

Reflections and Insights on the Comparative Policies of China and Japan in Regulating Shadow Education in the Context of China's Double Reduction Policy

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ABSTRACT

China's central government has announced a double reduction policy to ease the pressure on students and to regulate and manage the shadow education industry. In contrast, the Japanese shadow education policy has been developed over a long period of time and has achieved certain results and accumulated more mature experience. The purpose of this article is to compare and study the various governance policies adopted by the Japanese government and the Chinese government's double reduction policy on shadow education and their results in order to identify the shortcomings in the Chinese government's double reduction policy. The results of the survey and comparison show that although both Japan and China have implemented strict restrictions on the shadow education industry, China's policies have not promoted the healthy development of the shadow education industry, and there are still more flaws in the management approach and policy implementation. In the future, the Chinese government needs to learn from Japan's shadow education policy in order to promote the healthy and sustainable development of the industry in China.

Keywords: Double Reduction Policy, Shadow Education, China, Japan.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Xinhua, on July 24, 2021, "Chinese authorities have issued a set of guidelines to reduce the excessive burden of homework and after-school tutoring borne by compulsory education students." The set of policy guidelines is called "Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and After-school Tutoring for Compulsory Education Students." This overhaul and upgrade of basic education in China have been referred to as the double reduction policy [1]. The purpose of this policy is to enhance the development of comprehensive student quality, to emphasize the dominant role of public schools in the Chinese education system, to reduce the perverse development of test-oriented shadow education, and to alleviate parental anxiety caused by the involuntionalization of education.

Current research has analyzed the pros and cons of the double reduction policy for the shadow education policy. Some scholars argue that this policy solves many problems and provides a reasonable regulation for the development of shadow education in China. According to Hu and Liu, there is a boom in participation in exam-

oriented extracurricular training institutions in China [2]. There are many types of these institutions, including subject knowledge training institutions, potential development training institutions, and hobby training institutions [3]. These institutions take advantage of students' need for further education, subjecting them to additional mental and physical stress and disrupting the normal ecology of education [4]. The implementation of the double reduction policy has reduced these burdens on students. This is achieved by reducing the amount of homework and exam pressure on students across the board in schools [1]. At the same time, internal reforms have been made to optimize the allocation of resources and improve the efficiency and standard of teaching and learning in schools [5]. On the other hand, the double reduction policy has had a greater social impact on the strict regulation of China's shadow education sector. The regulation of out-of-school tutoring has eased parents' concerns about their children's employment futures, reduced the cost of educating their children, and contributed to population growth [6].

However, a number of other researchers have pointed out the shortcomings and inadequacies of the shadow

education policy, with Yin and Lai's study pointing out that the double reduction policy simply bans out-of-school tutoring and does not address the issue of regulation of the development of the education industry [7]. This crackdown on the shadow education sector has not only caused a retreat of capital from the sector but has even exacerbated the inequality of educational resources. Those families with sufficient wealth escaped this policy restriction by using one-on-one private tutoring for their children [7]. As the impact of shadow education services provided by the private market grows, those families with sufficient wealth and college aspirations will have an advantage over other families [8]. This is contrary to the intended effect of the 'double reduction policy', which not only fails to reduce the psychological and academic pressure on children to attend extracurricular training but also increases the inferiority complex of parents and children due to class inequality.

Existing research has explored the impact and consequences of the double reduction policy on shadow education to some extent, which also includes the analysis and comparison of governments' shadow education policies using a global perspective, for example, with South Korea and the United States. However, comparisons and discussions comparing China's double reduction policy with the Japanese government's shadow education policy are lacking in previous international policy comparisons. Japan, as a neighbor of China, has a similar national context and educational background to China. Both Japan and China have large populations and their main social circulation channels are high school examinations, while Japan's education is heavily internalized. So the Japanese extra-curricular education sector is equally developed. In order to predict the future direction and outcome of China's double reduction policy, and to overcome the shortcomings of the double reduction policy and improve China's shadow education policy. It is necessary to analyze and refer to Japan's shadow education policy, which has a similar background to China's, as a neighboring country with the same social and cultural background.

This paper attempts to integrate previous work on the historical evolution and governance of Japan's shadow education policy, the impact of and problems faced by China's shadow education, so as to further compare and analyze the shortcomings of China's shadow education compared to Japan's. The aim is to identify the necessary measures lacking in China's current shadow education policy through comparison with Japan in order to improve China's future shadow education policy and promote the healthy development of China's out-of-school tutoring industry, thereby alleviating China's educational involution and promoting population growth.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. Shadow Education

2.1.1. Definition

According to Bray, shadow education can be traced back to the 1990s and is also known as "extra-curricular education" and "extra-curricular remedial education" as a form of out-of-school training in compulsory education [9]. It is essentially a purposeful, planned, and organized educational activity implemented by various socio-cultural educational institutions and social groups outside of formal schooling, using students' time outside of school [10]. Two American scholars, David Lee Stevenson and David P. Baker named this model of education according to its characteristics.

Shadow education has three main characteristics: 1. Complementary. It provides tuition in subjects that have already been taught in school. 2. Private. The tutorial services provided are fundamentally for profit. 3. Subject-based. The focus is on academic subjects, i.e., language, mathematics and English, with the aim of improving exam results.

2.1.2. Scale

Over the past few decades, shadow education has become a widespread global educational phenomenon as a parallel form of education to mainstream schooling, existing and expanding in different cultures around the world [11]. According to Bray, shadow education has become a major phenomenon in East Asia, with available data surveys showing that in 2018, 82.5% of primary school students in South Korea were receiving private tuition [12]. In Japan alone, 33.7 percent of primary school students and 51.9 percent of junior high school students, as well as 29.3 percent of high school students, attended tutorials called "Schools" in 2017. Not only that, but despite cultural and educational differences, a 2018 data survey revealed that 69% of students in India receive private tuition and, in the UK, 41% of Londoners and 27% of those in other regions also reported receiving private home tuition [13]. In China, the scale of shadow education is even larger. In 2016, the market size of shadow education in primary and secondary schools in China exceeded 800 billion yuan. And the size of students involved in shadow education exceeded 137 million [14]. Not only that, according to CNNIC, the size of online education users in China reached 341.71 million during the epidemic as of December 2020.

2.1.3. Cause

Currently, China has limited educational resources and the huge school-age population leads to an inevitable inequitable distribution of educational resources.

According to data surveyed by China's National Bureau of Statistics in 2016, there were 99.13 million primary school students in China in 2016, while 43.29 million students were enrolled in junior high school and only 23.67 million in senior high school in the same year. At the university recruitment level, despite the fact that the number of university graduates in China has increased from 610,000 in 2010 to 9 million, the country's gross enrolment rate is currently only around 50%. An admission rate of just under half means that Chinese students have to compete more with others for better educational resources. In addition, the 2020 government work report again suggests that higher education institutions will continue to expand by 2 million students this year and next. This will undoubtedly further increase competition among students. This involuted competition has led to them shadowing in order to better their knowledge and compensate for the lack of educational resources. On the other hand, Chinese parents who are concerned about their children's future are generally anxious. According to a survey of Chinese parents in the post-70s, 80s and 90s, 68% of parents are "quite anxious" and "very anxious" about their children's education, while only 6% are not anxious [15]. The economy brought about by COVID-19 has made it more difficult for Chinese graduates to find jobs, which has increased parents' anxiety about their children's future. This mentality is reflected in the education of their children, which has increased the need for parents to turn to shadow education for their children's future.

3. SHADOW EDUCATION IN JAPAN

3.1. History and development

The 'relaxed education' model was introduced in Japan in 1977 in order to reduce the pressure on students to learn. However, the large number of classes and students in public schools, coupled with the policy of relaxed education, made it impossible for teachers to effectively manage students and ensure their level of academic achievement. Moreover, this lack of a humanistic model exacerbates the rebelliousness of adolescent students. This has led to problems such as school violence and truancy. This chaotic situation and the asymmetry of not being able to meet the fiercely competitive entrance exams has led to more students turning to 'study schools'. The study school industry was defined as an educational service industry in Japan in 1988 and has grown to an objective scale. A 2007 survey found that 65.2% of Japanese junior high school students attended extracurricular classes in their third year, while 6.8% of junior high school students received extracurricular tutoring at home and 15.0% received correspondence courses [16]. According to information published by the Japanese Ministry of Education, 35.6% of Japanese primary school students attended private lessons in 2009, compared to 62.5% of secondary school

students and 12.7% of high school students [16]. In 2010, Japanese parents paid US\$12 billion for tutoring for their children [17]. According to the 2017 statistics on the dynamics of specific service industries released by Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, the total number of study school practitioners in Japan was approximately 336,000, with approximately 2.6 million learners participating in training and annual revenues reaching ¥930 billion. Under the active policy governance of the Japanese government, Japan's shadow education industry complements public schools and has largely achieved a healthy development of shadow education and the overall educational environment.

3.2. Governance approach and policies

At present, the shadow education industry in Japan is relatively mature. Its basic development process can be roughly divided into three stages. The first is to let loose and lack norms, then to be properly regulated and gradually recognized, and finally to the current stage of strengthening constraints and guiding support. Through this development path, it can be inferred that its success is mainly due to the intervention and management of the shadow education industry by the Japanese government. In this development process, the Japanese government mainly regulates the shadow education industry from four aspects.

3.2.1. Perfect laws and regulations

The Japanese government's legal regulation of shadow education has gone through a process from broad to detailed. At present, the law relating to the governance of shadow education in Japan covers a number of aspects, such as the registration of teaching and support institutions, the employment of relevant personnel, tuition fees, supervision and rewards and penalties, among many others. Since the promulgation of the Basic Law of Education in 1947, Japan has successively promulgated the Law on Specified Commercial Transactions, the Law on General Societies, the Company Law, the Labor Standards Law, the Labor Contract Law, the Law on Local Civil Servants, and the Law on Special Instances of Local Civil Servants and other laws and regulations related to shadow education [18]. Perfect laws provide guarantee and guidance for the development of the shadow education industry, which further formalizes the shadow education industry. Moreover, these laws have been continuously improved through the problems that occurred in the process of practice, and a relatively comprehensive legal and regulatory system for shadow education governance has been formed. Among them, the registration supervision system for extracurricular teaching and training institutions (study schools) and the guarantee and access system for teachers and students of learning schools are of great importance.

In terms of the application and supervision of institutions, Japanese laws have established different requirements for applications in the name of individuals and applications in the name of companies. In addition, its "Business Registration Law" stipulates the duties of the registrar, the order of registration, receipts, and rejection of applications. Conditions and other matters are specified in detail. In terms of supervision, the business operations of the Learning School are subject to civil and commercial laws and regulations such as the Specified Commercial Transaction Law, the Consumer Contract Law, and the Personal Information Protection Law [18]. These laws have clear regulations on the business scope, publicity and promotion, taxation, responsibilities and obligations of learning schools. In addition to the laws established by the government, Japan's non-governmental organization, the National Association of Learning Schools, has also formulated the "Autonomous Benchmarks for the Legalization of Learning School Business Activities" and other norms as supplements to improve the management of the shadow education industry. In terms of regulations for participants, the Japanese government has established laws such as the "Labor Standards Law", "Occupational Safety and Health Law", "Anshin School Certification System and Operation Regulations" to ensure the rights of employed teachers [19]. In addition, the "Regulations on Supervision and Penalty of Practitioners (Detailed Rules)" stipulated by relevant Japanese non-governmental organizations also include rules and regulations for the protection of students participating in tutoring. These legal provisions complement each other and provide a solid guarantee for the healthy development of shadow education.

3.2.2. Independent self-government system of industry associations

In the process of regulating shadow education, the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) has assisted in the establishment of the National Association of Study Schools to guide the industry's self-regulation and has set up branches throughout Japan, as the effective administrative and judicial resources of the government are unable to cope with the rapid development of the industry. The main scope of the association is to develop 'soft' regulations for private education and training and to provide certification for instructors, study Schools, and secure Schools, ultimately achieving self-regulation and self-restraint in the private education and training industry and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of private education and training participants [20]. The establishment of the National Association of Study Schools has played a unique role in guiding the shadow education industry in Japan. In terms of developing industry norms, as of March 2018, the National Association of Learning Schools has developed norms such as the National Association of Learning

Schools Self-Management Statute, Guidelines for the Protection of Personal Information of Learning Schools, and Guidelines for the Safety Assurance of Students. These norms have played a positive role in the accreditation of shadow education institutions and the protection of learners' rights in Japan. In terms of the purpose of the association's work, the association acts mainly as a guide to the behavior of the private education and training industry. It reduces the possibility of future labor disputes, helps students to choose a quality study school when attending private education training so that they can achieve their desired training goals, and the association acts as a disciplinary measure for study schools in their daily practice. The shadow education industry association established in Japan not only compensates for the lack of resources within the industry from the administrative and judicial spheres of government but also regulates the formal development of the industry, provides direction to private educational institutions, and promotes the autonomous and healthy development of the industry.

3.2.3. Collaboration between different government departments

The Japanese government's administrative supervision has maximized the positive role of Japanese learning schools through the regulation and management of the shadow education sector. In the Japanese government's administrative guidance, the division of labor between various government departments plays a crucial role. According to, METI is responsible for the regulation of shadow education institutions as a service sector in accordance with relevant economic laws and regulations, including basic information about the institutions, prices, services, advertising and taxation, as well as requirements for the safety of study schools' facilities. It also imposes requirements on the safety of the facilities of study schools [18]. This promotes the regulation of shadow education institutions, protects the rights of consumers and ensures the personal safety of students attending study schools. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) regulates "shadow education" institutions mainly in accordance with educational laws and regulations and provides information to the government and other authorities as a basis for evidence-based policy formulation by conducting surveys and analyzing data on "shadow education" institutions. MEXT not only explains the possible negative effects of excessive participation in out-of-school learning, but also provides guidance for parents and social attitudes. The Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (MHLW), as the guardian of workers' legal rights, has the primary function of protecting the legal rights of teachers in 'shadow education' institutions in accordance with relevant legislation [21].

3.2.4. Cooperation and complementarity between the shadow education sector and public schools

One of the main reasons why the Japanese shadow education industry has been accepted by the government and has not damaged public education in Japan is that these organizations have a close working relationship with public schools. In order to avoid unhealthy competition between out-of-school tutoring institutions and public schools that could undermine the stability of the education sector as a whole, the Japanese government has taken the initiative to promote cooperation and complementarity between schools and out-of-school tutoring institutions. According to Yu and Jia, in 1977, 1985, 1993 and 2008, the Japanese government conducted the National Survey on the Participation of Elementary and Junior High School Students in Study Schools [22]. The government conducted the National Survey on the Participation of Elementary and Junior High School Students in Study Schools in 1977, 1985, 1993, and 2008 to understand the dynamics of "shadow education" by focusing on basic information such as the number of students attending "shadow education" institutions, the source of teachers and students, and student and parent feedback. Based on this information, the government makes changes to public schools based on the responses and opinions of the Japanese public. The content and examination methods of primary and secondary schools have been adjusted, and shadow education institutions have been incorporated as part of lifelong education [14]. Based on this mutual cooperation and good communication, Japan has even produced a situation where shadow education institutions feed back into public schools. The 2019 Annual Business Report published by the National Association of Learning Schools in Japan shows that, as the demand for the use of educational resources in the learning Schools sector continues to grow from governments and boards of education across the country, in 2019 alone, the association has been commissioned by seven regions across the country to mobilise learning Schools institutions in their regions to carry out a year of collaborative support work, including providing schools with teaching materials, test questions, teacher training and free This included providing schools with teaching materials, test questions, teacher training and free information and advice on further education [14]. This has resulted in a two-way interaction between school education and 'shadow education'. This good partnership has contributed to the sustainability of the shadow education sector in Japan.

4. SHADOW EDUCATION IN CHINA

4.1. The current situation of shadow education in China and its problems

The shadow education industry in China is massive. In terms of the number of participants, the Forward Industrial Research Institute (2017) reports that the total percentage of students receiving shadow education at the kindergarten through twelfth grade level was 48.4% in 2017, meaning that nearly half of students in China would take extra tuition or private tutoring outside of school to improve their exam results. In 2020, there will be more than 490,000 teaching and training institutions for primary and secondary school students in China, almost more than twice the total number of schools in China, both large and small. Not only that, but despite the impact of the epidemic, close to 50,000 teaching and training institutions will be registered in the first five months of 2021. In terms of economic size, China's total out-of-school tutoring market has increased from RMB 377.5 billion in 2015 to RMB 650 billion in 2020, representing a CAGR of 13.2% [23]. China's shadow education industry is expanding rapidly, but behind such a huge volume lie problems that cannot be avoided in the context of Chinese society.

From the perspective of both students and parents, China's shadow education has taken a huge toll on the physical and mental health of these participants. For students, these out-of-school tutorials take up the time they spend on rest or extra-curricular activities. This is a serious impediment to the development of their overall abilities. At the same time, the long term use of this 'pull-out' style of education can also be detrimental to students' creativity, imagination and critical thinking skills from a lifelong perspective [24]. For parents, shadow education places multiple pressures on them. Financially, the lack of established fees in the shadow education sector has led to parents having to spend more on education, thus increasing the cost of access and childcare. According to Wu, education and medical care expenses have become a significant concern that plagues most families [25]. This has a negative impact on families' finances, even as the excessive cost of childcare It has reduced the birth rate of our population. In addition to the financial pressure, the shadow education industry takes advantage of parents' concern for their children's future and puts pressure on them mentally. Parents can't help but attend these extracurricular test-taking courses. This is because they fear that they will fall far behind others and miss out on qualifying for a prestigious school [3]. This stress, which is created by exploiting anxiety, has a significant negative impact on the participants with shadow education.

In terms of social impact, the unrestricted growth of the shadow education industry is a threat to social equity and the education sector in China. Because of the private nature of shadow education, this means that the

practitioners involved are motivated by the fundamental requirement of gaining profit. This results in economically well-off families being able to afford to receive more tutoring and educational resources while economically disadvantaged families are limited in the resources they can choose from [24]. This way of measuring the amount of access to educational resources by the amount of money reflects the fact that shadow education is not universal and tends to create serious problems of social inequity. It hinders the avenues for class leapfrogging and increases the risk of class entrenchment. In addition to this, most of the shadow education providers in China are currently privately run and the regulation associated with them is difficult to enforce. This makes it difficult to guarantee the qualifications of these institutions and the quality of their teachers, and the quality of teaching is a concern. At the same time, the phenomenon has not been eradicated despite the government's issuance of several documents prohibiting school teachers from attending extra classes [24]. This has resulted in teachers' preparation time and the quality of teaching in school being compromised. There has even been a phenomenon of 'rent-seeking' among some teachers. These teachers deliberately lower the quality of teaching in public schools in order to make a profit from shadow education, and even coax and force students to attend paid tuition [3].

All these phenomena reflect that the shadow education industry in China is currently caught in a developmental mess and needs reasonable control to avoid further damage.

4.2. Measures against shadow education in China's double reduction policy

According to the double reduction policy guidance document published by the General Office of CPC Central Committee, the Chinese government has strengthened the guidance and regulation of the shadow education sector in China in six main directions [26].

4.2.1. No new licenses will be created and registered as non-profit.

The Chinese government plans to stop issuing new licences for extra-curricular training in compulsory education and to register existing subject training providers as non-profit organisations. This will prevent training providers from expanding further and listing as companies on the A-share market, thereby curbing excessive fees and profit-seeking behaviour and controlling the risk of out-of-school tutoring providers.

4.2.2. An explicit ban on the listing of subject-based training.

The "double reduction" document proposes that

subject-based training institutions are not allowed to be listed and financed (document or WisdomTree), while listed companies and foreign investors are prohibited from participating in subject-based training institutions through the stock market and other means. This cuts off the path for compulsory education subject-based training to go public. The Chinese government has likewise made it clear that institutions that are already in breach are to be regulated. As a result, listed compulsory education subject-based training businesses may face divestment from the capital market and thus choose to transform into quality education or vocational education.

4.2.3. Online subject-based training filings will be replaced by approvals, limiting the scope of services.

The "double reduction" document proposes to strictly review and regulate online training and limit the scope of the training services they provide. This would address existing training providers that are not of sufficient quality and are in breach of IPR regulations and would clarify the areas of service offered by providers.

4.2.4. Restrict the use of foreign teachers.

The Chinese government requires training institutions to employ expatriates based in the country to comply with national regulations, while strictly prohibiting the employment of expatriates based outside the country for training activities. This can eliminate some of the online foreign educators who are not competent enough to teach and protect the rights of consumers.

4.2.5. Strictly regulate the stock of out-of-school training.

The "double reduction" document clarifies the requirements on the content of extra-curricular training, teachers' qualifications, teaching hours and supervision of fees, which is conducive to the normal work and rest of primary and secondary school students and their healthy physical and mental development.

4.2.6. Control the advertising of training.

Relevant central departments, local party committees and governments at all levels should strengthen the management of advertisements for out-of-school training and ensure that mainstream media, new media, various billboards in public places and residential areas and online platforms do not publish or broadcast advertisements for out-of-school training. Commercial advertising activities shall not be carried out in primary and secondary schools and kindergartens, and no advertisements shall be published or disguised using teaching materials, teaching aids, exercise books,

stationery, teaching aids, school uniforms, school buses, etc. for primary and secondary schools and kindergartens. This is capable of investigating and eliminating all kinds of illegal and unlawful advertisements for out-of-school training that exaggerate the effectiveness of training, mislead the public about education and create anxiety among parents.

4.3. Impact of China's double reduction policy

Following the implementation of the double reduction policy by the Ministry of Education, pressure on students has been released across the country and the shadow education sector has been regulated and managed everywhere. The double reduction policy has reduced the burden on students within the school and promoted the development of their overall abilities. According to a document issued by the Shanghai Municipal Education Commission: within the document schools are required to strengthen homework supervision, promote the mobility of different teachers and strengthen the position of school education. There are also requirements and regulations on the time of school dismissal and the completion of homework in primary and secondary schools. These measures help students to have more time to practice or to explore their hobbies and specialties. This contributes to the modernization of education and the development of quality education.

For shadow education providers, the publication of the double reduction policy has likewise been a clear achievement. A screening of existing providers was carried out. The document regulates the qualifications of shadow education providers and sets out detailed requirements regarding the level of teachers, fees and hours of teaching subjects. The double reduction policy has succeeded in narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor in terms of the unequal distribution of educational resources by not approving new training for compulsory education students and by prohibiting their capitalization. In addition, the changes made by large institutions such as New Oriental have seen a further increase in the proportion of courses on general competence and traditional culture. The establishment and expansion of departments such as the New Oriental School of Chinese Studies and Reading, the School of Arts and Creativity, and the Centre for Intellectual and Sports Training are examples of the effects of the double reduction policy [7]. According to Deloitte, 48.1% of primary and junior high school students participated in subject-based out-of-school training in the spring semester of 2021, and 50.8% of primary and junior high school students participated in non-subject-based out-of-school training courses or had tutors, while after the double reduction, 48.1% of primary and junior high school students participated in subject-based out-of-school training in the autumn semester of 2021 [23]. autumn term, 21.7% of primary and junior secondary

school students participated in subject-based out-of-school training and 38.9% participated in non-subject-based out-of-school training. This figure reflects the fact that the proportion of students currently participating in unnecessary shadow education has been significantly reduced, reflecting the effective regulation of shadow education under the double reduction policy.

However, while the double reduction policy has had a positive impact on students and has theoretically been perfect for regulating and managing the chaos in China's shadow education sector, in practice some of the policies have had a negative impact. In practice, however, the implementation of some of these policies has had a negative effect.

Firstly, while the double reduction policy has in practice provided the necessary regulation of the sector, it has in fact dealt a direct blow to all out-of-school tutoring institutions and has not addressed the issue of regulation of the development of the education industry in China. This crackdown left shadow providers with no more effective measures to respond to the education reform than bankruptcy and layoffs [7]. Even the large Chinese out-of-school tutoring company, New Oriental [27], had to resort to this approach to reduce its financial losses. The sudden bankruptcy and layoffs of after-school tutoring providers not only resulted in the loss of a large number of educators, but also cost families enrolled in after-school tutoring the cost of their education, increasing the financial pressure on families. This has exacerbated the conflict between employers and employees, operators and consumers in the shadow education sector and has led to a skeptical attitude towards China's education market and education industry, posing a threat to the development of the economy and the smooth running of society. This result is a departure from the intended objective of the double reduction policy, and the damage caused by the new policy to the out-of-school tutoring sector is serious and rapid.

Secondly, the double reduction policy has had a negative impact on the education of the children of the middle class. Most of the students who attend extra-curricular classes are those who are less receptive and unable to learn in the school classroom. They may not be able to remember the points once taught by their teachers due to their own conditions. Moreover, due to the large student base, teachers do not have the energy to take care of every student in the class. These children will need after-school tutorials to help them further grasp what they did not understand in class. On the other hand, there are some very good learners who need to engage in extra-curricular tutorials to gain greater knowledge. This will enable them to cope with the admissions programs of some of the best universities for specialized students. These exams are often more difficult than the entrance exams and are designed to select the best students to enter

the school. Both of these groups have a need for shadow education and the number of such students is not small. When subject-based tutoring was banned, the problem of addressing the needs of these two groups of students to acquire knowledge ensued. The Ministry of Education is preparing to push for longer working hours for teachers in order to meet the demand for extra-curricular tutoring. However, this is hardly enough to meet the needs of students and seems to have detracted from the purpose of the double reduction policy itself. In response to this problem, Yin and Lai note that wealthy families are opting for private one-to-one tutoring, but not all can afford it [7]. The policy of double reduction in order to achieve equity in education has therefore exacerbated the inequality of educational resources.

Finally, the double reduction policy does not in practice alleviate parents' anxiety. Firstly, as mentioned above, the cost of private, one-to-one forms of out-of-school tuition is not affordable for all families. This inequality in educational resources has contributed to increased anxiety among those parents who cannot afford the corresponding costs. At the same time, because the goal of the double reduction policy is to make the ratio of university education to vocational education roughly equal, Chinese parents do not want their children to receive vocational education because of factors such as traditional Chinese history and culture and the current social status and income of vocational education. So, they make their students spend more time and energy studying harder. At the same time, parents are more worried about their children's poor performance due to their resistance to vocational education. In this context, as Mikesell, Chinese parents and teachers believe that pressure is the best way to motivate their children and they truly believe that students should do homework all night to improve their academic performance [28]. In this context, parents who resent vocational education may ask teachers to assign more homework to their students. Thus, double reduction adds to the burden of students at that level and exacerbates parental anxiety.

In summary, while the double reduction policy had a positive starting point and purpose, it has had numerous negative effects and negative impacts in practice.

5. COMPARISON AND REFLECTION ON THE SHADOW EDUCATION POLICIES OF CHINA AND JAPAN

5.1. Comparison

Through the analysis of the supervision methods of shadow education in China and Japan, it can be seen that compared with Japan's perfect and coordinated governance of private learning schools, China's shadow education industry is still in a more chaotic and backward management situation. The difference in the management of shadow education in China and Japan is the main

reason for the gap in the status quo. Compared with China, Japan's management of shadow education is obviously more complete, and its perfection is mainly reflected in four aspects.

5.1.1. The soundness of laws and regulations.

Whether it is the previous regulations promulgated by China to address the issue of teachers taking extra classes outside of school or the recent double reduction policy, they are only documents or administrative regulations promulgated by certain departments of the central or local governments. For example, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council, or the education departments of local governments. The provisions of these administrative regulations basically only address certain specific phenomena or issues, and lack the mandatory guarantees of the law. This makes it difficult to protect other issues related to or arising from this issue. In Japan, on the other hand, the relevant laws and regulations are much better established and cover a wider range of areas. For example, the governance of shadow education institutions in Japan includes registration of institutions, employment of staff, tuition fees, supervision, rewards and punishments, and there are laws on various dimensions and areas such as the Law on Specific Commercial Transactions, the Law on General Associations, the Company Law, the Labor Standards Law, the Labor Contract Law, the Local Public Service Law and the Local Public Service Special Law [18]. Japanese laws and regulations on shadow education are also issued by a variety of authorities, such as the Japanese parliament, Japanese government departments, and the National Association of Learning Schools. This gives shadow education institutions more legal references and constraints when facing possible situations.

5.1.2. Independent trade association autonomy system.

Shadow education in China tends to be organized in separate institutions and lacks trade association organizations with social credibility and guidance. In terms of management, most of these institutions rely on the education departments of local governments. In the face of a large number of different types of out-of-school tutoring institutions, it is difficult for government departments to monitor the affairs of public schools while at the same time detecting and dealing with problems that may arise from these shadow education institutions. This is a reflection of the lack of self-regulation and the lack of organized self-regulation among the institutions. The National Association of Study Schools, established in 1988, has solved this problem. As an association set up in collaboration with the Japanese government and recognized by the industry, it has played an important

role in the management of the Japanese shadow education industry by bridging the gap between the limited resources of the executive and the judiciary in the regulation and management of out-of-school tutoring. Its main functions include the development of internal regulations for the industry, the protection of students' rights, and the regulation of accreditation. The existence of this association has greatly enhanced the quality of the shadow education industry in Japan, as the standard of teaching and academic achievement of Japanese tutoring institutions has been greatly enhanced by the existence of a more specialized body to certify the qualifications of tutors and students. In addition, the recognition of the shadow education industry in Japan has been enhanced by the existence of a specialized body to monitor the security and safety of students' personal information. Most importantly, by setting industry standards and issuing a series of regulations, the association has succeeded in enhancing the credibility and social recognition of the learning school industry and promoting the healthy development of the shadow education industry in Japan. Each year, the National Association of Study Schools also publishes industry guidelines to promote the healthy and sustainable development of the shadow education industry in Japan. The lack of a professional trade association system in China is one of the most significant differences from the Japanese management model.

5.1.3. The existence of a multi-departmental synergy in the Japanese government.

In China, the government and related departments currently lack a coordinated division of labor among multiple departments in the regulation and governance of the shadow education sector. The documents related to the double reduction policy were issued by the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the General Office of the State Council without the collaboration of multiple government departments and were limited to the education department to guide the implementation of the policy. In China, the shadow education policy prior to the double reduction was even mainly issued by the education departments of the local governments at the provincial level. In the case of the Japanese government's administrative governance of extracurricular education, the coordination of various government departments has maximized the role of the administrative departments in guiding shadow education. METI, MEXT, and MHLW collaborate in this system of governance, with the METI being responsible for the economic regulation of shadow education providers and compliance with economic laws and regulations, the MEXT being responsible for regulating out-of-school tutoring in accordance with educational regulations, analyzing the industry and providing policy guidance, and the MHLW being responsible for protecting the legal rights of educators.

The Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare is responsible for protecting the legal rights of educators. The cooperation between several Japanese government departments not only ensures the standardization of the Japanese shadow education industry and the protection of the various legal rights of consumers and workers but also facilitates the generation of policy developments for the industry.

5.1.4. Cooperation between public schools and shadow education institutions.

There is no close cooperation between shadow education institutions and schools in China, and some of them have even formed a vicious competition with schools. This is reflected in the competition for quality teacher resources and student energy. In Japan, on the other hand, public schools and shadow education institutions work together under the guidance and support of the government, resulting in a unique model of managing both. This model of management has been remarkably effective in Japan. Compared to previous years, the proportion of public secondary school principals who were positive about the collaboration between schools and learning schools increased significantly in 2012, from 27.3% to 50.2%, and the proportion who thought that learning school lecturers could be hired to teach in public schools increased from 19.1% in 1994 to 46.3% in 2012 [14]. From the data, it is clear that the vast majority of government officials and public-school headmasters in Japan are in favor of such partnerships between schools and private institutions, including learning Schools. Such a good partnership not only changes the otherwise opposing roles of the two but also facilitates two-way interaction between them.

5.2. Reflection on the comparison

It is clear from this that the Chinese government's current policies are inadequate in a number of ways compared to Japan, which has a well-developed policy to implement them. Firstly, the Chinese legislature should study and learn from the relevant Japanese legal provisions to improve the current legal system for the shadow education sector. The lack of legal provisions makes it difficult to enforce policy through the judiciary in the complex process of policy implementation. A better legal system would allow the Chinese government to have a legal reference at the enforcement level. Secondly, the establishment of a national autonomous industry association would be one of the most important measures for the future policy of shadow education institutions in China. Given the rapid development of the shadow education industry and the continued decentralization and modernization of the governance system by the Chinese Communist Party and government, China's limited administrative and judicial power has made it difficult to provide full coverage of the

shadow education industry, so the establishment of an independent and autonomous industry association to guide and regulate the industry would be an important measure to make up for the lack of government power. In Japan, the establishment of a professional autonomous association has not only formalized the industry and provided guidance for after-school tutoring but has also promoted the healthy development of the industry and safeguarded the interests of students. And, the collaboration between government departments will be necessary. In the implementation of specific policies in the shadow education sector, a collaboration between different government departments will not only improve the efficiency of implementation but will also lead to the improvement of shadow education policies. There are many different areas of the shadow education sector, and the education sector alone cannot oversee and guide all of them. In addition, cooperation between shadow education institutions and public schools should be strengthened. The competition between shadow education providers and public schools in China has affected the daily teaching and learning activities of students, and only by promoting cooperation and good communication between the two sides can we promote the healthy development of the education industry as a whole, and even allow extracurricular tutoring to feedback into public school education. The formation of positive two-way interaction between the two will not only help solve the problem of shadow education but also promote the development of China's education industry.

6. CONCLUSION

This thesis observes and compares the development of shadow education in China and Japan, and the measures and policies adopted by both countries to regulate the shadow education sector in the context of reduced education. The study and comparison reveal that China's double reduction policy, like Japan's, has set strict restrictions and regulations on the shadow education sector in the country. However, in terms of concrete practices, China still suffers from loopholes and shortcomings such as inadequate laws and regulations, lack of adequate cooperative governance and industry autonomy, and the lack of mutual cooperation between private teaching and learning and public education. The Chinese government can improve future shadow education policies and regulate the sector by learning from Japan's idea of governance using industry autonomy and government collaboration.

Although the study reviewed a wealth of information, our research process lacked a comparison of specific data and cases from China and Japan. In future studies, more research and data analysis studies need to be used to understand the possible impact of the double reduction policy on the education sector in China and the possibility of smoothly adapting the Japanese governance system

and governance methods to the Chinese shadow education market. More research needs to be done on the difficulties of implementing the Japanese approach in China. It is also important to understand the attitudes of teachers, who are the main participants and implementers of the education sector, towards the changes in the shadow education sector resulting from the double reduction policy, in order to better contribute to the implementation of the double reduction policy in China and to the healthy development of the shadow education sector. These elements will be further developed in future studies.

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