. Have too much money	15 3	18
For the future	For the future	16	16
To make up for gaps in mainstream school	School teachers don't teach well Limited content in elementary school English class Not used to the school teacher's teaching style	8 2 1	11
Early start	The sooner to learn English the better.	9	9
Various other reasons			51
TOTAL			**606**

The remaining 606 responses which did not align with either mastery or performance achievement goals, were pooled and re-categorized into new revised codes, and the highest ranking categories are shown in Table 6-10. Most of the responses relate to influences of other agents in the decision to attend English *buxibans*, with parental suggestion or pressure being the highest ranking reason, followed by responses referring

to peers, teachers, and 'following the trend'. These other agents, principally parents, are evidently important in the decisions to attend supplementary education, and this underlines the importance of parental motivation in the decisions to send children to the *buxiban*. While these four top ranking categories make up the majority of responses in this section, there are a number of lower ranking responses, including references to the importance of English, and references to the complementary help received from English *buxibans*, which highlight the perceived shortcomings or limitations of mainstream school English instruction.

Thus English *buxibans* are seen as an effective adjunct to mainstream schooling, as they prioritize English learning, which is relatively under-emphasized in the elementary school curriculum, and so failing to send one's children to the English *buxiban* will be seen as remiss by many parents. They may sense that their children will miss the often coveted 'early start' in English instruction which is difficult for mainstream schools to cater for, and miss the smaller class sizes, specialized English instructors, sometimes including native English speaker teachers, and all the extra services which *buxibans* may offer.

6-2-4   Summary of survey of reasons for participation in supplementary education

The interviews with both students and parents have indicated that the *buxiban* environment is distinctly different to that of school in a number of respects, and that rather than simply being a '*buxiban*' in the traditional sense of test preparation, review and preview of school material, at least a proportion of the English *buxibans* offer something which students may have missed in their regular school English classroom. The significant proportion of responses which suggests a Mastery achievement goal orientation also supports this positive view of the function of English *buxibans*. However, notwithstanding this complementary aspect to *buxiban* English education, many responses in this survey still suggest that the test preparation, course preview and review functions are also central to many *buxiban* courses. This is supported by the significant number of performance related responses outlined above.

The interviews indicated that English *buxibans* are not a homogeneous group, with a distinction being drawn between those which offer instruction which mirrors or reinforces the school curriculum and those which have a more 'communicative language teaching' thrust, with their own independent curriculum and agenda. This picture of *buxibans* is further supported by the data in the survey of reasons for participation of supplementary education. Thus it can be seen that not all *buxibans* are created equal. This distinction can clearly be seen in the contrast between 'children's spoken English' classes to be found in many elementary school age *buxibans* and the English test preparation and grammar/vocabulary classes which cater to high school students, but the variety of approaches can be found at all ages. While some parents will opt for a more 'cramming' style of supplementary class, others will instead choose a 'wider' curriculum of English for their children, with the focus not on short-term test performance goals, but instead on a more long-term view concerning the value of learning English for the child's future.

6-3 Survey of 2 x 2 achievement goal orientation

Following the interviews with parents and teachers concerning the phenomenon of supplementary education, it was decided to investigate further the possible connections between behaviour to choose supplementary education and underlying motivational disposition. The interview data and the survey of reasons for participation in supplementary education revealed a number of themes which suggest emphases on both performance and mastery criteria, and it was conjectured how these findings would also be reflected in students' reported achievement goal orientation.

Specifically, it was speculated whether there would be a correlation between participation in supplementary education and participants' achievement goal orientation. As a result, the survey given to university students included a section which was designed to gather data concerning self-reported achievement goal orientation.

The 2x2 achievement goal motivation instrument used in the present research is a replication of that proposed by Elliott & McGreggor (2001), who developed and tested the Achievement Goal Questionnaire (AGQ) in an American educational setting, and

provided details concerning its reliability. The choice to use this particular instrument is partly the desire to use a standardized form, which has not only undergone significant verification, but has also been administered in many different contexts (see Dekker and Fischer, 2008), and therefore allows comparison across different cultures and nationalities. An important element of this part of the research was to see how the instrument would behave in a different cultural context, and to explore how achievement goal orientations may manifest themselves differently in the Taiwanese sample.

The AGQ is composed of 12 question items, with responses measured on a 5-point Likert scale. The instrument is designed to assess four distinct variables, and there are three items allotted for each variable. The four variables constitute the four points of the 2x2 achievement goal orientation matrix, namely Mastery-Approach (MAP), Mastery-Avoidance (MAV), Performance-Approach (PAP), and Performance-Avoidance (PAV). The development of the concepts behind these variables is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 above.

There have been various versions of the achievement goal orientation questionnaire used in research, and the present study used an adaptation of AGQ used by Elliott & McGreggor (2001). Modification included changing the wording of items so that they related to learning English language, rather than study in general, and then translation into Chinese. The Chinese versions of items were back-translated into English to check for discrepancies or variation, and the researcher confirmed that item meaning was preserved in translation.

6-3-1   Correlations of achievement goal orientations

There were 580 valid completed questionnaires including responses to the AGQ, and various measures were obtained in order to identify the key trends and properties of the data. Correlations between items were investigated in order to reveal the relationships between items in the survey and to measure internal consistency. The AGQ contains 12 items, including 3 items for each achievement goal orientation, so a key measure of

internal consistency is provided by the correlations within the three item sets for each of the four orientations, and this is represented by the Cronbach's Alpha values.
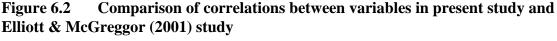
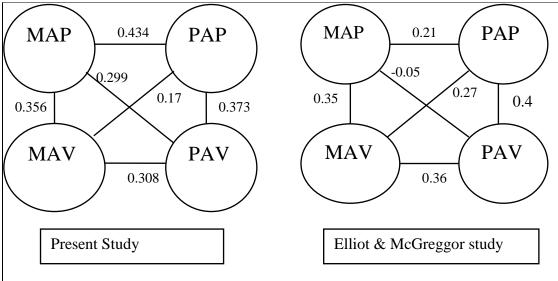**Table 6-11   Correlations between variables – Present study**

	Variable	Cronbach's α	1 MAP	2 MAV	3 PAP	4 PAV
1	Mastery-Approach (MAP)	0.737	-			
2	Mastery-Avoidance (MAV)	0.803	.356	-		
3	Performance-Approach (PAP)	0.767	.434	.177	-	
4	Performance-Avoidance (PAV)	0.562	.299	.308	.373	-

Table 6-12   Correlations between variables – Elliot & McGreggor (2001) study

	Variable	Cronbach's α	1 MAP	2 MAV	3 PAP	4 PAV
1	Mastery-Approach (MAP)	0.87	-			
2	Mastery-Avoidance (MAV)	0.89	.35	-		
3	Performance-Approach (PAP)	0.92	.21	.27	-	
4	Performance-Avoidance (PAV)	0.83	-.05	.36	.40	-

The Cronbach's Alpha values and correlations between achievement goal orientations found in the present study are shown in Table 6-11, while corresponding data from the Elliott & and McGreggor (2001) study are shown in Table 6-12. In the present study, acceptable values were found for consistency among the question items for each variable, although the Performance-Avoidance category revealed a markedly lower level of consistency with a Cronbach's Alpha value of just 0.562. It is also noted that the Cronbach's Alpha values are all significantly lower than that of the Elliot & McGreggor (2001) study, indicating an overall lack of clarity in the results. Although not challenging the four variable matrix model, this nevertheless raises the question concerning the applicability of this model in this context, as responses are not as clearly discrete as they appear in the Elliot & McGreggor study. This relative lack of clarity is also reflected in the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), which is discussed in the following section.

Figure 6.2   Comparison of correlations between variables in present study and Elliott & McGreggor (2001) study

The results of the analysis of correlations of the four scales, are also shown in graphical form in Figure 6.2. In the present study, the correlations between variables are comparable to those observed in the Elliot & McGregor study, indicating a broadly similar structure of relationships between variables. However, the present study indicates moderately higher correlations, although the values are still low, between the two approach categories (0.43 against 0.21), and also between Mastery-Approach and Performance-Avoidance categories (0.299 against -0.05). For the sample in the present study, there seems to be slightly more of an overlap between the Mastery-Approach and Performance-Approach categories. The higher correlation between Mastery-Approach and Performance-Avoidance in the present study partly reflects the unexpected behaviour of one of the question items (PAV Q12) in the Performance-Avoidance category, and this is further discussed below in the following section on Exploratory Factor Analysis. Apart from these differences in correlations, there is otherwise a broad alignment of values between the two samples. By way of comparison, a similar study conducted on Chinese high school students by Chen & Zhang (2011) exhibits some correlations which echo the present study, with similar high correlations between Approach categories, and all correlations between variables are higher than that found in the Elliott & McGreggor (2001) results. For the correlations to be higher in general suggests that there is less separation of the variables for the Chinese sample, and this

may indicate the relationship between mastery and performance goal orientations being
perceived in a different way for these students.

6-3-2   Interpretation of exploratory factor analysis

The exploratory factor analysis (EFA) procedure was carried out on data in the present
study using SPSS software in order to investigate the validity of a four variable model
for goal orientations. The EFA procedure measures for the presence of an underlying
structure of correlations in the data, and is helpful to identify how the data 'clumps'
together. The EFA is also used to compare with similar analyses conducted in other
studies, so that the fit of the model to the data can be compared in different contexts.

**Table 6-13   Comparison of Exploratory Factor Analyses of three studies of
Achievement Goal Orientation**

	Elliott & McGregor (2001) study				Present study				Lau & Lee (2008)		
variable	PAP	MAV	MAP	PAV	PAP	MAV	MAP	PAV	PAP	M	PAV
factor	1	2	3	4	3	2	1	4	3	1	2
PAP Q1	0.93				0.84				0.61		
PAP Q5	0.89				0.78		0.30		0.79		
PAP Q9	0.89				0.74				0.64		
MAV Q2		0.9				0.84					
MAV Q6		0.86				0.80					
MAV Q10		0.84				0.83					
MAP Q3			0.91				0.74			0.79	
MAP Q7			0.9				0.82			0.67	
MAP Q11			0.8				0.72			0.67	
PAV Q4				0.87				0.76			0.59
PAV Q8				0.85				0.86			0.59
PAV Q12				0.74			0.50				0.75

**Table 6-14   Variance accounted for by each factor according to Exploratory
Factor Analyses of three studies of Achievement Goal Orientation**

Elliott & McGregor (2001) study				Present study				Lau & Lee (2008)		
1	PAP	36.40%		1	MAP	33.34%		1	MAP	18.03%
2	MAV	21.30%		2	MAV	14.73%		2	PAV	15.00%
3	MAP	14.90%		3	PAP	10.80%		3	PAP	14.60%
4	PAV	8.80%		4	PAV	8.00%				
TOTAL		81.50%				66.88%				47.63%

Principal factor loadings for achievement goals, and data concerning the percentage of
variance accounted for by each factor, are shown in Table 6-13 and Table 6-14. The

data from the present study is shown against comparable data from the Elliot & McGregor (2001) study, and also the Lau & Lee (2008) study, conducted in Hong Kong. While the Elliott & McGregor and the present study share the same structure of items with the four variable model, the Lau & Lee (2008) study is based on the earlier three variable model, in which Mastery goals are not differentiated into Approach and Avoidance forms. It includes 9 of the 12 items appearing in the present study, so it was decided that a comparison with a study using a Chinese population sample, albeit in Hong Kong, rather than Taiwan, would still be of interest in this analysis. The authors stated that their Chinese version for the questionnaire was validated through exploratory factor analysis (EFA).

On comparison of the data in the tables, it is interesting to note that although the question items generally group together in the expected way, with factors clearly aligning with the different goal orientations, the factor loadings are somewhat less than those found in the Elliott & McGreggor study. The Chinese study does not include Mastery-Avoidance items, so the analysis just identifies 3 factors, yet together, these 3 factors account for just 47.63% of the variance. The Elliott & McGreggor paper on the other hand, using 12 items in a 2x2 matrix of achievement goal orientations, reported a 4-factor solution, which accounted for 81.5% of variance. Although the studies are not quite the same, they share 9 items in common (3 each for Mastery-Approach, Performance-Approach and Performance-Avoidance), and a question arises as to why there should be such a reduced account of variance reported.

In the present study, which replicated the same items as the Elliott & McGreggor study, an EFA conducted in a similar way yielded a solution with 4 factors accounting for 67.01% of reported variance. The factor loadings were also relatively low compared to the American study, and this finding suggests that there are important questions to be asked about the application of the achievement goal theory to a Chinese population. It seems clear that the theoretical model for achievement goal motivation, while it can be supported by the data presented here, does not represent the whole picture.

On further investigation, in the present study, one question item in particular (PAV Q12) stands out, in that its principal factor loading aligns, albeit relatively weakly, with the

Mastery-Approach questions, although it is intended as a Performance-Approach question item. An investigation of correlations between individual items revealed that item PAV-12 seemed to be working as a MAP item, having a higher correlation with other MAP items than with the other PAV items. This is also reflected in the Confirmatory Factor Analysis, and so the relevant item was further inspected to see if there might be a likely explanation for this inconsistency. The wording of the question was checked, and it is interesting to speculate how either the wording or the translation may have contributed to this shift. The actual English wording is "My fear of performing poorly in English classes is often what motivates me", and the Chinese translation has been judged to be consistent. The back-translation of the Chinese wording is: "Because I am worried about performing badly in English classes, this often arouses my motivation to learn", and the verb form in Chinese for 'perform' is consistent with the other two questions in the Performance-Avoidance category. However, the word 'motivate' is unique to this item, and it could well be this aspect which is viewed differently in this item.

In another study, Murayama, Zhou, & Nesbit (2009) conducted a comparison of Japanese and Canadian samples using the same AGQ instrument, and also found that the item PAV Q12 had an unexpected correlation with another factor, although in their case it was 'mis-aligned' with the mastery-avoidance goal factor, rather than the mastery-approach one, and the effect occurred within the Canadian sample. The authors conjectured that affective components such as 'fear' or 'anxiety' were responsible for the deviation, and suggested that such components should be removed from the survey items in future research. This approach is also echoed by Elliot and Murayama (2008) who have also since recommended a full revision of the AGQ items in their AGQ-R in order to reduce this and other problems with the original AGQ. However, there still remains some question as to why this item would align with a different factor, and also why it appeared in the Canadian sample, but not in the Japanese. Donnellan (2008), in a psychometric evaluation of the AGQ with a sample of 780 in the United States, also reported the PAV Q12 item to be problematic due to its relatively low loading on its primary factor in the Confirmatory Factor Analysis.

Apart from the aforementioned question item, all other items in the present study were broadly in agreement with the analysis of the Elliot & McGregor (2001) paper, although there remains the question of why the factor loadings are consistently lower in general, and that the 4 factors account for only 67% of variation, as opposed to 81% for the American study. The initial conclusion of this analysis therefore suggests that, although there is a measure of agreement between the studies in Chinese and American contexts, there is also significant variation, and this therefore brings into question whether the theoretical constructs underlying achievement goal theory need to be re-evaluated in a Chinese context.

The Chen & Zhang (2011) study mentioned above also reported some questions concerning the observed factor loadings. Although they were judged to be acceptable for supporting the four-goal model, their study also reported fairly low factor loadings for a number of items, particularly in the Performance-Avoidance category, suggesting possible issues concerning the validity of the theoretical construct for this sample. This study employed a revised form of the AGQ developed by Elliot (Elliot and Murayama 2008).

To summarize, while the EFA generally supports the applicability of the AGQ using the four variable 2x2 model of achievement goal orientation in the Chinese context, there is a significant drop in its ability to account for variance, and this suggests that more work needs to be done to identify both the causes of this uncertainty, and also how to improve the instrument in order to achieve higher explanatory power. Since the time of the administration of the survey in the present study, the revised AGQ has been developed by Elliot & Murayama (2008), and it would be interesting to see whether applying these revisions will increase the explanatory power of future surveys.

6-3-3   Comparison of mean values across societies

The AGQ has been administered in various societies, and a comparison of the mean values for achievement goal orientations may yield important information concerning the nature of goal orientations in different cultures or social contexts. Dekker and Fischer (2008) suggest how goal values may differ according to particular cultural

contexts, hypothesizing a series of differentials according to a number of cultural indices, including embedded/autonomous societies, mastery/harmony oriented societies, hierarchical/egalitarian societies, and a socioeconomic measurement of 'human development'. In a meta-analysis of achievement goal orientation research in different cultural contexts, the authors found large variations in means across different societies, and that there were significant correlations between societal variables and achievement goal orientations, most predominantly with performance-approach goals. Thus, performance-approach goals were found to significantly positively correlate with 'embeddedness', 'mastery-values', and lower 'human development', while mastery goals were found to be significantly higher in more 'egalitarian' societies. While these findings shed some light on cultural or societal differences, the authors admit to limitations of the study, recognizing that the sample sizes for achievement goal orientation data in many societies are relatively small, and more data would be required in locations outside the United States in order to increase the robustness of their findings. Also, the study was limited to a three factor model, and covered only studies which did not differentiate between Mastery-Approach and Mastery-Avoidance categories.

Table 6-15 Comparison of mean values reported for achievement goal orientations in five studies.

Study	Country	Sample	MAP	MAV	PAP	PAV
Present Study	Taiwan	580 university undergraduates	0.83	0.74	0.67	0.66
Chen & Zhang (2011)	China	775 high school students	0.74	0.67	0.61	0.5
Murayama et al. (2009)	Japan	326 university undergraduates	0.7	0.52	0.53	0.52
Murayama et al. (2009)	Canada	307 university undergraduates	0.73	0.59	0.61	0.63
Elliot & McGregor (2001)	United States	328 university undergraduates	0.79	0.56	0.69	0.64
Donnellan (2008)	United States	482 university undergraduates	0.76	0.67	0.69	0.72

Table 6-15 shows the compared means from the present study and four other studies which used the same AGQ instrument as the Elliott & McGreggor study, and indicates a wide variation in the mean values reported in different studies. One crucial observation is that the variation of results within society suggests that factors other than societal ones account for much of the observed differences in values. Thus, the results of Elliott & McGregor (2001) and Donnellan (2008), while both based on samples of university undergraduates in the United States, show some clear differences, particularly in the Avoidance forms of the goals. The variation between societies is therefore difficult to define, and so any conclusions are therefore bound to be tentative at best.

In general, the mean scores in the present study are relatively high compared to the other studies shown in

Table 6-15, with both the Mastery-Approach and Mastery-Avoidance values exhibiting the highest values (0.83 and 0.74), while the differences in Performance variables were not as pronounced in comparison to other studies. There is therefore no compelling indication of a predominance of performance goal orientations in the present study, and it is rather the higher mean values for Mastery orientations which are particularly interesting in these results. Given the impression of a highly competitive education market, and the emphasis placed on school performance, higher performance mean scores might have been expected. As suggested by Dekker & Fischer (2008), in highly embedded societies, social approval through showing competence and abilities is an important factor, and would tend to be associated with higher Performance-Approach goals. However, although Taiwan ranks as more embedded in the embeddedness/autonomous scale, the findings here suggest a different effect, or perhaps even a different sense of the distinction between Mastery and Performance goal orientations.

6-3-4 *Correlation of motivation survey results with participation in supplementary education and test score performance.*

In addition to the achievement goal orientation data, the survey also gathered information concerning the number of years of participation in supplementary education by the students. It was thought any trends might shed some light on the possible relationship between achievement goal orientation and the choices that students made in supplementary education. While the results of the survey indicated some statistically significant correlations between the number of years of reported participation in supplementary education and the Performance-Approach variable, the level of correlations was very low, yielding a correlation coefficient of just 0.21, which represents a shared variance of approximately 4%. This is very close to no observable effect, and so no compelling link is demonstrated.

In the context of the planning of the present study, the researcher's initial expectations were that participation in supplementary education may correlate more with a performance goal orientation, and hence the decision to include this measure. It was

conjectured that the pursuit of better performance, as for example in English tests or school grades, is a major driver of the supplementary education phenomenon, and that this phenomenon might also be reflected in reported achievement goal orientation. Although this assumption about the role of supplementary education as being focused principally on normative educational standards was initially supported by some preliminary interviews with teachers and parents, subsequent data from the student interviews and survey also suggested that a high level of mastery achievement goal orientation is associated with supplementary education participation.

As well as the information concerning the level of participation in supplementary education, it was also originally intended to match goal orientation and supplementary education data against student performance in the standardized college entrance examination. It was hypothesized that, in line with findings of goal orientation research, higher performing students would tend to have higher mastery-approach and performance-approach scores, and lower performance-avoidance and mastery-avoidance scores. However, due to procedural drawbacks and unforeseen problems concerning the availability of student test performance data, this information was not eventually available for use in this study. As a fairly rough proxy measure for student test performance, attendance at each of the three universities was compared to see if other variables showed any trends between institutions. The three institutions chosen for the survey represent a spectrum of different status universities, and it may be assumed that entry into each of the three universities was, on average, dependent on significantly different test performances in the students. While National University 'Alpha' is a prestigious public university with a very good national reputation, Private University 'Beta' is a private university with a fairly good reputation, and Private University 'Gamma' is a private university with a fairly low reputation. Thus, it could be expected that the academic attainment of students on entry into these three universities will be such that University 'Alpha' attainment will be better than University 'Beta', which in turn will be better than University 'Gamma'.

A comparison of the goal orientation means for the groups of students of each of the three universities shows some minor variation, although the differences are not statistically significant (see Figure 6.3 and Table 6-16). There is however a trend in both

performance goal orientations in the expected direction. Thus, while we cannot speak of a definite relationship between performance goal orientations and student attainment outcomes, there is a suggestion of a possible link between these two categories. Thus, students who attend the university with a higher relative attainment, on average report higher Performance-Approach scores and lower Performance-Avoidance scores.
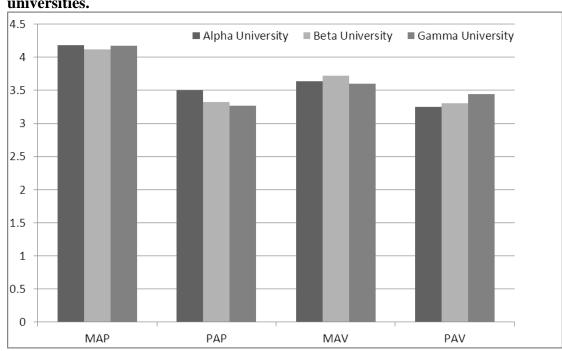
Figure 6.3   Comparison of achievement goal orientation means for three universities.

Table 6-16   Comparison of mean values of goal orientations for students from each university.

	School	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
Performance-Approach	NC	76	10.49	2.56	0.29	9.90	11.07
	NT	395	9.98	1.96	0.10	9.79	10.18
	LD	105	9.79	2.17	0.21	9.37	10.21
	Total	576	10.01	2.09	0.09	9.84	10.19
Mastery-Avoidance	NC	76	10.92	2.22	0.25	10.41	11.43
	NT	395	11.17	2.21	0.11	10.95	11.39
	LD	105	10.82	2.24	0.22	10.38	11.25
	Total	576	11.07	2.22	0.09	10.89	11.25
Mastery-Approach	NC	76	12.54	1.88	0.22	12.11	12.97
	NT	395	12.38	1.71	0.09	12.21	12.55
	LD	105	12.55	1.65	0.16	12.23	12.87

	Total	576	12.43	1.72	0.07	12.29	12.57
Performance-Avoidance	NC	76	9.75	2.51	0.29	9.18	10.32
	NT	395	9.92	1.96	0.10	9.73	10.11
	LD	105	10.34	2.06	0.20	9.94	10.74
	Total	576	9.98	2.06	0.09	9.81	10.14

Both of the sets of correlations discussed in this sub-section were checked using one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures within SPSS software, which confirmed the lack of a significant variation. These results therefore remain quite speculative in nature, but nevertheless point to an interesting avenue of research in possible future studies.

6-4 Summary of student survey findings

The survey of students has provided a range of information concerning the scale of supplementary education, the multiple reasons involved in the choices to participate in supplementary education, and has also shown the significance of both mastery and performance goal orientations in the reasoning of the decision-making process. In addition, the data from the achievement goal orientation has also mirrored the joint emphasis of both mastery and performance goal orientations, and also suggested a possible blurring of the distinction between mastery and performance goals, in that correlations between both approach goal orientations are relatively higher than that found in other contexts.

While there are no strong correlations in the present study which link participation in supplementary education with other variables including achievement goal orientation or attendance at higher or lower ranking universities, given the multiplicity of reasons for participation in supplementary education, and the wide diversity of educational provision included, an inconclusive result is hardly surprising. Although many *buxibans* are indeed geared toward the traditional cramming approach which emphasizes test performance and encourages extensive review and test practice, both the interviews and the survey of reasons also generated evidence to indicate English *buxibans* as providing an alternative provision of language teaching and learning which is marked by more motivationally positive outcomes. Students gave reasons for participation which referred to interest and long-term learning goals in their responses, and so participation

is not simply a case of test practice and review, but for many students, supplementary education may instead constitute a significant primary resource for learning English.

7 Discussion & Conclusion

The present study began with various questions concerning the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan, particularly with regard to the reasons for its uptake, but also how it relates to views of learning and teaching in this particular cultural context. The following sections aim to summarize the key findings of this research, and to discuss the implications for educators, policy makers, and also for further research.

7-1 *The scale and nature of the phenomenon.*

The surveys undertaken in this research, both among elementary school students and university students, confirm that supplementary education is a significant element of the direct experience of education for a majority of Taiwanese children. The surveys also confirm that this significance is not limited to the years of high school, where competition for prestigious university entry is well documented in Taiwan (Bray, 2006), but that the influence and importance of supplementary education extends to the beginning of elementary school, and even at the level of kindergarten age children. Thus, as shown in the present research, the rate of attendance in supplementary classes for 5th and 6th year elementary school students was over 70 percent in a major southern city in Taiwan. Over 60 percent of the university students reported that they had attended supplementary English education for at least 5 years during their school career, and as many as 95 percent reported attendance for at least one year. With such a high proportion of students reporting participation in the shadow education sector, it would be foolhardy to ignore the phenomenon when giving any account of the education system in Taiwan. Equally, attempting to account for the observed scale of the phenomenon becomes a key question when trying to understand the motivations of students and parents in Taiwan.

Although the elementary school survey in the present study was limited to one particular school in an urban area, from information gathered from interview data and the survey of university students, it is clear that the pattern found in the survey school would be broadly similar to that found in most urban areas in Taiwan, although some interviewees mentioned that the percentage would likely be even higher in the capital

city, Taipei. In contrast, although no surveys were conducted in rural areas, it is expected that, according to information from interviews with teachers, parents and students, participation in supplementary education is substantially lower in rural areas than in urban areas. Thus the uptake of supplementary education may well be predominantly an urban phenomenon, and while it is not clear from the present research the exact reasons for this difference, presumably financial and logistical considerations would rank high in the explanation, although there may also be other urban-rural differences which have not been explored in this research. Despite this uncertainty, given the highly urbanized nature of the Taiwanese economy, the description of the urban situation is clearly the most salient target for a basic understanding of the Taiwanese educational system.

In terms of the taxonomy of different kinds of supplementary education to be found in Taiwan, the present research has identified a range of different kinds of establishment involved in elementary school age supplementary education. From the surveys of both elementary school and university undergraduates, and supported by the information gleaned from promotional literature, elementary school age supplementary education can be divided into roughly four kinds of establishment, as listed below, although there is of course much variety within each category.

1. Traditional *buxiban* – supplementary instruction in particular subjects, especially English and mathematics – to help children prepare for junior high school curriculum
2. Specialist English *buxiban* – for early start children's English programmes – extra exposure to wider curriculum than school
3. *Anqinban* – elementary school age children's after-school organization, specializing in homework supervision and child-minding
4. School organized 'after-school club' – offers homework supervision for children of working parents

The interviews and survey data revealed a juxtaposition of reasons for participation in supplementary education, with the traditional 'cramming' style *buxiban* approach being contrasted with the more adventurous 'Children's English' approach, and these two styles may also reflect the different kinds of organization involved, with the traditional high school preparation *buxibans* offering more narrow short-term performance targets, while the specialist English *buxibans* offer a more complementary contribution to

language instruction. The range of provision is further varied by the scale of the businesses involved, with some highly-resourced national chains being able to offer a wide variety of courses and approaches to suit different parental or children's demands for supplementary education, while smaller, independent businesses are relatively constrained in their services.

The further study of the motivational characteristics of participation in supplementary education, and of the influences of the phenomenon on the education system will therefore need to look more carefully at the different sectors of the industry, as there may be quite distinct characteristics involved. To illustrate the point, interviews revealed that for some parents there is a conscious acknowledgement of the contrasting styles of particular *buxibans*, and parents will tend to choose a *buxiban* according to whether they have a preference for either short-term school test performance gains or for long-term learning goals. This clear distinction between different characteristics both of *buxibans* and also the reasons for selecting them suggests that more sophisticated means of enquiry than are presented here would be needed to investigate how participation in supplementary education may relate to other factors discussed in the present study. Thus, the lack of any particular correlations between *buxiban* attendance and students' reported achievement goal orientation could reflect the likely confounding of contrary motivation themes.

7-2 Reasons for participation in supplementary education

Baker et al. (2001) offered a hypothesis of 'enrichment' and 'remedial' strategies in order to account for the participation in supplementary education, as described in Chapter 2 above. Their hypothesis attempted to make sense of the phenomenon of supplementary education on an international level, based on data from TIMMS. One central question in this research is therefore whether the supplementary education phenomenon in Taiwan follows a similar pattern, or whether the Taiwanese context requires a modified explanation. It is perhaps easy to find examples which support the presence of either enrichment or remedial strategies at work in the Taiwanese educational setting, but it is another to suggest a causal link between these examples and the scale of supplementary education witnessed in Taiwan. In terms of the 'enrichment' strategy, in which intense competition for educational opportunities is seen as the major factor which encourages the participation in supplementary education, Baker et al. mention the existence of a 'tight connection between elite universities and excellent labour market opportunities in Taiwan', and the present research has also provided a body of responses in both interview and student survey data which support the existence of a competitive educational environment. Taiwanese parents demonstrably have high expectations of their children's academic performance, and this is partly due to the common perceptions of the need for good educational performance to ensure good future job prospects.

However, in the case of Taiwan, along with other Confucian-Heritage countries in East Asia, the present research suggests that the comparative strength of this 'enrichment' strategy is not necessarily a product of a competitive education market, but reflects much deeper cultural values and orientations toward education and family relationships. The honour a child's success in the competition for a prestigious university place brings to his or her family is a recurring theme in the interviews, and underlines the special cultural value of education in the Taiwanese context. In this sense, the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan may follow a different pattern to that found in other parts of the world. Bray (2010), reviewing research on the growth of shadow education, also comments on how, in comparison to Western trends in education, where moves

toward school ranking systems and increasing competitiveness have been accompanied by increased use of tutoring, the particular vigour of East Asian shadow education reflects the common Confucian heritage values of learning, effort, and competition, and thus show a different pattern.

The growth of supplementary education under the 'remedial' hypothesis is related to the increasing importance of educational qualifications as basic criteria in society and employment. Here the aim is not to be educational high-fliers, but rather just to avoid being left by the wayside, without the basic school qualifications necessary for future employment or progress through the educational system. Participation in supplementary education is seen as a response to a struggle to maintain a basic functional survival in the educational system, and there are many references in the present research which allude to the 'fear of failure' or the 'fear of losing at the starting line', with many parents anxious about their children's struggles within the competitive schooling atmosphere. A number of respondents mentioned the fear of failure as a motivator for participation in supplementary education, and interviewees occasionally referred to the 'M-shaped' or 'twin-peak' attainment distribution among Taiwanese school students, and the fear of lapsing into the bottom part of the distribution pattern. Supplementary education can here be seen as an attempt by parents to ensure that their children are not abandoned by the competitive system, and that their school performance can attain, at least, a minimally acceptable level for satisfactory progress.

Thus the observations in this research concerning the highly competitive education system and employment market can be cited to support a mixture of both 'enrichment' and 'remedial' strategies as being important in the decisions behind choosing to participate in supplementary education in Taiwan. However, the present research has also thrown up a large amount of data which suggests that different factors are also important in reaching a better understanding of the rationale for supplementary education in Taiwan, and while the competitive elements discussed here are evidently relevant to the scale and nature of the phenomenon, it is perhaps the simultaneous alignment of a number of additional factors which has created the large investment in supplementary education witnessed in this research.

Beyond the competitive atmosphere for education and employment, with educational attainment being seen as a crucial key to ensuring good job prospects, there is also the high importance placed on educational attainment for social status within a Chinese cultural system, which tends to amplify the already competitive atmosphere by increasing the educational stakes for children and families in the society. These two factors working in tandem can be seen to heighten families' demands for good academic performance in their children. The interview data revealed a number of themes which support the cultural importance of education, including the consistently high academic expectations of a considerable proportion of parents, and the frequent references to honour or social status being linked to children's efforts and performance in the competitive educational atmosphere. Thus, it is not merely a minority elite of parents who strive for the best academic performance from, and opportunities for their children, but rather the educational attainment demand seems to be a more general property of a majority of parents encountered in the research. The demand for good academic performance is thus both for pragmatic reasons of increasing the chances of being competitive, and also for more sociocultural reasons of ensuring status and honour within the traditional Chinese family system. It is therefore a common alignment of these competitive and cultural factors which can be seen to be at work in driving the supplementary education market in Taiwan.

It may be that these two principal factors are sufficient to account for the phenomenon as observed in this research. However, there are also other contending factors which may be incorporated into this mix, and which drive the supplementary education phenomenon even further in the same direction. In terms of educational organization, there are structural effects on the educational system in Taiwan in which uncertainties surrounding policy and curriculum change on one hand, and a bifurcation of the system into mainstream and supplementary schooling on the other hand, which together tend to make the choice to participate in supplementary education the default choice for parents and children, so that it is no longer seen as something 'supplementary' at all. Instead of being forced to rationalize reasons for asking children to attend extensive hours at *anqinbans* and *buxibans*, it is rather that parents need to come up with convincing reasons for **not** sending their children to extra classes. In a sense, we can see that the system tends to set supplementary education as a major pillar of the system, and that

having invested so much in this sector, the mainstream education system has been forced to adapt to the bifurcation. There are clear examples in this research of how the mainstream school teachers see their role as having been transformed by the presence of external influences. While *buxibans* are seen as responsible to some extent for ensuring that children keep up with coursework and grade performance, the elementary school teachers may tend to see their purpose moving more in the direction of engaging with social and moral behaviour issues, and perhaps even in dealing with some of the fallout from having children exposed to an extensive 'spoon-fed' and narrowly academic regimen of learning.

The social and cultural importance of education for families has been mentioned above, and this element also leads to another factor which further gives supplementary education an added boost. The research has confirmed that much of the strategy to participate in supplementary education is centred on the parents, rather than on the children. *Buxibans* and *anqinbans* are not so much a response of children to motivation in learning, but rather a response of parents to their ideas about how they want their children to behave, and about what they want their children to strive for. Acknowledging the considerations of traditional Confucian thought, parents have a duty to ensure that their children perform as well as possible in the educational sphere, and children have a duty to obey their parents in their demands. Following this scenario, the supplementary education option offers parents a way of putting their Confucian duty into practice, and equally a way for children to act out their obedience. The structure of specialized premises provided by *buxibans* and *anqinbans* to organize the behaviour of school homework and extended revision and practice can be seen to carry the traditional burden of Chinese parents in ensuring that their children are focused on study. The relatively high level of involvement of Chinese parents in their children's education is a strong theme in this research, and the supplementary education establishments offer a relatively easy way for parents, albeit by proxy, to fulfill their responsibilities in this regard.

Beyond this basic function of supplementary education as offering the services of structuring children's study time, there is also a suggestion in this research that although the parents go along with the traditional Confucian concept of parental duty, there are

significant barriers for many parents in fulfilling this traditional role, and that supplementary education has prospered in the face of a relative diminution of traditional roles. With increased uncertainty in educational programmes, and also in response to the increasing influence of Western-inspired patterns of both parenting and education, in which increasing amounts of choice and autonomy in learning are changing the social and educational landscape, it may also be that the traditional parent-child relationship is under pressure. Under these circumstances, parents may find that the traditional roles are difficult to sustain, and that the role of supplementary education is in fact to bolster these traditional roles where the power of the family is under pressure. The increase in exposure to foreign media, the liberalization of education, the changing attitudes toward discipline, and the down-playing of traditional Confucian values in schooling, have meant that the traditional structures of hierarchy and authority have been challenged to some extent, and while families may still hold on to the concept of honour as important in the pursuit of their children's education, the traditional methods of parenting may not be as easy to apply in contemporary society as they were in previous generations. Thus we find that supplementary education offers families a way to maintain an element of control over children in their educational programme, which previously would have been carried out at home by parents and other members of extended family.

The above discussion may suggest that the demonstration of performance attainments in education is emphasized over intrinsic learning motivation in Taiwanese families. However, the present research has also pointed to clear mastery-oriented learning goals, particularly in the responses of many students who described the complementary or long-term learning benefits of attending supplementary English education. In addition to these reports, the achievement goal orientation survey also hinted at the high level of reported mastery-approach goal orientation in Taiwanese university undergraduates, which also suggests that educational goals are not limited to success in high stakes tests. For the case of English language learning, a clear motivation for attendance in supplementary classes is the desire to improve language skills which are seen as valuable resources in a globalized society, and represent important tools in international communication, both in the field of employment and also in a more social sphere.

7-3 Effects of supplementary education

With a better understanding of the taxonomy and rationale of supplementary education in Taiwan, we can then move on to discuss the 'pathology' of the phenomenon. The effects of supplementary education on the whole education system are bound to be significant given the sheer scale, and the extent of involvement of children throughout their educational career. The interviews and survey data both revealed a number of themes which demonstrate the widespread effects of a large supplementary education system on the activities of mainstream schools and on children's educational experiences.

Various effects on mainstream schooling have been reported, including conflict over school homework assignments and supplementary school homework demands, and the encouragement of a more passive learning style in students who attend supplementary education. There is also a perception that supplementary education adds fuel to the competitive educational atmosphere by raising the stakes for performance in school assessments, and that the normal child supervision role of families has been partly handed over to the supplementary education business. While there are also reports of positive effects of supplementary education, particularly in relation to the reports of English university majors concerning their experiences of learning English in English *buxibans*, there are nevertheless significant worries about the effects of supplementary education both on the quality of learning and also on the quality of family life and child development. Thus, given the undeniable effects of supplementary education on the whole education system, the question of appropriate policy response is subsequently of vital importance.

7-4 Responses to the phenomenon of supplementary education

Central to the rationale for the present research is the argument that any appropriate responses to the phenomenon of supplementary education need to take into account the multiplicity of reasons for its take up by the society in question. If education policy, either at local or national levels, fails to acknowledge the sources of motivation for the high enrollment of children in *buxibans* in Taiwan, then policy makers risk unforeseen

consequences of those policies. In particular, while on the face of it there seems to be an issue concerning highly competitive high-stakes tests in the Taiwanese education system, both for senior high school and university admission, there is an underlying social or cultural dimension which is arguably the main driver for the competitive environment. The combination of a situation where Confucian values concerning education and educational achievement are strongly held, and the widely held perception of a competitive education system, along with other social and economic factors affecting parents and families, contributes to a strong demand for supplementary education in Taiwan. However, if only the surface issues of competitive high-stakes tests in the education system are addressed by policy makers, while social and cultural forces are ignored, then the results of policy change will very likely be limited in their effectiveness.

The case of South Korea, as described by Lee, Lee et al. (2009), and as discussed above in Chapter 2, offers valuable lessons for policy makers in Taiwan, in particular the conclusion that policy cannot compete against strong cultural forces. Attempts to either prohibit shadow education, or to equalize the perceived differences between schools, and thus minimize competition, have met with disappointing or unintended results. The "energy of education fever" is a powerful social/cultural force in South Korean education, and policy efforts to curb its energy are arguably futile unless they face these strong cultural elements in the society. The present research confirms that cultural factors are key elements in the scale of the supplementary education phenomenon in Taiwan, and this therefore suggests that policy responses need to be aware of the power of cultural factors, and that attempts to ameliorate the intense competitiveness of the education system by structural changes to high-stakes testing regimes may not be effective, unless they are accompanied by corresponding changes in attitudes among parents.

7-5 Achievement goal orientations

While the survey results did not demonstrate any significant correlations between students' self-reported achievement goal orientation and their participation in supplementary education, the data nevertheless revealed some interesting questions

concerning the behaviour of the 2x2 achievement goal instrument in this Taiwanese sample. The survey instrument was a fairly direct replication of that used in other national settings, but yielded somewhat different correlation patterns to that reported in American studies, and these differences bring the applicability of the instrument for a Taiwanese sample into question. In particular, the correlations between factors in the 2x2 goal orientation framework differed from the results of American studies, and the confirmatory factor analysis results revealed a less robust support for the framework, with less distinct differentiation of the theoretical constructs.

Other studies have claimed to support the suitability of the 2x2 achievement goal orientation framework in Chinese contexts (Lau and Lee 2008; Chen and Zhang 2011), and in a Japanese context (Murayama, Zhou et al. 2009), although these studies also indicate a more diffuse picture than that suggested by the original Elliot & McGregor (2001) research, again with relatively lower strength of correlations and distinctness of the factors. It can therefore be suggested that while the results of the present study and other similar studies could be used to affirm the basic theoretical constructs of the 2x2 goal matrix, there is also a sense that the weaker factor loadings could also suggest a distinctly different set of factors at work in a different cultural setting. Murayama, Zhou et al. (2009), in their cross-cultural comparison of the results of the 2x2 survey on Japanese and Canadian samples of undergraduate students, found that factor analysis and inter-factor correlations between the Canadian and Japanese samples showed a modestly good fit, although the Japanese sample showed a higher correlation between performance-approach and performance-avoidance goals, and they suggest that future research needs to be undertaken to account for this difference. Chen and Zhang (2011), in their survey of Chinese high school students, reported consistently higher inter-factor correlations than the American research, which suggests that there may be important differences in the way the achievement goal construct operates for Chinese students.

For the researcher there is an important lesson when attempting to analyze statistical interpretations. In the case of the studies above which have relied on the use of confirmatory factor analysis to support the argument for the basic universality of the 2x2 achievement goal orientation construct, while it is not claimed here that the interpretations are skewed in an effort to support a positive result concerning

applicability of the 2x2 framework across cultures, it is important to remember that the interpretations cannot be wholly robust. Factor loadings vary, and the inter-factor correlations are not always consistent, and although this often leaves the researcher with a degree of support for the construct, it is combined with a degree of uncertainty concerning the distinctness of the categories. The importance to be attached to this uncertainty is also not always obvious from the presentation of the data. However, the recognition of a lack of robustness in the process of confirmation of results should lead to further questions concerning how or why differences are observed in the results across cultures.

Thus, while the exploratory factor analysis conducted as part of the Elliot and McGregor (2001) study yields strong support for the 2x2 construct, with the four factors together accounting for over 80 percent of observed variance, both the present research and the Lau and Lee (2008) research yielded results which only account for 66.9 percent and 47.6 percent of variance, respectively. This leaves approximately one-third and one-half (respectively) of the variance unaccounted for, and this therefore begs the question as to what is responsible for this variance observed in the data. Some of this variance can be attributed to possible problems with the reliability of some of the questionnaire items as discussed above, or other operational issues to do with administration of the surveys, but there is also a possibility that the use of the achievement goal orientation framework needs to be re-assessed in the present cultural context.

Urdan and Mestas (2006), in researching the antecedents of reported performance goals, documented a very broad range of reasons being expressed to account for performance goals, including both interpersonal and intrapersonal ones, and the sheer variety almost defied a meaningful classification. Indeed, the authors remarked that of particular interest in their study was the range of reasons rather than the taxonomy of responses which they attempted to create. Given that students give different reasons for the same achievement goal orientation, and that students may give the same reasons for different goal orientations, it becomes difficult to interpret the differences in observed inter-factor correlations in the present study. It may be the case that because the reasons behind the reported goals are substantially different to that found in a different cultural sample, the relationships between factors will also tend to differ. However, there is no direct way to

determine the source of this kind of variation without more detailed investigation of how reported achievement goal orientations correlate with a multitude of other factors.

This conclusion also reminds us of an important challenge in achievement goal research, which is the question also raised by Urdan and Mestas (2006) concerning whether different reasons behind achievement goals has any effect on the subsequent motivation and achievement of students, or whether this is simply a function of the goal orientation. These two alternative models, the 'multiple effects model' and the 'single effect model' are elegantly represented in Figure 7.1 below, adapted from Urdan and Mestas (2006).

Figure 7.1   Two potential pathways from reasons to performance goals to outcomes. Adapted from Urdan and Mestas (2006)

This distinction is important because while extensive research has indicated particular advantages for students who pursue approach forms of goal orientations, and disadvantages for the avoidance forms, the 'multiple effects' model suggests that these delineations of advantage or disadvantage are dependent on the antecedent reasons. Further, if the range of antecedent reasons is different in a particular cultural context, then the effect in terms of both goal interpretations and subsequent outcomes may well be distinctly different.

The present research tends to confirm that in the Taiwanese cultural context, the antecedent reasons may be distinctly different to that found in other contexts, and so this

suggests that both the interpretation and the outcomes of achievement goals may be different to other contexts. Although the present research was not specifically designed to test goal theory in the Taiwanese setting, some questions about the meaning and context of achievement goals for Taiwanese students are suggested, and so further research on mapping achievement goal orientations with other factors may be of help in explaining the differences observed both in the present research and in other Asian settings. In particular, it may be helpful to further characterize the antecedent reasons for goals and to investigate how particular interpretations of goals may be associated with different outcomes.

Another issue which would benefit from further research is the link between parents and children in terms of their achievement goal orientations. There is evidence linking children's achievement goal orientations with their perceptions of parents' and teachers' goal emphasis, underlining the social dimension to achievement goal orientations. (Ames and Archer 1987; Friedel, Cortina et al. 2007), and the high level of involvement of parents in children's choices concerning education, and in the supervision of their schoolwork, albeit often by proxy at the *buxiban* or *anqinban*, points to the high value placed on educational performance by the parents rather than their children. This higher involvement of the parents in the children's educational progress therefore raises the question of how much achievement goal orientations may be a function of parental goals rather than the children's. This also raises the question of how this particular proxy agency for motivation may affect the interpretation and outcomes of the goals adopted by the children concerned.

7-6 Limitations

There are several limitations to the present study, and the principle ones are outlined here. For the major survey instrument on Achievement goal orientation, it is regrettable that the student performance data was not available for further correlation. In hindsight, the researcher could perhaps have attempted to create more connections with local researchers and administrators, such as forming collaborative projects with local professors who had better access to educational authorities.

Another limitation is the choice to interview university students rather than elementary school students. The original proposal envisaged the inclusion of an activity with elementary school pupils, but the problem of finding suitable times to schedule this with the school administration made it difficult to pursue this line of enquiry. There were also possible advantages in choosing to interview university students, namely their relative maturity and ability to communicate, along with a retrospective view of the contribution of supplementary education to their educational career.

There are also limitations concerning the applicability of the research to other contexts. The study is necessarily limited to one particular urban area of Southern Taiwan, and it is quite probable that the circumstances in other locations may be somewhat different. In the course of the interviews with parents and teachers it became clear that the urban/rural divide is particularly striking, with appreciable differences in resources, both in schools and families, so that this study cannot pretend to be representative of rural areas in Taiwan. It is also possible that there are regional differences between Taipei, the capital city in the north of Taiwan, and other provincial cities. Turning further afield, there is also a question of how the present research is relevant for people in other East Asian countries which share a Confucian Heritage Culture. Thus, while the present research may be broadly representative of regional urban Taiwan, extrapolation to other contexts may be limited to some extent.

Finally, there are limitations brought about by the wide range of the present research, both in terms of methodology, and also in terms of the object of study. The methods of data collection have been fairly eclectic, and the phenomenon of supplementary education is extremely heterogeneous, so the researcher is aware of points which require further investigation. Given more space and time, it is hoped that these diverse threads can be further developed in future research.

7-7 Conclusion

The present research has explored the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan, and has attempted to convey a representation of its educational and cultural context, particularly by gathering significant themes from the voices of Taiwanese

teachers, parents, and students, and by exploring connections with motivation theory. The research has highlighted the strong cultural dimension involved in the patterns of schooling and the scale of the supplementary education phenomenon, and has raised questions for both educators and policy makers, and has also raised further questions for the development of the cultural dimension of motivation theory in education.

It has emerged from this research that the influence of supplementary education on mainstream education, and its influence on parents and children, is extensive and multi-faceted. Important for the question of policy response, the research has confirmed that it is not enough to argue that the influence of competitive high-stakes testing is primarily responsible for this phenomenon, and that recognition of cultural factors is necessary in steering future educational policy, with a better understanding of the reasons for uptake of supplementary education.

It has also emerged that the experience of supplementary education, while clearly posing challenges for educators and parents, and while clearly requiring significant investment on the part of both parents and children, is not viewed solely as a negative aspect of the educational experience. However, despite these positive aspects of supplementary education, there remain various issues for education in Taiwan, in particular the tensions between mainstream and supplementary schooling, the issue of equity of educational provision, the distortion of educational goals, and finally the toll on children caused by long hours of study.

In addition, the achievement goal orientation instrument used in the student survey yielded results which, while broadly supporting the 2x2 achievement goal construct as developed by Elliott & McGreggor (2001), also revealed some distinct differences. In particular, the confirmatory factor analysis revealed a relatively weaker support for the 2x2 achievement goal construct, only accounting for approximately 67% of variance in the present research sample, in contrast to 80% for the original Elliott & McGreggor (2001) research in the United States. This, along with similar findings in other Asian samples, raises questions concerning the possible different interpretations of achievement goals and their antecedents in an Asian cultural context. Further research is needed to clarify the nature of these differences.

It is therefore hoped that the research presented here will contribute to improving our knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon of supplementary education in Taiwan, and how it is perceived by those most affected by it, namely children, parents, and their teachers.

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Appendix A – *Initial survey form for elementary school students*

The survey was translated into Chinese and administered to children in County Elementary School by class teachers or English subject teachers.

1. _____ year _____class
2. Do you attend extra classes after school?   ….   YES ☐ NO ☐
3. What kinds of extra classes do you attend?

Talent schools	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	☐ music ☐ art ☐ ☐ other _____
Elementary school's own 'after-school-class'	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	☐ chinese ☐ math ☐ english ☐ school homework ☐ other _____
Private 'after-school-class'	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	☐ chinese ☐ math ☐ english ☐ school homework ☐ other _____
English 'cram school'	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	
Regular 'cram school'	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	☐ chinese ☐ math ☐ english ☐ school homework ☐ other _____
Private tutor	_____ times per week	_____hours each time	☐ chinese ☐ math ☐ english ☐ school homework ☐ other _____

4. Father's occupation _____
5. Father's education: University☐ college☐ Senior High school☐ Junior High school☐ Elementary school☐
6. Mother's occupation _____
7. Mother's education: University☐ college☐ Senior High school☐ Junior High school☐ Elementary school☐

Appendix B – *Buxiban* Literature

The following is the English translation of the collection of *buxiban* promotional literature. The researcher visited the site of one local elementary school, and proceeded to walk along the roads immediately adjacent to the elementary school, and collected any promotional literature offered by any *buxibans* which advertised English classes. The translation was checked against the original brochures or leaflets.

Category of code	Coding name	Sources	References
Tests	prepare for tests	1	1
	GEPT preparation	4	4
	regular tests	2	2
	proficiency tests	1	1
	competitions	1	2
	language for tests	1	1
	good results	1	1
	success	1	1
	be the best	1	1
English For Life	for independent students	1	1
	help for overseas study	1	1
	everyday life English	1	1
	global perspective	1	1
	experience different cultures	1	1
Parental Approval	parents' praise	1	1
	parental approval	1	1
Years Taught	kindergarten programme	1	1
	junior high school programme	1	2
	different year groups	1	1
Skills	drama class	1	1
	skills teaching	1	1
	pronunciation class	1	1
	memorizing skills	1	1
Business	small business	4	4
	local city chain	3	3
	big national chain	2	2
Service	service	1	1
	help weak students	1	1
	care for children	1	1
	individual assistance	1	1
	anqinban English class	4	5
	children's English	3	3
Teachers	foreign teachers	2	2
	experienced teachers	1	1
	qualified teachers	1	1

	excellent students need excellent teachers	1	1
	trained teachers	1	1
Character	no pressure	1	1
	patient teaching	1	1
	active teaching	1	1
	good behaviour	1	1
Traditional Teaching Approach	traditional - serious type	4	4
	not game type classes	1	1
	step by step learning	1	1
Organization	system of levels	2	2
	English only class	2	2
	elite class	1	1
	sophisticated course structure	1	1
	variety of programmes	1	1

Buxiban 1: Da Qiao

Our Faith: In our mind, every child is the best!
Management Theory: Service orientation!
The praise from our parents is the best proof.
After School Class: ---
English Class: We don't care for "game type" (*buxibans* that play games a lot in the class) or unrealistic or fancy type of teaching model. We carefully plan our curriculum and aim for our target. Our principle is that we teach students step by step. Welcome make reservation with us!
Math Class:

Buxiban 2: HESS

Page 2

Hess English Proficiency Test:
This class is designed for students who have learned English for more than one year. This class can help children find out their learning direction and assist them to pass the test.

Page 3

Hess Recitation Competition
This learning activity is specially designed for students who have learned English for more than 1.5 years. This help build up students' recitation, English speech and reading skills. Therefore, the children can confidently use English.

Hess National Youth Speech & Writing Competition

This competition is designed for children who have learned English for more than two years. It can increase the children's writing and speech ability. The students can learn from each other from this competition. It also helps train them to make speech on the stage.

Hess English Drama Class

This class is designed for students who have learned English for more than 2 years. It can help students' English reading ability. It leads the students to the drama world. Apart from improving their English ability, it can help with the group spirit and build up the friendship.

Summer Camp/ Hess English Adventures

It's designed for children who have basic English ability and are highly independent. It helps students to have to global perspective and experience the different cultures. It can help the students to study, work and live in overseas.

Page 4

JUMP INTO ENGLISH PROGRAM

Target Students: kindergarten children

Course outline: Teach by foreign teachers only!

Listening and Speaking:

By using songs, rhyme and language games, students get to learn around 20 topics that they are interested in. They also learn to know how to use 400 vocabulary, pronunciation skill, 120 sentences relating to everyday living, 90 simple sentence patterns and 80 songs.

Reading:

The students can learn how to ready 26 letters in both capital and small letters and other relevant vocabulary.

Writing:

Coloring, drawing, writing,..etc., these can help with students' English ability. Also in alphabet (both in capital and small letters)

Page 5

KIDS CLUB PROGRAM

Target Students: Grade 1 or 2 primary school students.

Course Outline: Teach by both Chinese and Foreign teachers.

Listening and Speaking:

- 24 topics that make students feel interested in;
- learn how to use 1000 words;
- 36 daily conversation sentences;
- 82 sentence patterns;
- 48 songs.
- support and encourage students to aggressively express themselves and respect others.

Reading : 48-topic story books are used.

Writing: To train the ability to write the complete sentences.

Phonics:

Page 6

STEP AHEAD PROGRAM
Target student: Grade 3~6 primary school students.
Course outline: Teach by both Chinese and Foreign teachers.
Listening and Speaking:
92 conversation styles;
220 sentence patterns;
60 songs, rhymes, recitation;
Story telling, drama.
To be able to express themselves freely.
Reading:
Learn 5388 words: 2000 words from junior high school level and GEPT 2230 words. (at beginners level)
Writing/ Phonics/
Grammar: To learn from speaking and then by writing.

CD Rom:

Page 7
HONORS PROGRAM
Target Student: English level at grade 16 - Junior high school top students.

Course Outline: Teach by foreign teachers only.
Listening and Speaking: "Student-centered" method. Topics that are interested by teenagers.
To train the students to be able to express themselves freely in English.
Reading: To think independently in English.
Writing: To train the ability to do creative writing.

Page9
TYPES OF CLASSES:
Kindergarten level English class, Children English class, Teenage English class, Elite English class, Advanced class, Junior High School English class.

THEME CURRICULUM:
English test listening and reading class;
Elite writing and speech class;
Grammar class;
English story reading class;
KK phonics and phonics.

Page 10
Helping Youth Achieve Their Maximum Learning Potential
According to the children's age and level, many activities are arranged;
Through all kinds of competitions and activities, children can find the stage
they belong to;

National Youth Speech and Writing Competition
-Held in December. The 7th year.

Page 11

National English Proficiency English Test
- Held in August. The 10th year.

National Spelling Bee Competition
Held in April.

International Winter & Summer Camps
More than 3000 people attend.

CREATING INTERNATIONAL ACHIEVERS

Adult: GEPT class, Business English, Topic English class, Advanced English
              conversation class, TOEIC class, Basic Japanese class, French class.
Age 13-15:   Junior High School English – Test class.
                      Advanced Class: Express 1-4/ Focus 1-4
Age 9-12:   Children and Teenage Class (Step Ahead)
Age 7-8:   Kids class

Age 5-6:   Jump
Age 2-4

Buxiban 3: Jie Chu (Excellence)

Classes are divided according to different levels:
Teach by experienced teachers;
Tests are conducted on the same day;
Regular tests;
Individual assistance.

Buxiban 4: LEE

Types of classes:
for 1st year Junior High students;
for 6th / 5th/ 4th grade Primary school students
for 1st year Senior High students.

Buxiban 5: YuCheng

GEPT. For Senior High School level, the classes are taught by foreign teachers or teachers with master degrees. English only class.

Their teaching style focuses on students listening, speaking, reading and writing skills.

Free English reading class:

Buxiban 6: Mei-guo-jie (America Street)

free Children English class/ Phonics/ KK class.
New children English class/ GEPT class (beginner/ medium level)/ after-school class/ music class.

Buxiban 7: MINKUNG

Page 1.
Slogan: Study at Minkung, you will succeed.

Page 2:
Slogan: Save your language ability. It helps you with junior high school test ability.
Classes: After-school class, IBM English class, Writing class, Math class, For private school and advanced class.

Page 4:
Slogan: Excellent students need excellent teachers.

Buxiban 8: SESAME STREET

Page 1
Type of class: After-school cases, Sesame Street ESL USA Elementary School class; English class; Math class….etc.

Page 2
Slogan:
After school class : Good school results; Good behavior; 20 years teaching experience; approved by parents.

Elite class for all subjects: Acceptable fee, High quality teaching, own materials.

Focus on school subjects, teach students how to find information on internet, do homework, outdoor activity every semester, use contact books, telephone communication with the parents, parent-teacher night.

ESL USA Elementary School class (all English)
Slogan: Don't need to go overseas for "all English" environment. All classes are taught by foreign teachers.

Page 3:
Slogan:
Can't learn well? Can't speak? Really, it's not children's fault.
Choose the best: Sesame Street
Grade A~D: Junior High School level, GEPT first level.
Grade E~F: learn 5450 words.
Children After School classes: Math, writing, Arts, oral practice…etc..

Page 4:
Slogan: Sesame street cares for your children.

Buxiban 9: UNIVERSAL

- Excellent teacher, full trained teacher, with patience
- Active teaching. Increase listening, speaking, reading, writing skills.
- How to memorize words and sentences
- Telephone teaching, quiz, recording homework, Assessments. (on regular basis)
- Help weak students. Effective learning. No pressure.
- Outdoor teaching, vocabulary tests, festival activities, recitation competition: learning closes to everyday life.
- High pass rate for GEPT

Free services: Free English test to identify student's level; Free English demonstration class; provide additional service for weak students/ increase their ability.

Slogan: Children are our main focus; Easy English learning environment; Systematic professional curriculum, Be able to listen, speak, read and write in English.

Appendix C - Interview question examples

The following is the pool of initial questions used in the interviews with teachers and parents. The questions were translated into Chinese, and then the meaning of the questions was discussed between the researcher and the interviewer, firstly to check for translation accuracy, and secondly to check the interviewer's understanding of the research aims.

Teacher interviews

1. What do you think about your students' learning situation?
2. What are parents' expectations for students' results?
3. How many students in your class attend the *buxiban*?
4. Do you think going to the *buxiban* helps them?
5. How well do you think students feel about going to the buxiban?
6. Do students accept that they should go to the buxiban?
7. Do you think there are differences between those students who attend the *buxibans* and those who don't?
8. Does it affect your teaching if students attend the *buxiban?*
9. Do parents have different demands on *buxiban* teachers and school teachers?
10. What kinds of expectations do the parents have from teachers?
11. What do you think are the reasons that create the *buxiban* culture in Taiwan?
12. Do you know why parents send their children to the *buxibans*?
13. What do you think about the education situation in Taiwan?

Parent interviews

1. Can you tell me about your child's education?
2. Are you happy with your child's education at school?
3. What difficulties do your children have when studying at school?
4. What kind of teaching methods suit your child better?
5. Do you send your children to *buxibans* or other supplementary education
6. Do you think *buxiban* fees create financial problems for the family?
7. How do you think *buxibans* and *anqinbans* help you? How do they help your child?
8. What do you hope the buxibans can do for your child?
9. What's the difference between school and *buxiban*?
10. Can you explain why Taiwan has so many *buxibans*?
11. What do you think about *buxibans*?
12. What do most parents in Taiwan worry about for their children?
13. What hopes do you have for your child's future?

Student interviews

The following rubric was shown to students at the beginning of each interview, along with a spoken introduction by the interviewer/researcher to explain that the research is interested in students' experience of English language learning from their earliest memories until the time of high school graduation.

Think about your experience of learning English.
Here are some things to remind you. What comes to mind?

Times:
Pre-school age – Kindergarten time – 幼稚園
Elementary school age – grades 1 to 6 － 國小
Junior high school age – grades 7 to 9 － 國中
Senior high school age – grades 10 to 12 － 高中

Places:
At home － 在家
At kindergarten － 在幼稚園
At elementary school － 在國小
At *anqinban* － 在安親辦
At *buxiban* － 在補習辦
At junior high school － 在國中
At senior high school － 在高中
At summer camp –

People:
Mother － 媽媽
Father － 爸爸
Friends － 朋友
Neighbours － 鄰居
Teachers － 老師
Classmates － 同學
Brothers and Sisters － 兄弟姐妹
Relatives － 親戚

Appendix D – Lists of codes from interviews

Codes from parent interviews 46 codes	Codes from teacher interviews 26 codes	Codes from student interviews 31 codes
character of *buxiban* classes	9-year curriculum issues	being forced to attend bushiban
comment on atmosphere at elementary school	*buxiban* and state school relationship	bilingual elementary schools & high schools
comment on results and pressure	*buxiban* attendance	bushiban influence school English
comment on starting point	*buxiban* effectiveness	bushiban popularity
comments about teaching - learning method	*buxiban* effects	classmate influence
comments about why other kids go to *buxibans*	*buxibans* encourage passive - superficial learning	competition
comments on *buxiban* culture	*buxibans* for competitive advantage	contrast between bushiban and school
comments on reasons for *buxibans*	*buxibans* for test practice	contrast between Canada and Taiwan
competition	different expectations of school and *buxiban*	contrast between elementary school and high school bushibans
contrast in style between elementary and junior high	do children like *buxiban*	corporal punishment
buxiban attendance	education system	*buxiban* and school English start at 3rd grade
buxiban for extra pressure on child's learning	English *buxiban* attendance	education system & qualifications
buxiban to keep up - maintain attention	English *buxiban* effects	effectiveness of bushibans
buxibans for child care and kids with lower ability	English teaching	elementary school age English bushibans
buxibans for remedial or competition	instrumental learning	English learning reasons

critique of education in Taiwan	large ability range in English demotivates lower attainers	English tests
critique of education system	M-shape and English curriculum	family influence
description of senior high school life	parental expectations	grades and motivation to learn
discipline	parents emphasize grades	independent study
distinction between private and public universities - fees and prestige	parents too busy to supervise children	interest in English
education goals	reasons for *buxiban* attendance	kinds of bushiban
effectiveness of *buxibans*	reasons not to attend *buxiban*	learning teaching techniques
elementary school class size smaller than before	shift from family to *buxiban* business	motivation from improved grades
English and math too difficult for parent	social observations	native English speaker teachers
English *buxiban* to improve school grades	teacher choosing *buxiban* for own children	parental influence
English *buxiban* a reaction to parents' experience of learning English	test beyond curriculum	put into junior high school A class
English *buxiban* to prevent frustration		reasons for not attending bushiban
every parent wants their children to be the best		reasons to attend bushiban
extra English writing classes - for practical use later		regional differences
financial concerns		school English insufficient
getting used to it		teacher influence
hope he never needs to go to *buxiban*		
importance of English		

importance of grades		
not too much cramming - but still English *buxiban* until 6 pm		
parent criticizing non-streamed school classes		
parent says that the government does not encourage mothers to supervise homework		
parental inadequacy		
parental responsibility		
parenting approach		
parents fear future blame		
shifting responsibility		
son supports attending English classes - English important		
state school insufficient		
test pressure		
uncertainty in curriculum		

Appendix E – Lists of codes from 'reasons' survey

List E1. Table of revised 'reasons for attending supplementary education' codes corresponding to initial codes in the 'reasons' survey, including frequency data (reasons reported for self, reported for others, and total).

Revised code	Description of revised code	Initial code	f: self	f: others	Total
IM	to improve	It'll make me feel safe and better To consolidate my English To form a language learning habit. To have more opportunity to practice. Improve English To improve English skills To improve speaking skills To learn more To improve listening and speaking skills To improve writing skill. To improve reading skill. To improve phonics/ pronunciation increase vocabulary capacity improve listening skills To broaden my knowledge. Self-improvement Be used to English Learn English To learn teaching skills I think if I take extra courses my English will improve To learn English for specific purpose. (ESP) To improve not only speaking but also acting. To have more experience.	322	298	620
FB	falling behind	Afraid of falling behind in class. Falling behind in class To solve my problems in English Think English not good enough Having difficulty in memorizing vocabulary. To keep up with school Afraid of failing the course. Grammar is bad. Poor reading skill. Need help with homework. Don't want to give up.	112	119	231

		to graduate from school To make up my weakness			
PP	parental pressure	My mom asked me to. Parents' idea. Family pressure.	84	143	227
EX	for help in tests	To pass the Entrance Exam Help to pass exams. To obtain an English certificate. To have academic credits to prepare for junior high school tests	109	100	209
IS	for interest	Interested in English	94	84	178
IL	English important	To obtain a second language ability To talk to people from other countries. English is an international language. It's very important to learn a foreign language. English is very important. To use English in daily life. Train myself to speak English with people To learn foreign culture To increase opportunities to interact with people To broaden my vision To be not afraid of talking to foreigners. To learn a second language other than Chinese. To learn more English related information English is useful	77	62	139
EN	for enjoyment	The courses are attractive I like English. Like foreign language Fulfill life It's more fun have motivation It seems interesting	57	46	103
CO	to be competitive	To be more competitive in the future. To get better job in the future For work. peer competition	29	61	90
WF	to be with friends	Go with friend(s).	39	44	83
BG	To have better	To have better grades	22	45	67

	grades.				
AD	to advance	To be in advance of the rest of the class. They want to have better score than others. Self-challenged To be expert in English They are studying-hard types. To go to better school Need to go on further study.	25	35	60
LS	better learning environment or system	Bushibans teach more thoroughly. To learn better on basic English bushiban have foreign teachers to learn English through various means More English conversation classes. Use school and other resources to improve English better learning method I like the atmosphere at the bushiban Teacher at the bushiban were nice Approve of teachers' teaching styles. bushiban has better arrangement on students' level	46	14	60
OS	want to go overseas	I want to go abroad. Want to study abroad	15	43	58
TR	following a trend	A new bushiban open nearby Follow the trend. (Everybody goes to Bushiban) To go to bushiban equals study some.	20	20	40
XT	other reasons	Want to marry foreigners. It's part of Children care center's program To have team spirit No harm to learn more. To show off It's a free course Needed No other course to choose from I know the teacher at bushiban am self-disciplined I like foreign girls/ boys To help overcome the fear of a new subject summer programme	19	16	35
TP	teacher pressure	School made me to. Extra-curricular English course is compulsory.	21	10	31

		For course requirement.			
GP	make up for gaps in state education	school teachers don't teach well Limited content in elementary school English class To learn what the school doesn't teach and better not being used to the school teacher's teaching style	17	12	29
KT	to kill time	They have nothing better to do. To kill time. Have too much time Don't want to go home too earlier Don't want to waste time.	9	16	25
MO	have enough money	Family can afford it. have too much money	0	18	18
FU	for the future	For the future	7	9	16
SB	early start	The sooner to learn English the better.	6	3	9
PL	passive learning	don't have self-discipline	2	6	8
CP	*buxiban* promotion	Deceived by bushiban to study A bushiban promoted the importance of learning a second language.	1	1	2
TOTAL			**1133**	**1205**	**2338**

List E2. Table of revised 'reasons for not attending supplementary education' codes corresponding to initial codes in the 'reasons' survey, including frequency data (reasons reported for self, reported for others, and total).

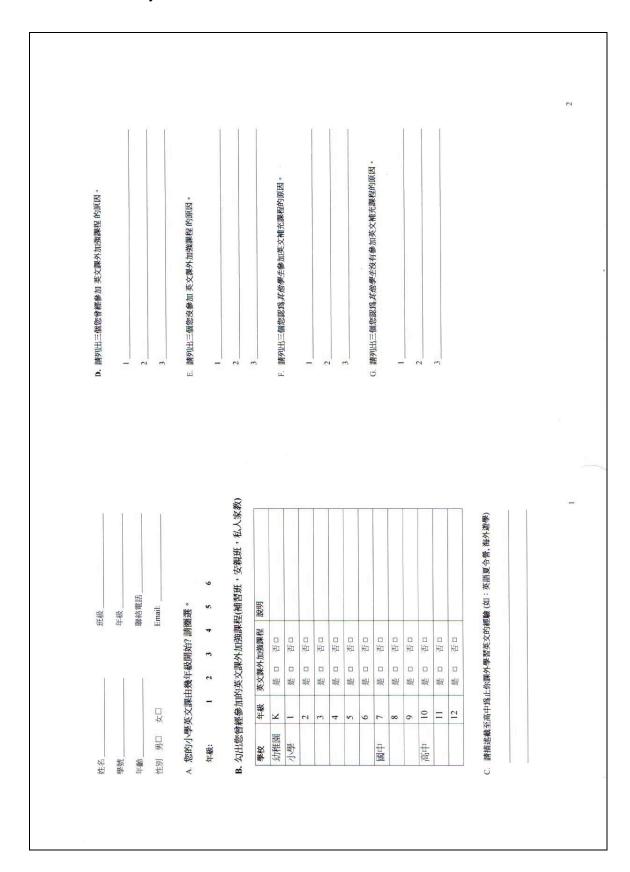| Revised code	Description of revised code	Initial code	f: self	f: others	Total
WM	money limitations	Family can't afford it. No money Money concerns	143	290	433
NT	time conflicts or problems	No time Schedule conflict It takes too much of my time. They don't want their play time taken away. have to concentrate on preparing the Entrance Exam	162	131	293
NI	not interested	Not interested	37	171	208
OK	English is good enough	English is good enough/ OK Don't have learning difficulty. English is really good.	51	126	177

		No need			
GU	don't care - give up	Giving up hope on learning English. They have given up on English. Never understand English, lost confidence. Don't think they can learn English well. Think English is very difficult. Giving up on themselves been study too long on English and has lost interests and goals They don't like to study. English is bad, so don't want to learn They have no confidence. They are lazy. They just don't care. Lack of motivation drop out of school	49	100	149
IN	choose independent study	Can learn English by myself. They are confident in themselves. They learn English through other means: ICRT, English magazines. Will learn it naturally in the future when I go abroad. Some family members can teach him/ her	50	81	131
DW	don't want to attend	Just don't want to. Don't like extra studying time. Have better way to spend time than to study English. Too much trouble. different plans for life	34	37	71
SE	school classes sufficient	My teachers in Junior high school taught well The course at school is effective I understood what was taught in class at school. Already taught in school Attended bilingual school Don't want to lose interest in English because of over studying	45	23	68
OT	other reasons	don't know how to choose bushiban No chance Too young to learn then. Encounter difficulties. courses concern efficiency concern Shy Can't concentrate.	44	22	66

		Don't think I can memorize lessons I was ill. Afraid of talking to foreigners			
DL	don't like English	They don't want to learn English. Don't like English. Hate English. Don't think they will use English in the future. Never think English is important. It's boring.	10	54	64
NH	not helpful	don't like bushiban Bushibans are not efficient Don't think can learn from bushiban. Bushiban is too noisy; it's a place to make friends not to study. It's a waste of time. Going to bushiban is not necessary helpful.	34	26	60
PR	too much pressure	Senior high school lessons too much a burden Too much schoolwork already. Too tired to learn. too much pressure	40	11	51
AV	lack of availability	Didn't see advertisement of bushiban Didn't know I should have back then Living in the countryside where info is limited my home is too far from bushiban	39	12	51
NP	no pressure to attend	No pressure from family Choice based on interest not a trend yet back then No pressure from others Course is not compulsory Parents' decision	24	27	51
SM	don't want to spend the money	Don't want to spend the money Not sure money is well spent on it. Go to Bushiban is a waste of money. It's a waste of money.	15	17	32
TM	teaching style or method unsatisfactory	Don't like the school teachers' teaching styles. The course are not interesting *buxibans* for Junior high school students only teach what is taught at school or for passing tests didn't find suitable courses Not sure if teachers are good.	19	6	25
AB	studied or lived abroad	Lived abroad Native English speaker	1	11	12

		have been abroad Have experience studying abroad.			
WK	need to work	Need to work	1	9	10
NF	no friends to go with	No friends to go with	6	1	7
SF	safety concern	Safety concern	3	1	4
FE	fear of foreigners	haven't encounter foreigners	1	0	1
TOTAL			**808**	**1156**	**1964**

Appendix G – English and Chinese versions of the student survey questionnaire

Name _____ Class _____

Student no. _____ Year of study _____

Age _____ Contact tel. no. _____

Sex M □ F □

A. Which year did your Elementary school English classes begin? Please circle:

YEAR 1 2 3 4 5 6

B. Check the years you attended supplementary classes (buxiban, anqinban, kindergarten, private tutoring) for English:

School level	School Year	Supplementary classes for English	Details
Kindergarten	K	YES □ NO □	
Elementary school	1	YES □ NO □	
	2	YES □ NO □	
	3	YES □ NO □	
	4	YES □ NO □	
	5	YES □ NO □	
	6	YES □ NO □	
Junior High School	7	YES □ NO □	
	8	YES □ NO □	
	9	YES □ NO □	
Senior High School	10	YES □ NO □	
	11	YES □ NO □	
	12	YES □ NO □	

C. Please describe any other extra-curricular English learning experiences you have had up until the end of high school. (e.g. English summer camp, study overseas)

_____

_____

1

D. Please give 3 reasons why **you** attended supplementary classes for English.

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

E. Please give 3 reasons why **you** did not attend supplementary classes for English.

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

F. Please give 3 reasons why you think **other students** attended supplementary classes for English:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

G. Please give 3 reasons why you think **other students** did not attend supplementary classes for English:

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

2

Here are some questions about you as a student in your English classes at school. Please circle the number that best describes what you think.

1. It is important for me to do better than other students.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

2. I worry that I may not learn all that I possibly could in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

3. I want to learn as much as possible in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

4. I just want to avoid doing poorly in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

5. It is important for me to do well compared to other students in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

6. Sometimes I'm afraid that I may not understand the content in English classes as thoroughly as I'd like.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

3

7. It is important for me to understand the content in English classes as thoroughly as possible.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

8. My goal in English classes is to avoid performing poorly.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

9. My goal in English classes is to get a better grade than most of the other students.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

10. I am often concerned that I may not learn all that there is to learn in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

11. I desire to completely master the material presented in English classes.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

12. My fear of performing poorly in English classes is often what motivates me.

1	2	3	4	5
NOT AT ALL TRUE		SOMEWHAT TRUE		VERY TRUE

4

姓名 _____
學號 _____
年齡 _____
性別 男□ 女□

班級 _____
年級 _____
聯絡電話 _____
Email: _____

A. 您的小學英文課由幾年級開始？請圈選。

年級: 1 2 3 4 5 6

B. 勾出您曾經參加的英文課外加強課程(補習班，安親班，私人家教)

學校	年級	英文課外加強課程	說明
幼稚園	K	是□ 否□	
小學	1	是□ 否□	
	2	是□ 否□	
	3	是□ 否□	
	4	是□ 否□	
	5	是□ 否□	
	6	是□ 否□	
國中	7	是□ 否□	
	8	是□ 否□	
	9	是□ 否□	
高中	10	是□ 否□	
	11	是□ 否□	
	12	是□ 否□	

C. 請描述截至高中為止你課外學習英文的經驗(如：英語夏令營, 海外遊學)

_____

D. 請列出三個您曾經參加 英文課外加強課程 的原因。

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

E. 請列出三個您沒參加 英文課外加強課程 的原因。

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

F. 請列出三個您認為其他學生參加英文補充課程的原因。

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

G. 請列出三個您認為其他學生沒有參加英文補充課程的原因。

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

以下是針對您在學校學生身分的問題，請圈出您認為最適當的回答。

（1＝非常不同意，5＝非常同意）

1. 對我來說，比其他同學優秀是很重要的。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

2. 我擔心我可能無法學好所有我應該在英文課堂裡學習的東西。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

3. 我希望盡可能在英文課學得多一點東西。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

4. 我只是不希望在英文課表現不好。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

5. 和其他同學比起來，在英文課表現佳，對我來說是很重要的。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

6. 有時候我擔心我可能無法徹底的理解英文課的內容。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

7. 對我來說，盡可能徹底理解英文課的內容是很重要的。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

8. 我上英文課的目標是：不要表現太差。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

9. 我在英文課上學習的目標是：成績比大部分其他學生還優異。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

10. 我常常擔心我可能無法學好英文課堂上應該學的內容。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

11. 我希望可以完全掌握英文課堂上呈現的教材內容。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

12. 我因為擔心在英文課表現不好，所以常常激發我學習的動機。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	部分同意	同意	非常同意

3

4

Appendix H– English version of the 'Participant Information Sheet' and 'Consent Form

---

Shadow education in Taiwan: cramming in elementary school

Participant Information Sheet

You have been invited to take part in an interview as part of my research project for my studies in The School of Education, University of Durham, U.K. First of all, thank you very much for giving me some of your time to help in my research. I am very grateful for your valuable contribution.

The research project concerns how people in Taiwan feel about the education of Elementary School students, and in particular, how people feel about English teaching and learning, both in school and out of school.

The interview may be recorded to help in the research project. However, all recordings and notes will be kept strictly confidential, and any written reports will not include any names or other information which could identify you, others, or any school or other organization mentioned in the interviews.

If you would like to know more about the study, you are welcome to ask any questions to either the researcher or the research assistant.

Your help in this research is greatly appreciated, but you are, of course, free at any time to choose not to join in.

Thank you again for your help.

Jonathan Courtenay 柯謙君

The researcher

Approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee

CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF PROJECT: Shadow education in Taiwan: cramming in elementary school

(The participant should complete the whole of this sheet himself/herself)

	Please cross out as necessary
Have you read the Participant Information Sheet?	YES / NO
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study?	YES / NO
Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions?	YES / NO
Have you received enough information about the study?	YES / NO

Who have you spoken to? ....

Are you aware that the interview may be recorded?	YES / NO
Do you consent to any recordings being used for further research?	YES / NO
Do you consent to participate in the study?	YES / NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

       * at any time and
       * without having to give a reason for withdrawing and
       * without affecting your position in the University?   YES / NO

Signed ....…….................   Date ....

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS) ....………...............................

Approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee

1