

國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學程碩
International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
College of Social Sciences
National Chengchi University

碩士論文
Master's Thesis

台灣補習教育經驗之研究
A Study of Cram School Experience in Taiwan

Student: Rebecca Emma Mary Gourrier 欣怡
Advisor: Dr Chuing Prudence Chou 周祝瑛

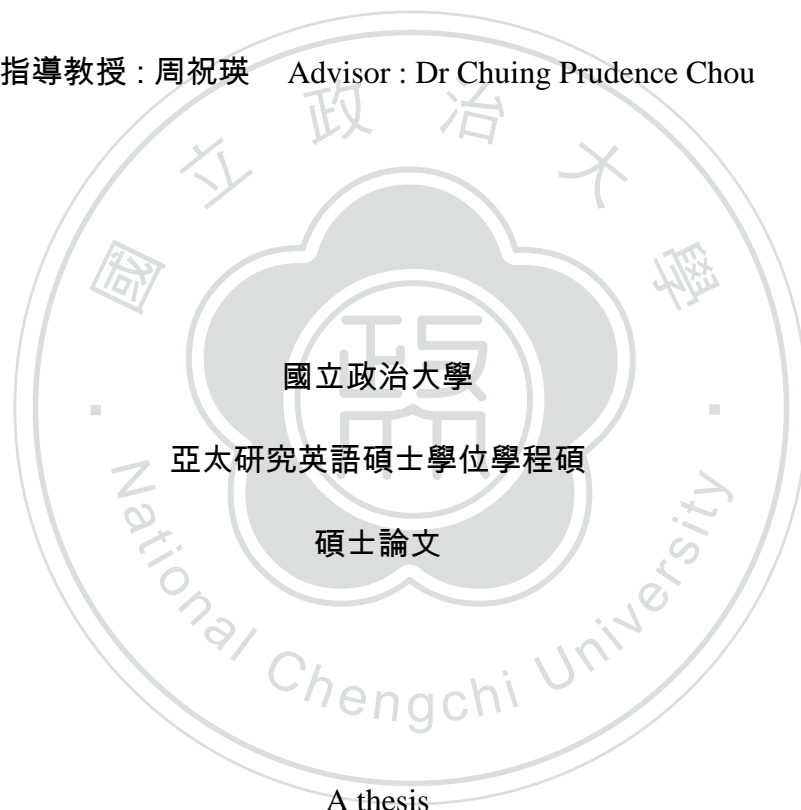
中華民國 105 年 9 月
September 2016

台灣補習教育經驗之研究

A Study of Cram School Experience in Taiwan

研究生：欣怡 Student : Rebecca Emma Mary Gourrier

指導教授：周祝瑛 Advisor : Dr Chuing Prudence Chou



Submitted to International Master's Program In Asia Pacific Studies

National Chengchi University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement

For the degree of Master in Asia-Pacific Studies

中華民國 105 年 9 月

September 2016

Acknowledgements

The completion of this study could not have been possible without the expertise and guidance of my respected thesis advisor Dr. Chuing Prudence Chou. As well as being supportive and helpful, she is also a very generous and kind-hearted person that definitely enhanced my experience of writing this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation towards my two-committee members Dr. Fong-Yee Nyeu and Dr. Da-Wei Kuan who took the time to read my thesis and provided great advice to improve my work. I have learned a lot throughout this Master's degree and by working closely with my supervisor. Thank you to the academic staff of NCCU for helping out during the various steps before the thesis' completion.

I would also like to thank Marion Baudry, who was supportive and encouraging during the good and hard times. I am glad to have worked with Marion as my teammate throughout the course of this research work. I am also very grateful that my cousin Laurie was here, she supported me during the final and important stages of my thesis and I would like to thank her for helping me proofread my thesis twice so as to have provided with great advices. Special thanks to my friend Pheobe who is a remarkable reliable person and who spent time reading through my thesis during the final stage. I would like to thank all my friends for their help in participating to the academic exploration and interview process, all of them have given greater value to this project.

Finally, I would like to thank Benjamin Chardron for his remarkable patience for helping and encouraging me everyday to fulfil this project. I am really grateful to have benefited from his valuable support and optimistic thinking. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents; my mum, my dad, my sister, my brother, my grandmothers, grandfathers and cousins who; from long distance helped me complete this important work with enthusiasm. I am deeply grateful that my family has always been of great support in my studies, especially my dad, who passed on his belief that education is highly valuable. Thank you for believing in me and guiding me in these studies.

摘要

一國如在教育上過度強調以學業為導向，就會出現具有雙刃劍角色的補習現象通常會，一方面幫助學生在學術能力測驗中取得高成就，另一方面限制了學生的創造性發展。部分學生因為在普通學校中無法取得足夠的知識和技能，故而轉向補習班為測驗做準備。尤其在英語科目成為主要考核科目之後，補習班的項目也因此更加多元。本研究旨在關注台灣補習教育何以在1990年代教改之後，依然擴張的現況，補習班如何從日常學習的補充角色，轉向台灣中學生教育中的必要部分。研究者針對補習班英語教學方法進行探討，透過對補習班經營者、教師和補習學生進行深度訪談，來瞭解他們的相關經驗。研究結果發現，補習班經營者意透多元與另類等途徑，聘請英語教師，來提升教學的創意。至於教師的訪談發現，英語教師通過嘗試新的教學方法來幫助學生在學業方面取得更好的成績，但是這種方式存在一定的局限性。本研究印一步發現補習班教師包括來自英語國家的和非英語國家，即使某些補習班老師並未取得教師資格證書，但在學生看來比一般學校的英語任課老師更加優秀。值得注意的是，大多數學生認為補習班的教學方法與一般學校相差無幾，但是學生滿意度明顯高於主流學校英語教師。本研究進一步確認補習班因商業利益等考量，許多訊息備受保密，使得研究者難以獲得一套完整的教學方法和學生經驗。

關鍵字： 家庭教師，補習班英語教學，補習班經驗，文化現象，教學方法，台灣

Abstract

In an academically oriented nation, there is a realization that attending a cram school can be *double-edged*, as they often offer great outcomes in students' academic achievements especially with their test scores but they can also limit students' creative development. Unable to obtain sufficient knowledge and skills for tests in mainstream schools, students have commonly turned to cram schools for examination preparation. Educational reforms enforcing English as a main examination subject greatly diversified the possibilities for tutoring and in fact helped cram schools' diversification. The study focuses on the phenomenon of the influx of cram schools, and how it's no longer a supplement, but instead a necessity of a secondary student's education in Taiwan. This study starts with investigating the cram school phenomenon, as well as to discuss the teaching methods used in English classes. Finally, data has been collected through in-depth interviews among cram school owners, teachers and former attendees to look at their experience in cram school. The results of the study shows that the cram school owners approved the necessity to enhance creative teaching through alternative methods so as hiring teachers with supplementary talents. The teacher interviews revealed that trying new approaches to teaching have helped students achieve better outcomes academically, but sometimes only to a certain extent that is why cram schools can be double-edged. The paradox of this study is the cram school teachers' qualifications for both native and English speakers. In fact, even though they may not have any teaching qualifications, cram school teachers are described by students as being better teachers compared to the ones in regular school. Significantly, the study discovered that a majority of students find cram school teaching methods in general so as the overall experience to be more satisfactory than with mainstream school. The study finally showed that gaining information about cram schooling can be difficult as there is some secrecy surrounding it. This prevented the researcher from gaining a complete picture of cram school teaching methods and students' experience.

Keywords: *private tutoring, English learning in cram school, cram school experience, cultural phenomenon, teaching methods, Taiwan*

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	i
摘要	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Background	1
1.2 Research Motivation	3
1.3 Research Purpose & Questions	4
1.4 Methodology	4
1.5 Theoretical Framework	7
1.6 Term Definition	7
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1 Cram schools: A cultural phenomenon	9
2.1.1 Impact of educational reforms on cram schools	13
2.1.2 Attempt of decreasing cram school	15
2.1.3 New measures to improve teacher education	18
2.2 Teaching methods and English language in Taiwan.....	19
2.2.1 Emerging trends and teaching methods.....	19
2.2.2 Expanding the cram school teaching methods	22
2.2.3 Under-regulated aspects and quality teaching in debate.....	24
2.3 The impacts of cram schools and their teaching methods.....	26
2.3.1 Learning in cram schools	26
2.3.2 Cram school function as both useful and problematic.....	28
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY	32
3.1 Methodology.....	32
3.2 Data Collection	32
CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	34
4.1 Research Findings.....	34
4.1.1 Question 1. Education reform on cram school	35
4.1.2 Question 2. Teaching methods and English language	36
4.1.3 Question 3. Learning outcomes and pros and cons	42
4.1.4 Case Study.....	45
4.2 Discussion	47
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
.....57	
5.1 Conclusion	57
5.2 Limitations and Recommendations.....	59
REFERENCES.....	61

APPENDIX A : Owner interview

APPENDIX B : Teacher interview

APPENDIX C : Student interview

APPENDIX D : Glossary Interviewee



CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background and motivation for conducting this research. The study will start by introducing the development of cram schools in Taiwan. The major outlines will be discussed as follows: the research purposes, research questions, research organization, and definition of key terms. The chapter will conclude by pointing out the significance of the study.

1.1 Research Background

With rapid changes in the educational system, the competitive environment, and exam-driven system, the private education sector took the opportunity to expand its possibilities in the opening of academic institutions, such as cram schools. In recent years, cram schools have been taking a considerable position in Taiwan's society, attracting a large number of Taiwanese secondary school students every year.

In Asia, there has been an increase in demand for remedial and supplementary education for children to guide the students' progress in regular school and to pass examinations. Private cram schools in Japan, Korea, Taiwan and many other countries have conducted such activities since the 1960s and Japan have long been known for its *juku* (Roesgaard, 2006; Bray & Lykins, 2012); which operated alongside the regular school system. South Korea has also been known for its *hagwons* (Bray & Lykins, 2012), whereas Taiwan embraced cram schools also known as *buxiban* (Chou, 2014; Bray & Lykins, 2012).

In South Korean elementary schools, approximately 90% of students receive some form of supplementary tutoring and Hong Kong and China closely follow with 85% of secondary school students taking supplementary lessons (Bray & Lykins, 2012). In the 2001 Taiwan Education Panel Surveyed, 20,000 high school students and 72.9% of the Grade 7 students surveyed received additional tutoring for an average of 6.5 hours per week. (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.7).

On a global level supplementary tutoring has increased and is becoming much more usual in many parts of the world. Cram school institutions have risen in many countries since their establishment, showing a shift from a “luxury” to an essential element in a child’s scholarly life. Cram schools are said to promise the enhancement of better academic achievement, offer better job opportunities and guarantee improved opportunities for its students. Although cram schools are still strongly present in Taiwan its impact on students academic achievement is generally positively related. (Academia Sinica) Yet, the full impact on students’ learning is still debated.

From the start, the researcher was interested in the cram school phenomenon in Taiwan and looking into them in more depth allowed the researcher to show the changes that occurred during the past few decades. The study also sought to examine its function and evolution through the different educational policies, trends, environmental changes, teaching methods and finally, the researcher conducted research on the cram school experience in order to gather a proper perspective of the phenomenon from the “inside out”.

The researcher wished to discover how English became such an important aspect of Taiwanese society and the researcher chose to examine both the “English learning fever” and “English online tutoring”, which brought such focus on English learning in cram schools. However, today’s Taiwanese cram schools may fail in some ways to assure full quality teaching for students even though it is perceived as the best option. That is why cram schools are controversial for students’ learning experience and achievement.

Problem statement: Cram schools have been a double-edged sword

Many scholars have argued that education plays a great role in the preparation of citizens for inclusive economic growth and social development of one’s nation. Also, supplementary education has been argued to be a permanent feature in education systems, which play a vital role in the students’ academic achievements and learning (Bray & Lykins, 2012). But as Bray & Lykins mentioned: “Education sometimes fails to provide opportunities for individuals to achieve their full learning potential and

acquire relevant knowledge and skills to effectively serve members of the society and to contribute to inclusive economic growth” (Bray & Lykins, 2012, vi; Mok, 2006).

Scholars have argued that some forms of private tutoring can be both useful and problematic, especially for students learning achievement (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Hsieh, 2001; Huang, 1993). Bray & Lykins (2012) found that supplementary education tends to focus on narrow domains of achievement, such as Japanese, South Korean and Taiwanese cram schools (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.40).

Private tutoring is known to be an important avenue in helping students achieve better academic results, but we cannot assume that private tutoring always results in learning gains (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Few researchers have looked at cram school trends and changes in depth and this means there is no full understanding of the secondary school students’ experience of cram schools in an era of globalization. This study hopes to bring a new understanding of cram schools in Taiwan, and the impacts on students’ experience and learning achievements in Taiwan.

1.2 Research Motivation

Living in an ever-changing world where education and learning are constantly evolving there is a realization that attending a cram school can be *double-edged*, as they often offer great outcomes in student’s academic achievements but they can limit a students’ creative development. In this research, the study considered students as the first ones affected by the testing standards thus, having to resort to cram school for examination preparation.

The researcher’s belief refers to a main idea, the one of Chang & Yi (2004) who discusses cram schooling and academic achievements and argues, “If the majority of students attend cram school classes, then cram school should be de facto part of formal schooling.” This research’s main idea is that considering the rapid growth of cram school education, and its weighty influence, it is a necessity that cram school institutions provide quality education and as a result good learning outcomes.

The qualitative research that has been conducted will add to the researcher's understanding of the benefits and pitfalls of cram school and give an indication of the learning experiences of previous students. Looking at the cram school impacts on students helps discuss the useful and problematic aspects of cram schools in Taiwan. The research hopes to provide the new cram school attendee's with a clearer scope of Taiwanese cram schools' impacts in learning achievements.

1.3 Research Purpose & Questions

The purpose of this research is to investigate the cram school experience from both the teacher's and students' perspectives along with the positive and negative impacts of cram schools.

The research questions are as follows:

1. Why has the educational reforms forced students to turn to cram schools?
2. Why is the English language so heavily required by cram schools and the educational reforms?
3. What are the impacts of cram school and its teaching methods on the students' learning experience?

1.4 Methodology

This section will discuss the methods used to conduct the research data collection, and will use a qualitative approach with up-to-date academic research and literature.

To assess the quality of cram school education, the researcher has used Kim and Bonk's (2006) study in which they argue that academic achievement; students' satisfaction in cram school; faculty training and support are all components of quality education of online education. The researcher chose this study on online education because online tutoring is the result of both the cram school phenomenon combined with the English language appeal in Taiwan. They are so closely linked that they are

part of one same element. They show great similarities and allow this study to use such arguments as a base.

Firstly, the study has pictured and described the cram school phenomenon and its nature. Then looked at the English learning in cram school, the environment of study, including the teaching methods used. Finally, what kind of impact cram school have on students' achievements and their learning experience. To enforce this research the study has focused on previous studies' samples, which addressed the potential function of cram schools and their academic impacts for adolescents in Taiwan (Chang & Yin, 2004).

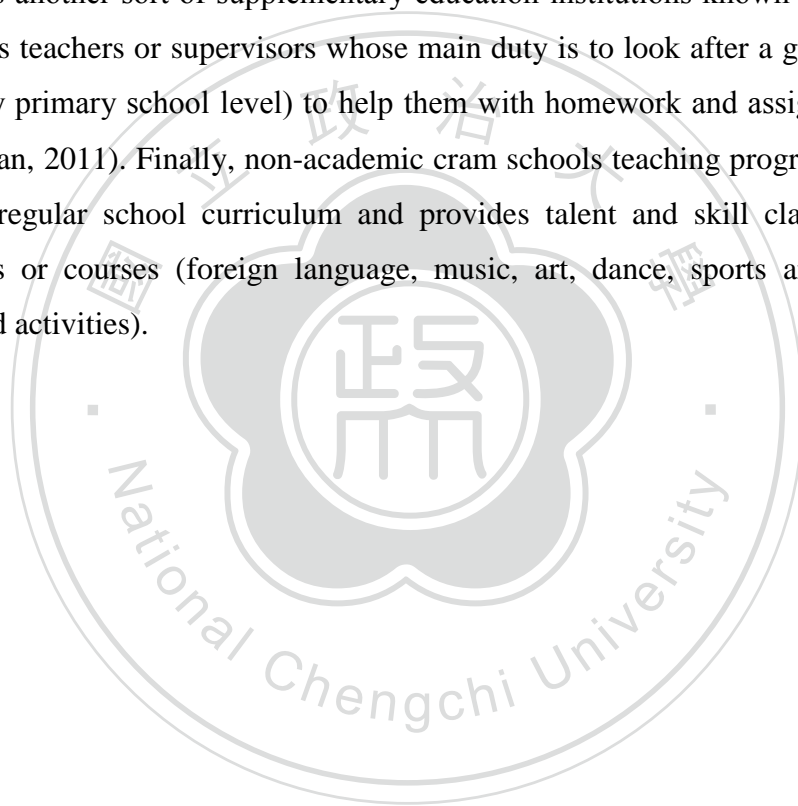
Additionally, the study conducted in-depth interviews to have more genuine opinions on teacher's and students' cram school experience. For that purpose, eight in-depth interviews were conducted on former cram school attendees; the respondents were approached through personal and online contacts. In order to give a deeper understanding of the former attendee's experience, the researcher wanted to target the following elements: the level of satisfaction the students' achieved through their schooling, they felt they received, and their opinion on the cram school teaching method as a whole.

Due to the number of English cram schools, teachers and students involved in English teaching/learning, this study has focused on the English language appeal in Taiwan. The study hopes to allow a deeper analysis of the users' understanding of their cram school activity in the perspective of drawing out the positive and negative outcomes of that experience. Finally, it will grant an opportunity to explain the potential and limits of cram schools in the Taiwanese society.

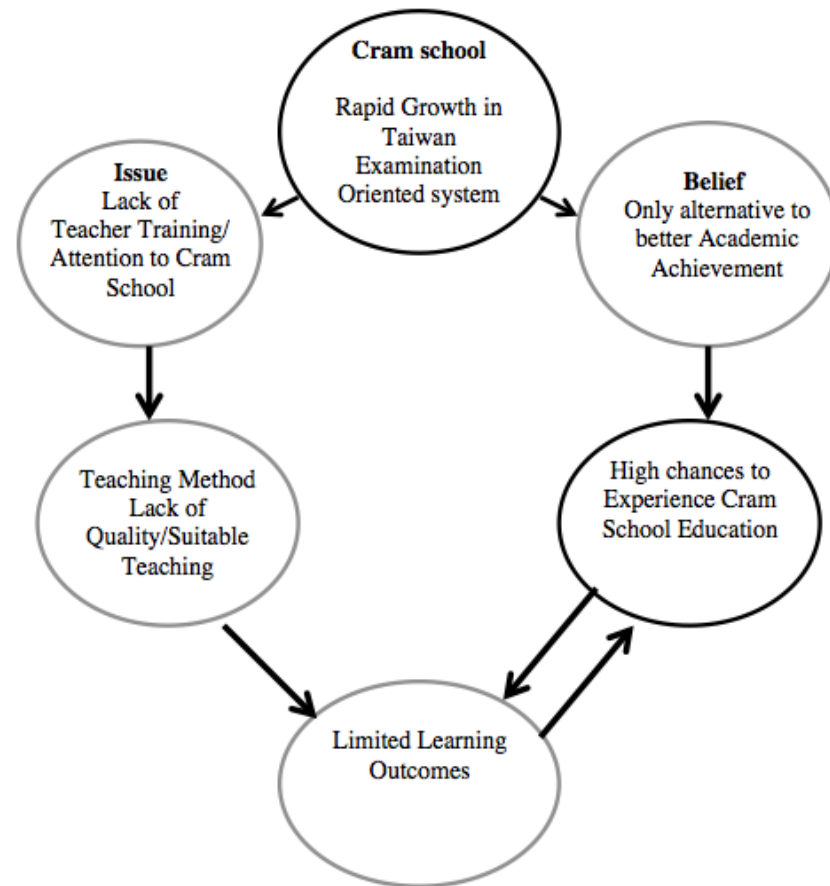
Stephen Krashen (2003) argues on the stereotypes people have on language learning. His argument will help the study to better understand English learning in cram school. According to Krashen, the need of outdoor experience to learn a language is necessary because language classes can only help students reach the intermediate stage, but they can continue improving on their own.

Professor Chou and Yuan (2011) have presented two categories of cram schools in Taiwan that will help support this study through its explanation of the cram school phenomenon; the academic cram schools and those offering non-academic subjects. As explained by both authors, “The academic ones include those who only focus on the core school subjects Chinese, English, Math and Sciences. Most academic cram schools require that teachers hold at least a bachelor degree even though they hold higher academic degrees” (Chou and Yuan, 2011). Bigger size cram schools might hold over 100 students. The teachers usually lecture these classes.

It exists another sort of supplementary education institutions known as, “an-chinban, employs teachers or supervisors whose main duty is to look after a group of children (usually primary school level) to help them with homework and assignments” (Chou and Yuan, 2011). Finally, non-academic cram schools teaching program is not linked to the regular school curriculum and provides talent and skill classes in specific subjects or courses (foreign language, music, art, dance, sports and other talent-oriented activities).



1.5 Theoretical Framework



1.6 Term Definition

This section will provide the definition of terms that will be relevant to this study. Firstly, it is important to define exactly what a cram school is and in what ways the term will be used in this paper.

Student learning and the term “learning” is used in this study as being different from memorization, then, as a more meaningful process (Entwistle & Ramsden, 2015). Student learning is growth in subject-matter knowledge, understandings, and skill over time (National Board for Professionals and Teaching Standards).

The cram school learning experience is defined by Elrich (2003) as the actual living through an event, the real life by contrast to the ideal or imaginary, in this case

in cram school. We usually speak one's person "experience" in terms of what actually happened to the person (Elrich, pp. 1126). A cram school is by definition "a private institution that uses an accelerated curriculum to prepare students mainly for school or university entrance examinations" (Oxford dictionary). Dewey (1938) defined Learning experiences as "often created through interaction. Therefore it is essential to regard schooling experiences as an interactive process referring to the ability of each individual to communicate and express oneself outside."

The English learning fever is a term that has been used few authors, and Stephen Krashen (2003) discussed about English as the world's second language and defined the English learning fever as "The overwhelming desire to acquire English, ensure that one's children acquire English as a second or foreign language".

Academic achievement represents performance outcomes of a person that has accomplished specific goals that were the focus of a specific activity. In this study, we will consider academic achievement as a learning performance on an educational achievement focusing on tests and grades, hence examining what the student actually learned (Oxford Bibliographies, 2015).

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In Taiwan, educational reforms have opened the Taiwanese education system in order to develop new perceptions of education and to improve the quality of teaching along with creating an environment fit for study. This chapter will elaborate on the nature of the cram school phenomenon in Taiwan, explaining the impact of educational reforms on these institutions and the emerging trends.

2.1 Cram schools: A cultural phenomenon

When discussing a phenomenon such as cram schools, it is a priority to look at the nature of the latter. Cultural factors have often been associated with education and have influenced many aspects of education. Researchers have largely discussed the nature of the cram school phenomenon in Taiwan as a cultural phenomenon (Courtenay, 2013); (Chou, 2011) (Liu, 2011) where the term “culture” expresses the values of the people. Mark Mason quoted Williams who used an anthropological definition to define Culture as a concept of shared values and meanings, which are common to all individuals of the same group (Mason, 2007). According to the definition of culture, the previous statement can be further examined by the manner this institution expanded not only “in” but also “out” of the country. In fact, a part of Taiwan, Courtenay (2013) found that a high presence of *buxiban* exist in the United States, where a large community of Taiwanese immigrants have re-created the *buxiban* phenomenon in a foreign setting. As mentioned by the author, this suggests that “culture” is a strong element and that the cram school phenomenon is arguably a cultural phenomenon reflecting a culture in both education and parenting.

Additionally, Chinese cultures see education as having a high value which should be pursued, Liu (2011) expands on this idea with a Chinese “saying”, « all pursuits except studying are of little value.» To avoid the pitfalls of stereotypes and treating cultures as monolithic we should, however, avoid the risks associated with over-generalization, Mark Mason argued, “Whenever values are discussed collectively, they have to be examined in the context of individual choices of values” (Mason, 2007). Since Confucian times, one’s educational background is seen as the most important standard in evaluating a person’s’ social level, while occupation and income

are argued to be less important. The pursuit of educational studies is impregnated in the culture and has become a traditional value in Taiwanese society. The “accepted” presence of cram schools can then be easily explained by the role and value that education takes in one’s culture. As Yi and Wu (2004) argued “as long as families are strong supporters for the good college diploma value, cram schools will continue to enjoy its irreplaceable market (Yi and Wu, 2004, p.10-3); (Liu, 2011).

These private institutions have expanded tremendously mostly because of observed cultural patterns. In more recent years, parents have shown putting greater expectations on children’s intellectual growth and capacity building, for that purpose, cram schools have initiated new accelerated courses in various subject areas to specifically meet public demands for academic achievement (Chou, 2011). As previously argued, cram schools’ evolution could have been influenced by cultural values and social patterns that Taiwanese society embraces. Interestingly, the educational reforms took another important role in cram school expansion in Taiwan and will be discussed in the next section.

Scholars have used the broad cultural factor to explain why private tutoring has been stronger in some countries than others and the influence of Confucianism and the forces of globalization have both shaped private tutoring in Taiwan and other Southeast Asian countries (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 24). There is a typical vision and belief that Asian students have to study for long hours at school. This vision is part of the Asian educational philosophy and the influence of Confucianism where education, social structure, and human networking constitute meaningful values for its society (Chou, 2014). Taiwan’s society is still ruled by a strong examination system which enhances drills and practices that reward hard work and effort. As a consequence, Taiwanese schools have followed these patterns regarding valuing efforts, persistence, and rigidity (Chou, 2014).

The strong presence of private tutoring in Taiwan and other Asian countries developed for specific reasons and can be explained through historical economic and social factors. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, along with the falling birth rate, Taiwan has been exposed to a strong demand for manpower, which made tertiary

education accessible to all secondary graduates who wished to attend. These factors have led both Japan and Taiwan to experience a drastic increase in the number of senior high schools and universities (Mok, 2006; Chou & Ching, 2012). Accordingly, to the previous factors, in a society like Taiwan where the socio-economic advancement is rapid, high school students attending cram schools in Taiwan was exposed to a 20 % increase in the late 1970s to 50 % in the late 1990s (Chang, Yi). Indeed, high schools faced a consequent increase of enrolment from 1968, with 152,877 students compared with 403,183 students in 2009 (Chou & Ching, 2012). It was in 2014 the enrolment rate of secondary school students reached the highest point with 95.86 % (MOE, Educational Statistical Indicators, 2015). The number of universities and colleges in Taiwan rose from 105 in 1999 to 162 in 2008 (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.24), and because of the high stratification of postsecondary education, the demand for supplementary education has intensified. In areas like Taiwan, Hong Kong and China, where postsecondary education is highly stratified, supplementary tutoring during the secondary years of schooling is likely to remain intense (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.24).

According to an online report, a recent trend appeared in the city of Hong Kong where tutors were being promoted in the streets as ‘celebrities’. In a place like Hong Kong where consumer culture is strong, the physical appearance of a tutor seems to matter greatly. Students are now not only demanding their tutors be experienced with high levels of expertise, but also that they are “attractive”, this, goes some way to explain the on-going enthusiasm for celebrity tutors who have both attributes. The BBC interviewed Kelly Mok as she worked in one of Hong Kong’s largest tutorial establishments and they emphasised that a tutor’s physical appearance greatly influences one’s career in a country where tutoring is a daily activity.

In addition, Mark Bray (2012) argued in his interview that tutorial schools use star tutors to attract even more students. In fact, private tutoring establishments have a large advantage in keeping those tutors and promoting them to attract even more students. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), Mark Bray noted that in societies where success equals getting good results in school, parental anxiety was said to convert into a “steady stream of revenue” for private tutoring establishments

(BBC news report, 2012). The celebrity tutor phenomenon is a result of the acceptance for out-of-school private supplementary tutoring.

In South Korea, China, Hong Kong, the phenomenon has been clearly identified. In Taiwan, the issue hasn't been largely spoken in academic findings. However, the study is willing to find some similarities to the one of Hong Kong in conducting its own in-depth interviews. Can the Star tutor phenomenon be applied to the Taiwan cram school phenomenon?

When comparing Hong Kong and Taiwan, we can see that Taiwanese cram schools star tutors are less demonstrative in promoting their teachers/tutors in the street. However, tutors are effectively promoted on the Internet via special tutoring platforms who suggest a large number of native-speaking English language teachers and tutors in Taiwan such as the websites Myu.com.tw or Tealit.com. The particularity of these platforms is the way it promotes the best tutors according to the participant's geographical area, to its needs and budget. While observing My.com.tw platform, it is clear that the more experience and positive comments a tutor receives on their "profile page," the better they will be promoted in the section "Top tutors" of the online platform (Website: my.com.tw).

The "Star tutor" phenomenon is the indirect outcome drawn out of the cram school phenomenon and this study sought to interview six cram school teachers to understand whether they had perceived this "star tutor" phenomenon. In fact, the three foreign English teachers out of six mentioned the importance of the appearance of the teachers when getting hired in a cram school. This feature is particularly common to Hong Kong and Taiwan English cram schools, by which the "profile type" of an English teacher must be Caucasian and the more attractive, the better. One of our teachers, who has been a cram school teacher for thirteen years, noted that the attitude towards the importance of one's appearance was the same as when he began teaching thirteen years ago. Moreover, schools, parents and children praise the development of other skills such as; learning skills, having good interactions with students, maintaining discipline in class or Chinese ability.

2.1.1 Impact of educational reforms on cram schools

Past educational reforms resulted in the expansion of cram schools in Taiwan and to a greater extent on the diversification of the breadth of these institutions. Here, we will discuss the educational reforms' that occurred in Taiwan and their role in the cram school expansion period.

The 9 Year National Compulsory Education Act 1968 in which the central government had envisioned the foundation of the country's education development and achievement was implemented using alternative methods (p.356, Chou & Ho, 2007); (Liu, 2011). These methods were used to help with entering senior high schools and universities, which had caused students to attend cram schools earlier in their childhood to gain new skills (Liu, 2011). The new policy caused great disagreements among Taiwanese citizens, as many believed it added extra pressure on children and according to Liu (2001), some people in Taiwan felt displeasure and had anxiety towards cram schools, which hosted elementary and middle school teachers and was thought of as «Evil cramming.» Since then, all levels of education institutions have experienced dramatic growth in student and school numbers including cram schools, in spite of the controversy.

So, how can we explain this shift in perceptions towards cram schooling? Are cram schools offering the extra-learning expected along with, a quality learning environment that results in better academic achievement? Also, how has the government shifted its plans to reduce the attraction of cram schools? Many researchers have argued that the Taiwanese educational reforms are greatly favoured by the cram school expansion.

In the 1990s, a national education plan was described by Chou & Ching (2012, p.72), as the most comprehensive education reform policy that Taiwan had ever encountered and faced numbers of complaints from the society bringing the education reform to re-organize its plans. In 1996, the council, led by Lee Yuan-Tze had the mission to create Taiwan's future educational master plan to respond accordingly to the demand of the twenty-first century. Twelve mandates were planned and intended to “cultivate Taiwan's outstanding talents, encourage lifelong learning, and enhance Taiwan

international competitiveness in an emerging “knowledge-based society” (Chou & Ho, 2007).

In 1999, the so-called “New Thought, New Action and New Vision” was announced during a conference to develop a new perception over education (Chou and Ching, 2012), which was requested for revision. As a new attempt to meet with the society’s ideals, the Minister of Education (MOE) decided to undergo another conference promoting the creation of a happy, learning environment, “to inspire educational innovative motivating power, and nurture dynamic, creative and competitive new citizens of the E-Generation” (Chou & Ching, 2012). In the 1990s, the main goal was to promote “Diversity” and “Excellence” in the next education policy, meaning to offer good quality education and valorising excellent performance which brought the reform of primary and secondary courses, the expansion of high schools and universities to a greater extent.

The core of the early 1990s reform plans included: “deregulating governmental control over education, exempting education from unnecessary constraints, protecting children’s and student’s right to learn, respecting parent’s right to choose the education patterns and paths for their children and finally, guaranteeing teachers’ professional autonomy. Facilitate lifelong learning was expected to have that greatest impact on reducing students’ stress that resulted from exams (Chou & Ching, 2012). The Educational reforms’ occurred in Taiwan in the 1990s intended to elevate more innovative and creative citizens for their preparation in the twenty-first century but also attempted to decrease cram school demand.

The Taipei government Department of Education (DOE) launched a program to revise senior high school entrance exams (Entrance exam reform stirs controversy, 1992) which intended to terminate the city’s joint exam for senior high entrance and hoped to ease the trend by which local parents are sending their teenagers to cram schools seeking for better opportunities to enter the star schools. Since 1990, the program showed efficacy in its exercise, involving more than 800 Taipei junior high students after two years in action. Nonetheless, researchers have found that during that period a high number of registered *wen-li buxiban* (literature and science cram schools)

expanded from 1,844 in 1999 to 9,344 in 2008 in Taiwan (as cited in Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 7); (Liu, 2012). Taiwan educational reform faced a controversial situation when the intentions to reduce the attraction of cram schools' didn't transpire.

2.1.2 Attempt of decreasing cram school

Reducing the impact of cram school is not singular to Taiwan, it has also been observed in other East Asian countries such as in South Korea. The South Korean government first attempted a prohibition on private tutoring, in 1980 that was enforceable. The exercise to ban tutoring reflects the worries that tutoring puts too much pressure on students, this is reflected by the fact that teachers have observed pupils falling asleep during the class. The South Korean government adopted measures to limit the time spent in these centers to reduce childhood stress but also as mentioned in the BBC newspaper, as an attempt to “increase the level of creative thinking” (Meet the tutor kings and queens, 2012). The impact of those policies has somehow only been limited in results as in the same way for Taiwan. Instead, it greatly diversified the possibilities for tutoring. In fact, these reforms helped cram schools' diversification rather than hindered. Now, cram schools have even allowed students to seek both academic subjects and non-academic subjects as a result (Bray & Lykins, 2012).

As mentioned previously, the Taiwan education system has for a long time been blamed for wrongdoing in its attempts to reduce cram schooling. By that, Taiwan has shown a more “laissez-faire” attitude (Bray & Kwo, p. 12) compared with the South Korean government, which explains why the reforms haven't revealed success in action. Bray & Lykins (2012) discuss another interesting fact about why the Taiwan government reforms were aimed to discourage students from attending a cram school. The authors argue that the Taiwan government tried to reduce narrow and passive learning habits by opening new pathways and diversifying the education system. In fact, the authors discuss the shadow education and private tutoring and argues that they are encouraging such learning habits. Cram schools are a form of private tutoring according to Bray & Lykins, that tends to focus on narrow domains of achievement (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Throughout this argument, the Taiwan government has good reasons to wish to reduce cram schooling, even though its attempts have largely

demonstrated implicit concerns towards the cram school issue, it can be explained by the fact that cram school teaching methods can encourage narrow and passive learning habits.

Recently, the MOE argued about supplementary education and continuing education as “providing extensive and comprehensive learning opportunities for the general public” (Ministry of Education, 2013/2014 p.9). This statement shows a shift in the authorities’ plans previously trying to reduce cram school attraction to a more “accepting” attitude towards the cram school industry and its role as offering new learning opportunities for students. The government seems to have accepted cram schools to work in parallel for student’s learning achievement. This suggests that cram schools may offer an attractive environment and set of subjects that guarantees results in students’ academic achievements. As Liu (2011) mentioned, cram schools do help in the academic improvement of school children and cram schooling does have a clear positive influence on students’ academic performance (Liu, p. 7). From that perspective, cram schools are well accepted in the society because they bring greater results.

Taiwan governments’ plans to improve the current educational system through major educational reforms have shown results in considerable increase in school attendance so as in private cram schools. By demonstrating implicitly his concern about reducing cram school attendance, there is no doubt that the Taiwan government hasn’t shown a clear or strong “enough” position towards that issue. As mentioned previously, there is a clear “laissez-faire” attitude by the authorities towards cram schools that has turned into a form of acceptance by default. Finally, we can say that educational reforms have had an unconsidered impact on cram schools’ expansion in Taiwan. When the subject matter is cram school and its expansion, there is a significant need to show the size of the industry and what it represents. To demonstrate the size of the industry in Taiwan, the study turned to look at previous research on registered *buxibans* and its attendance to give an overall vision of the phenomenon. According to Zeng (1999), the Taiwan Ministry of Education (MOE) calculated the income of the academic *buxiban* in 1992 and was equivalent to US\$212 million, in comparison with Japan’s market size *juku* of US\$13 million. Recent data showed an increase in

the number of registered *buxibans* from 1997 with 3076 establishments (MOE, 2012) and now reports more than 18,929 registered *buxibans* in 2011 (Courtenay, 2013) which 15,248 focuses on traditional school subjects such as Chinese, English and the Sciences (Bray & Kwo, 2014).

Supplementary tutoring including cram schooling duty takes effectively a large space in the students' everyday agenda. According to Bray & Lykins' findings, the educational panel survey in 2001, covered 20,000 high school students and indicated that 72.9 % of grade 7 students were receiving tutoring of an average of 6.5 hours a week (Bray & Lykins's Box 1, 2012). Chou (2008) affirmed the average high-school student is said to spend half of his day on attending school and cram school. Also, the large majority of students (84 %) enrolled in cram schools are from elementary and junior high schools (Chou, 2014). As we argued in the first part, it is clear that the perception towards tutoring from an early age has shifted to become more than "accepted," a normal element of the pupils' daily school routine.

According to Yi (2013), since the compulsory education was upgraded to junior high level from 1968, cram schools have been highly upgraded to junior high level. Cram schooling in Taiwan is characterized by high attendance rates during junior and senior high school (Yi said there were over 80% of students who have ever attended cram school). The same author argued that around the year 2000, half of junior high students attended cram school, and similarly with a local Taiwanese online newspaper which showed the MOE's survey results, more than 15 years later in 2016; in average more than half of senior high school students in Taiwan still attend a cram school. Among the 50%, around 80% came from the most prestigious high schools in Taiwan, which implies that cram schooling is highly oriented toward competition and remains prevalent in the society from early 2000 until nowadays (Focus Taiwan, 2016); (Yi, 2013).

The past thirty years have seen a rapid expansion of testing, exposing students worldwide to tests that are standardized and linked to high-stakes outcomes (Smith, 2016). The nature of testing can be described as the global testing culture, which is argued as shaping education policy, perceptions, and practice and is marked by large-

scale standardized tests in the global arena. The participation of countries in international assessments has largely contributed to the growth of the Global testing culture (Smith, 2016). In many educational systems, the major determinant by which students go to cram school is the final examination. The push-out stage is at the end of secondary education, and this is when parents invest the most in supplementary education (Bray & Lykins, 2012).

2.1.3 New measures to improve teacher education

“Standards-based teacher education has become a crucial policy instrument to improve teacher quality” Keng & Huang. In 2005, the proposal for *Improving Teacher Education, ROC* launched the five dimensions of teacher education as a role to develop teacher education innovation. In 2012, the White Paper on Teacher Education released its main goals to build new standards. Also in the White paper on Creative Education released in 2012 by the MOE argued about the necessity of teacher training programs (both pre-service or in-service) to emphasis on the importance of cultivating creativity in the educational process. Additionally, to the teaching changes, the creativity curriculum and materials want to be “embedded and integrated into every subject matter and into everyday life, but designing curriculum to adapt to different situations and the needs of every educational stage or level” (MOE, Creativity White Paper). This study’s reflection towards training teachers and developing teacher education is crucial, especially if we are to understand the remaining issues around teachers not being able to use creative methods to teach in Taiwan, which, slows down the development of creative citizens.

Taiwan Ministry of Education recognizes “the need to implement educational reforms targeting international education for its primary and secondary schools. Providing educational opportunities and an integrated global curriculum will allow children to become familiar with the role that Taiwan plays on the international stage and within the international community. The goal for policy, educators and parents are to build a strong foundation for international education in primary and secondary levels, so as to empower our youth with useful and creative skills and methods to respond to the opportunities and the challenges that will come before them in the future.” (Developing 21st Competencies for Our Next Generation, 2012).

The global market has indeed brought more competitive mind-sets shifting from cost efficiency and mass production to fostering human resources and creativity for a stronger and workable foundation of 21st-century youth (White paper on International Education for Primary and Secondary Schools, 2012).

According to the “White Paper for Cultivating Active Young People” published in 2012 by the MOE, there are concrete development strategies regarding the legal foundation, curricula, and instruction, physical fitness and regular exercise, leisure-time activities, healthier lifestyle, sports facilities, and the selection of training of talented activities.

According to Chen & Fan (2014), after the Taiwan’s Ministry of Education suggested a White paper in a 12-year curriculum for Basic Education to resolve slow birth rate, social changes, overextended colleges or universities, in Taiwanese elementary and junior high schools, they examined the necessity of “empowering the learners to learn” based on the ideas of a “Learner-centred Education”. This way of teaching has been described as being a source of larger changes and challenges in the teaching class environment. The new curriculum and challenges are titled “Facilitate Self-actualization, adaptive learning to individual fulfillment, and life long learning”, the general guidelines should be implemented at the beginning of 2018 (Chen & Fan, 2016). Also, there is a considerable effort from the Taiwan Ministry of Education to enforce new ways of improving Taiwanese education, but until this day a “learner-centred education” or “adaptive learning for individual fulfillment” in Taiwan can only be described as a slogan which hasn’t yet been implemented effectively in schools.

2.2 Teaching methods and English language in Taiwan

2.2.1 Emerging trends and teaching methods

There has been a huge increase in English immersion learning environment for the younger generation in Taiwan with the due so-called “English-learning fever” (Chen, 2004: 8). In 2002 in a bid to increase Taiwan’s competitiveness, the former premier DPP Yu Shyi-kun announced the Six-Year National Development Plan to form

Taiwan into an English-friendly environment. Taiwan government encouraged English learning by launching a variety of programs and by extending the education age group to both younger and older citizens. According to the Minister of Education Huang Jung-tsuen, who is highly dedicated to making English the second official language, he clearly stated that as a secondary goal (after encouraging the whole nation to learn English as a second language) there would be a “push for online English learning” as well (Taipei Times, English to be Made official). The Ministry affirmed that kindergarten curriculums should contain English as a small part of the instruction and emphasized that English learning should be an auxiliary subject and not part of the main objective of the children’s education.

The MOE policy was then criticized as “inappropriate” for children in the first grade as their knowledge acquisition is only limited at that age. Though, the policy ensured that Chinese language education would not be undermined. Also, it was argued to be overwhelming, and shown reluctance among certain pre-schools which did not provide English instruction in their kindergarten. The schools failing to adapt rapidly to offer English in their curriculum were forced to close down as the English learning trend expanded among preschools in the country (Peng, 2004). Preschool educational experts have strongly advised that young children should not be sent to cram schools in order to learn English as the environments have so often been criticized as not equally suitable compared with the ones in regulated kindergartens. According to the Ministry of Education in 2004, the English Language Industry in Taiwan is estimated between 20-25 billion New Taiwan Dollars (US\$590-738 million). According to the Ministry of Education in collaboration with Research, Development and Evaluation Commission, and Executive Yuan agencies, a Plan for Enhancing National English Proficiency was implemented from 2010 to 2016. The total funding required for this plan is estimated to be around NT\$600 million revealing the considerable importance for Taiwan to cultivate specialists with strong English language capabilities to “enhance market competitiveness and support the process of internationalization” (MOE, 2012).

As Stephen Karshen (2003) argues on approaches to English fever, they often “offer English to very young children if not require it and provide a lot of it.” He then quotes Liu (2002) that said studying English in Taiwan was an “national obsession” and the

demand for students to begin English as early as possible, are high. He finally argued that English is a “popular subject in cram schools, where in 2000, about 29% of all primary school students were studying at cram schools.”

This study is bringing into discussion the cram school teaching methods as they may largely affect the students’ learning experience, and as Liu mentioned: “Cram school does matter in students’ learning achievement” (Liu, 2011). It cannot be assumed that private tutoring always results in learning gains; both Bray & Lykins (2012) said much depends on the motivation, attitudes, and teaching styles of the tutors.

When discussing about teaching methods used, two main opposed features prevail; teacher-centred and student-centred teaching methods. In order to better understand the teaching methods in cram schools, the study will concisely describe both of them. Debeor argued about those features in a quest to find a sensible balance between both. The first one is an emphasis on “rigor and accountability through high stakes testing, benchmarks, and national and state-developed performance standards”. And for the other is “the effort to develop student-centred approaches to teaching and learning, what some would call constructive pedagogy” (Debeor, 2002, p. 2). According to Concordia Online Education’s (2016) article discussing on both teaching methods, the teacher-centred teaching method tends to focus on the teacher in which students mainly listen to the teacher’s lecture. The advantages of such practice are diverse, it is said to help classrooms to be kept in order, and teachers retains full control of students in the classroom and during activities. As students learn by themselves, they become more independent as they make their own decisions, and there is a guarantee that students will not miss out important facts. As for conversation wise, they might suffer from a lack of practice in communicating. Also it does not allow students to express themselves fully or take the initiative to ask questions or direct their own learning. The instructions can be boring and lead students to wonder off and miss out on important facts (Concordia Online Education, 2016; Teacher-centred vs. learner-centred paradigms, 2000).

Concerning student-centred teaching methods, the main difference compared with the previous method is the sharing of the focus; group work is often encouraged to allow students to learn how to collaborate with one another. They learn to communicate

through group work; they learn how to direct their own learning, ask questions and complete tasks independently. Students will be more interested in learning through activities and by participating actively. However, the inconveniences of such methods as needing to remain in the environment, which can often be busy, noisy and sometimes chaotic. The teacher may then be challenged to manage all students working on different stages of the project, which can be difficult. Sometimes, the teacher might forget to deliver information to all students, and some may miss important facts. For the students that prefer to work alone, group work can be challenging for them (Concordia Online Education, 2016; Teacher-centred vs. learner-centred paradigms, 2000).

The Taiwanese Education system's teaching method has been discussed as being teacher-centred for the most part (Goh & Khine, 2002). Teachers, who have tried the student-centred method, argued that lecturing students are the most efficient way to teach students; because of the current test-driven education system in Taiwan, using the teacher-centred method is more suitable for students to get better scores in the examination. Like many of Taiwan's Asian counterparts, students spend a large amount of time in schools and sometimes studying from early childhood to their early twenties (Chou, 2014). According to a BBC news report on Education, Chinese students spend in average 12 hours in a school environment (Chinese schools 'robbing young of individuality, October 2015). In Taiwan, students similarly attend cram school classes around three to four hours per day in average (The China Post, 2016). Students' schedule is tight, and they work very hard at school, so teachers have to adapt their teaching methods according to fit the needs of the students. As mentioned in *Creating positive environments in Taiwan*, enhancing students' to discussions during class is said to bring too much noise and adds difficulties for the teacher to control the class. Taiwan Education has been for decades an adept of the teacher-centred Education because argued as "the most practical way to cover the content in the given time frame" (p.225, Goh & Khine).

2.2.2 Expanding the cram school teaching methods

Cram school teachers have used note taking and repetition as the main teaching method for decades. Despite the persistence of using such methods, the arrival of new

material, ways of teaching (online teaching) so as an acknowledgment towards the necessity of enhancing creative citizens, cram schools have experienced major developments.

While some popular cram school institutions are constantly trying out new ways of attracting students' attention, the Taiwanese online tutoring market is expanding. Indeed, the Internet gathers many and various teaching/learning platforms designed for students who need tutoring, cram schools looking for teachers or teachers looking for an opportunity to teach. Nowadays, English tutors in Taiwan can be pitched through the different platforms available online.

Since the arrival of the Internet and new technology, cram schools have taken advantage of the influence of the Internet, and the strong demand for tutoring to create what we call "e-learning" businesses. This new way of tutoring has not only improved the options for students who desire to improve their abilities in a subject but has also allowed them to access custom-designed material for students who request special classes. To illustrate our argument, we found that the publication company, American Magazine Center (AMC) was established in 1979, and started from a single magazine but has now expanded to include English and online material for younger students and adults. The AMC e-learning classes are designed to be an after-class support for the student with a 45-minute online conversation. All material is edited from the company's monthly magazines and textbooks, which provides new content on a regular basis. In the Language school, the students' age group is expanding to include more adults than in the past. Now the language center offers different curriculum because the majority of their students are working class or students preparing for English-ability exams such as TOEFL, IELTS, etc. Cram schools have increasingly embraced online tutoring, and the students enrolled in distance programs are rapidly rising. There is a clear fact that online teaching/learning is getting more and more popular nationwide.

According to Kao (2010), E-learning platforms have indeed become an increasing trend. His research has shown that online tutoring is beneficial for the students' language learning ability but also that it "helped students have more interaction with

teachers, can make them feel safe to ask questions and can help them understand the parts that they didn't understand."

If online teaching is an efficient support to students' motivation to learn, and it helps improve their English learning skills, the higher chances that cram schools continue to expand their afterschool learning classes providing online tutoring.

2.2.3 Under-regulated aspects and quality teaching in debate

In Taiwanese cram schools, we often encounter different staff members working together or individually on certain tasks. In order to clarify the working positions in Cram schools, by explaining the different positions: teachers, teacher assistants, and tutors; will allow the study to look deeper into the quality teaching and teaching methods in Cram school.

Firstly, a teacher holds the position of the lecturer, gives recitation sessions and is the one in charge of lecturing the lesson. A teacher assistant then helps the lecturer with tasks such as handing out papers, grading homework but doesn't imply a significant lecturing responsibility. However, tutors have a slightly different role than that of teachers. A tutor is, in fact, a private instructor who will provide additional or special instruction for students and is often outside of the classroom environment. Mark Bray (2014) said that some of the tutors are students and teachers taking on additional work, which requires no specific teaching certificate or even experience to complete the task, but preferably a strong knowledge on the subject of tutoring. Having no specific teaching certificate while teaching can be seen as illegal in certain countries or "accepted" in others. In Taiwan, one of the reasons cram schools employ uncertified English teachers is because of the high demand from parents and students to learn the English language.

It is a matter of fact that cram schools are the result of the mainstream education particularities as Bray argued, almost all societies put greater attention on the mainstream education rather than on its shadow. Much tutoring is provided one-to-one, but other forms of tutoring include lessons with small groups, and tutoring in larger classes. For instance, Internet tutoring through recorded lessons are common in

some countries in Asia such as Hong Kong, however, from a regulation perspective, it is a challenge to control as it is received in the privacy of the participant.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that from the perspective of cram schools providing quality education, much more could be regulated to provide a better teaching and learning environments. It is in fact, still problematic and unrealistic to talk about cram schools as providing quality teaching or quality learning environment. Bray stated that the governments have the obligation to ensure that their citizens receive good education from whatever source it is provided, the author meant by ensuring that “teaching staff, facilities, equipment, and materials are the best quality that can be provided with available funds” and some forms of regulations should be needed at least in terms of providing good-quality providers (p. 25, Bray).

From this studies’ field research, the author has encountered a few local and foreign cram school teachers and tutors in Taiwan who have never received any form of training prior teaching, nor have an official teaching certificate in hand. The fact that some cram schools may not require teachers with such a degree of certification may reveal under regulated aspects of the institutions not only because they are teachers offering their knowledge but also because the individuals may not be reliable and may cause security issues for the families. In each country or state, becoming a teacher requires a certain number of requirements which are gained by completing a teacher preparation program or alternative program. Even though the preparation for becoming a teacher is different, obtaining a teaching certificate or license is a way to justify the teacher’s ability to teach students professionally on the teacher’s subject of expertise.

While the public sector is still failing and no solutions have been found, students are still largely attending these private institutions around 94,339 according to the China Post (July, 2016). It is a certainty that more careful attention to improving the education system is necessary before looking at the private sector would allow fewer students to look for private tutoring in the first place. The current situation makes cram schools more than often the student’s best and only option to gain the required knowledge to pass the examination. The quality teaching and learning in cram school

cannot be guaranteed, and it reveals that seeking for quality is not to become a priority. Even though cram schools may not assert to offer quality education, there is a real need to look deeper at how these institutions can impact students in terms of experience and learning outcomes to understand the impact of such a phenomenon.

2.3 The impacts of cram schools and their teaching methods

2.3.1 Learning in cram schools

Such class is often ruled by the “No Chinese” speaking rule during class, which does not allow students from speaking any Chinese language during the class and use English language. This way of learning is actually doubled-edged for two reasons; on first hand, speaking in the language taught during the class will bring students to practice a lot more their oral speaking and comprehension in order to gain automatisms and fluid speaking habits. On the other hand, according to Hammond’s (2013) press article a former cram school teacher in Taiwan, students may also develop bad habits from such way of learning. The author talked about establishing a fundamental framework before forcing kids to speak in English, as a way, that allow students to properly invent and create their own sentences and prevent them from developing bad habits that can be hard to “unlearn” (Hammond, 2013). The author argues that “the “No Chinese” rule expectation is reasonable and can reinforce good speaking habits; the latter is also illogical and reinforces bad English” shows the complexity by which researchers need to understand the different learning outcomes in order to legitimize the cram school learning methods.

The idea is to show that cram schools may promote their institute as enhancing greater learning abilities for children where parents believe putting their children in cram school is the right thing to do. The high attendance in cram school reveals the strong implementation of those institutions in one’s nation and yet its efficiency in attracting new students every year. Students’ intense schooling through rote learning, note taking and repetition is regarded as a normal effort to achieve academic success. Yet, the teaching method needs to be closely examined in order to understand the high utilization of rote-memorization/learning in Asian culture.

Rote learning in Taiwanese schools is a common method “we agree that Taiwanese schools place too much emphasis on rote learning and not enough on creativity and independent thought” (China Post July, 2016).

According to Biggs (1987), how a student learns depends on presage factors related to both the person and the learning environment. Students learn to influence their academic performance. The education system where grades are an important element of their achievement often rewards superficial learning outcomes (having a good grade but without a proper understanding of the content). The more students are self-confident, the more they will focus on deeper approaches to understanding. The paradox of the Asian learner that Biggs argues as a Western misperception of Confucian learning culture leads us to understand that rote learning can lead to better learning outcomes than expected. When looking at students from Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, or Taiwan outperform, there is a realization especially in Maths and science studies that our misperception over rote learning as being uniquely memorizing, is false. Memorizing and understanding are not seen as separate, both complement to each other and are required.

Speaking of approaches to learning, Stephen Krashen (2003) argues about the stereotypes people have of language learning. His argument will be outlined below and helps the study better understand English learning in cram schools. Indeed, he further explains that the role of language classes is not to produce error-free performance and complete understanding of all rules of grammar (which implies that grades cannot be all the matter), but that it is a “a pure “skill-building” view of language acquisition. One can presume that direct instruction, exercises and drills are the only true path, and he predicts that use of the language outside the classroom is a “waste of time.” (Krashen, 2003). According to Krashen, as stated previously, the need of outdoor experience to learn a language is necessary as language classes will only help students reach the intermediate stage. Teachers cannot then assume their students to be fully fluent after they have only studied in classrooms.

The rote-learning method is part of the testing-oriented education in Asian culture and has shown its successful outcomes in certain domains. And this type of education

might have influenced the instruction styles and the way students think without the ability to read and think critically: “too much lecturing, not enough action” Chen & Fan (2014). “Taiwan students are among the most successful but their attitudes and levels of confidence are much lower than students’ in other areas such as Europe” (Chen & Fan, 2014).

From 1997 to now, Taiwan has conserved a monopoly in sciences, where the knowledge of students is one of the highest. Taiwanese students keep ahead having high scores in Mathematics. However, the Chen and Fan (2014) argue about a space is needed for improvement such as in reasoning, identifying issues, and utilizing evidence: “It is said that one important function of schools is to connect the children to the real world. Often, test-oriented system, instruction and materials do not allow students to link what they have learned to their environment”. Students may also suffer from physical fatigue and pressure from an intense studying lifestyle: “In High schools, students reveal learning fatigue, lack of motivation to read, and lack of stamina” (Chen & Fan, 2016). The previous discussions have given us the opportunity to understand rote learning as being an aspect of the Asian culture and of the testing-oriented education.

2.3.2 Cram school function as both useful and problematic

The cram school teaching methods may largely affect the students’ learning and experience as a whole, and as Liu mentioned: “Cram school does matter in students’ learning achievement” (Liu, 2011). But it cannot be assumed that private tutoring always results in learning gains. Both Bray & Lykins (2012) said much depends on the motivation, attitudes, and teaching styles of the tutors.

Education should not be used to integrate the young into the logic of the present system but to help them change it into something that is more consistent with their existential humanity” (Debeor, 1001, P. 2). The dimension of learning for the sake of taking tests has been very much discussed and throughout our interviews, we acknowledged that some students would like to receive the class’s content and be able to link with their own experience.

Also, because of cram schools' influence in Taiwan's society, these supplementary tutoring institutions deserve greater attention on its function and impact for instructing the next inventive generation. As Bray & Lykins (2012) argued, policy makers have neglected the role of private supplementary tutoring, which may have negative as well as positive dimensions.

In recent years, cram schools have been observed from the academic community and according to papers released, cram school does affect the adolescents and their families in a significant way. It was argued by UNESCO that tutoring helps people to stay in education systems longer and may be seen as a good investment in comparison to Western European countries (UNESCO, The nature, scale and causes of supplementary private tutoring). David Stevensen and David Baker (1992) says supplementary tutoring mimics mainstream schooling, whereas Mark Bray argues that both the mainstream schooling and tutorial centers have a more cooperative relationship (Koh, The "magic" of tutorial centers in Hong Kong: An analysis of Media marketing and pedagogy).

The research literature shows mixed feelings on the impact of private tutoring on academic achievements, and according to many scholars, cram schools have shown great evidence in indicating the efficiency of private tutoring on students' achievements (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Tsai, 2002; Liu, 2011). In Bray and Lykins' paper, both argued that the number of evidence which indicates as tutoring making a great difference in students' learning achievement, even if it does not always do. Moreover, Liu argued in the same way that cram schools do help in the academic improvement of school children and may have positive influencer over students' academic performance. Another author (Liu, 2011), stated that cram schools are a place where other than having to do their homework, children can communicate by sharing experiences.

Tsai (2002) suggested in his research that going to cram school was in fact perceived as an opportunity to access to higher education. Indeed, depending on the student's needs, when a regular school fails to provide quality education, cram school becomes one of the most common alternatives to take back what should have been taught.

Although attending cram school is often pricey, Liu (2011) depicted that students in Taiwan attend cram schools no matter how much income their families earn. Lastly, parents with the highest (master or Ph.D. degrees) are less likely to send their children to cram schools (Liu, 2011).

After looking at the positive impacts on students' academic achievement, we have encountered some interesting elements concerning the negative impacts of cram schooling. Many other scholars have argued about cram schools having a negative impact on children's understanding of more specific concepts such as Huang who mentioned the lack of comprehension towards mathematical concepts (Huang, 2004). "There are claims that the pedagogy in Japanese juku leads to better exam results compared to teaching methods in conventional schools". However, the results are shown from the Taiwan investigation of cram schools on mathematics performance only showed negligible improvement (Kuan, 2011; Koh).

The system is said to produce some of the best scores in mathematics and sciences in the world however Taiwanese schools still put too much emphasis on rote learning and not enough on creativity and independent thinking (The China Post, 2016). Moreover, Bray and Lykins who argued about cram schooling as bringing positive impacts for students' academic achievement, mentioned that this type of private tutoring did limit the capacity of learning by focusing on narrow domains of achievement (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Also, cram schools are great adepts of rote memorization, which is often criticized as resulting in students' lack of creativity and ability to reflect and make insightful judgments (The International Guide on Students' achievement, Hattie & Anderman).

Like many other education systems in Asia, the Taiwanese education system tends to hold emphasis on academic degrees and rote memorization that is said to have turned schools into test-preparation centers rather than anything else (Hwang & Chen, 2008; Liu, 2011). Cram schooling is said as being more a mimic behavior (Chang & Yi, 2004). For Taiwanese teenagers, attending cram school has become a normal daily activity (Yi & Wu, 2004). Finally, the Taiwanese new generation's individual preferences and strengths are generally not sufficiently appreciated and directed in

productive ways (Chen & Fan, 2016). As Carmean and Haefner (2006) argued, there is a need to change the environment in order to “foster deeper student learning and engagement (...) should foster a more learner-centred environment that rich in critical thinking, student exploration, peer learning and knowledge construction, educational opportunities...”

Room for improvement

Throughout this research, we have observed a gap between the student’s knowledge gained in school and the requirements that will be waiting for them outside of school. Svitak (2015) argued that “the school system and parents should be working together to raise educated students” also adding that “it should be a joint effort to train the next generation to be independent and prepared for what’s ahead” (Svitak, 2015). If we follow Svitak’s argument with the one of Chen & Fan (2014) giving out the vision and goals of the 12-year curriculum, we understand that the educational process of growing up is that schooling experience should firstly “facilitate the learners to fully fulfill their potentials. In order to do this, schooling should aim to inspire rather than to control. Secondly, he quoted Dewey, (1938) saying, “Learning experiences are often created through interaction. Therefore it is essential to regard schooling experiences as an interactive process referring to the ability of each individual to communicate and express oneself outside.”

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodology

In order to collect relevant data to support this thesis, interviews were conducted via e-mail and face-to-face interaction from beginning of June until the end of July. In all, the researcher gathered a total of sixteen respondents living in Taiwan. The interviews were targeting a small sample of cram school owners/managers, six cram school teachers and eight cram school former attendees through open-ended questions and close-ended questions.

3.2 Data Collection

For the owner interview, a first series of questions targeted some general information about the cram school such as the number of classes, the number of students, their age, etc. Also, as the study is interested in giving a better understanding of Taiwanese cram schools in Taiwan, accordingly the study included questions about the function of the cram school, the challenges in managing a cram school nowadays, the impact of the education reform on cram school, including their perception of their school's future in the coming 5 to 10 years and vision on implementing creative thinking at school in Taiwan. Interviewing a cram school owner sought to answer the first question of the study. For the teacher interview, the interviewee was asked to answer questions from general to more specific starting from their years of teaching to their experience as a teacher. Then, the researcher asked about their opinion on the hiring process of cram schools and the environment of teaching from the teacher's perspective. Lastly, the researcher asked them what was the biggest challenge in teaching in a cram school. The reason we interviewed cram school teachers was to answer the second question. For the former cram school attendees' interview, the researcher decided to proceed in an identical way to the teacher interview, and asked about their choice of cram school, their learning achievement, and their overall cram school experience. The researcher conducted a last field research, which consisted in observing two different classes in that same cram school where was conducted one of the teacher and owner interviews.



CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the results of the research. All three questions will be answered with the the help of the literature review and the conducted in-depth interviews. The study confirmed some commonly held characteristics about cram schools, refuted others, and provided a place to discuss cram schools future perspectives.

4.1 Research Findings

When the researcher began the interview process, he discovered that most students studied English in cram school. Experience soon proved that the English language is an extremely valued subject by the education system and society in Taiwan. After, the first two interviews, the researcher found it necessary to gather additional information about the teachers and owners of cram schools in order to understand the phenomenon from another angle. From the new interviewees, a majority were involved in English language in their subject of teaching or curriculum. Separate conclusions concerning teachers and students experience in cram school were derived from the interviews. The researcher is willing to find out how English has become important in Taiwanese society.

From the beginning of June until the end of July 2016, sixteen interviews were conducted; they consisted with face-to-face and online interviews. Two interviews were targeting the cram school owners or managers. Then six other participants were cram school teachers and finally, eight were targeting former cram school attendees in Taiwan. The following findings were extracted purposely to help answering the key questions this thesis sought to answer:

1. Why has the educational reforms forced students to turn to cram schools?
2. Why is the English language so heavily required by cram schools and the educational reforms?
3. What are the impacts of cram school and its teaching methods on students' learning experience?

4.1.1 Question 1. Education reform on cram school

To answer the first question, the researcher first researched previous studies on the educational reforms in Taiwan while looking at the cram school phenomenon. While explaining the nature being an important factor of the cram school phenomenon's expansion, the study has come to say that the cram school phenomenon can be arguably discussed as a cultural phenomenon reflecting a culture in both education and parenting. The strong presence of private tutoring in Taiwan and other Asian countries developed for specific reasons and was explained through historical economic and social factors. Chinese cultures see education as having high value that should be pursued (Liu, 2011).

The educational reforms that occurred in Taiwan in the 1990s intended to elevate more innovative and creative citizens for their preparation in the future, but it also attempted to decrease cram school demand which was beginning to cause a large gap between regular school and cram school education. The impact of these reforms has, however, been negligible. Instead, the study found out that it greatly diversified the possibilities for tutoring and in fact helped cram schools' diversification rather than decreased their demand. The entrance exam reform opened a higher number of registered *wen-li buxiban* as cited in Bray & Lykins, (2012) and Liu, (2012) instead of decreasing its number. Reducing the impact of cram school is not singular to Taiwan, it has also been observed in other East Asian countries such as in South Korea. The impacts of those policies have somehow only been limited in results as in the same way for Taiwan.

By demonstrating implicitly its concern about reducing cram school attendance, there is no doubt that the Taiwan government hasn't shown a clear or strong "enough" position towards that issue. Instead, it has driven Taiwan to cultivate specialists with strong English language capabilities to "enhance market competitiveness and support the process of internationalization" (MOE, 2012). Finally, through our literature review, we can say that educational reforms have had an unconsidered impact on cram schools' expansion in Taiwan.

To get a more practical example of the impact of educational reform, the study went to interview a cram school owner, called Lilian, to clarify certain points and to have her thoughts on the subject. Before Lilian's cram school opened in September 2009, the school was a kindergarten but because of societal changes such as low birth rate and the high demand for English, and private courses, she decided to redesign the operational aspects of the school to make it more profitable.

The second question was targeting the impact of the reforms on Taiwanese cram schools; participant A answered our interview questions saying that "reforms clearly have had an impact on the survival of cram schools." As a positive impact, she pointed, "Reading is no longer the only way to get through school as it was ten years ago (...) today we are encouraging students to diversify their knowledge and development." She also argued that she tended to hire teachers that were willing to "try new teaching methods in order to teach students in the most suitable way." On the negative effects of the reform on cram schools, she mentioned that it affected the environment of learning. The fact that students are being grouped in classes where each one of them has different levels is hindering the outstanding students to progress and the other way around, making harder to those already struggling to follow through the class. At the end, the reforms have impacted the cram schools' teaching methods by enforcing English language and making it a main subject for students. Through this impact, cram schools have clearly affected the student's way of learning and may also have enhanced their learning abilities.

4.1.2 Question 2. Teaching methods and English language

The study then sought to look at the teaching methods and its relationship with the developing desire for English language. The Taiwanese Education system's teaching methods have been discussed as being mostly teacher-centred (Goh & Khine), this is in part due to the current test-driven education system in Taiwan, which uses the teacher-centred method as it was argued to be more suitable for students to get better scores in the examination.

Teaching methods and its impact

Concerning the teaching methods, we took two of our respondents answers to illustrate the teaching methods in cram school: “For these two schools it is very challenging, as a teacher you can not change the Taiwan education of memorising, therefore this is the biggest challenge knowing that children do not learn much if they are being taught in this way.” By “this way”, the teacher means teaching in the Taiwanese way, which includes rote-memorization and most likely a teacher-centred education.

Then, the teacher added that the teaching method did affect the students in way of assimilating knowledge in the long term. The same teacher replied: “Children were un-entertained and did not learn anything from the lessons. The words were just memorised so there was no deeper understanding of English. In the first school only on the activity days was English properly taught, and children were engaged in the lessons. In the second school children could not speak any English after years of being in the school and could only read English.”

As to join to the first response, the second teacher delivered behaviours of students and how the teacher-centred system in cram school can lead to a rather poor learning outcome, “I try to practice critical thinking especially with my online students. The second cram school, students are like little robots. Most of them can only repeat and actually do not know how the rules apply to English unless showed or told how to do it. I have very few students in that cram school who actually “understand” English.

From rote-learning to new teaching methods

Throughout the literature review, the Taiwanese education system has been argued for persisting in using such methods (rote-learning/rote-memorizing). However, the researcher found that new teaching materials, innovative ways of teaching (online teaching) were strengthening and improving the current cram schools and that Taiwanese authorities were urging schools and teachers to enhance more creative citizens. It is showing the efforts to improve the current cram schools with tutoring methods which has improved the options for students who desire to increase their

abilities but has also allowed them to access custom-designed material. The researcher has conducted two interviews with English language cram school owners that helped understand the “push for online English learning.”

The second owner of the cram school (Participant B) offered her perspective being in charge of an English language centre with an extended branch for online tutoring. The researcher started the interview by asking general information about the cram school, and the owner declared, “We have 16 classes of students with only a few students in each class sometimes one to two students, and three teachers in all. The students are from the age of ten to forty year of age. The adult cram school was opened to expand the business and provide a learning institution for our adult learners. (...) Our language centre offers both in-classroom and online learning to our students.” What about the teaching methods in your cram school? “Our teachers teach students based on the student’s needs. Teachers are constantly adjusting their teaching method to make sure students are learning to the best of their ability.” When asked if they tried to follow the regular school’s agenda, she declared that because the majority of her students are preparing for English-ability exams such as TOEFL, IELTS, etc. they offer different curriculum. When concerned about the budget will be spent for children to attend cram school, she said the company offered “packages” for instance “one-year package” starting from \$300NT per class, which is reasonable, cheap in comparison with other cram schools in Taiwan. Finally, when we asked about how she perceived the cram school in the coming 5 to 10 years, she said, “the company believes that the language school will continue to grow. Though online learning is becoming more and more popular, we have listened to the feedback of our online students and believe that in-classroom classes are still necessary.”

The cram school environment issue

Among our 6 cram school teachers interviewed, two teachers interviewed were English speakers in their twenties and had been working as cram school teachers since they have been in Taiwan, respectively for 2 years. Both revealed different

experiences as a cram school teacher either in small or bigger firms, with small or larger class sizes, teaching children and adults as well as experimenting being an online-teacher. The environment in cram school can vary from a school to another, and throughout the interview process, we have found that the bigger the cram school, the less positive the experience will be.

Teacher experience: Participant F

As we look closer into the environment in cram schools and involving the teachers perspective, we understand that depending on the type of cram school, the experience will be different. In fact, the environment in the first school Participant F went to wasn't as positive as for the online teaching position. However, one common aspect will remain similar to both Participant F and C is the type and size of cram school.

In fact, Participant F worked in one of Taiwan's oldest cram schools, and another online English teaching school. The teacher declared that there was only little interaction during class between the teacher and students, but instead, long conversations would happen after class. We noticed that a more positive interaction took place when both the teacher and student were positively involved in the conversation. Other than that, there is high importance stressed over the environment and the way the teacher is treated by the school members. Indeed, when the staff members of the school were respectful to teachers, positive interactions occurred almost automatically, but if the school's leadership and management was poor and the teachers did not feel as though they were treated with respect, they felt less fulfilled in their work, such as in bigger cram schools. For instance, late payment of the teacher or a lack of appreciation for their work created a less than positive perception; "If I am treated like a number, and I am not getting paid, I don't want to be there. I teach, and I leave."

One more interesting fact about Participant F is his impression towards the students experience;

“At my second cram school my students are in school from 7 am to sometimes 9 pm. That is not healthy for any student. They are sleep deprived and under way too much pressure. They fear asking questions and fear saying the wrong answer. Students should be always asking questions. But it’s hard to change behaviors when they have been taught in this way for years. I try to create a peaceful environment for my students but since I only see them one hour a week it’s hard to build that trust. Although I have had success in a few classes.”

Teacher experience: Participant C

Concerning participant C, the other English speaker, the researcher found out that she worked in three different cram schools, but as the first two cram schools were similar in size and type, the researcher decided to focus on the first and the third cram school. In the same way as the participant F, she felt distinct impressions towards the environment of study and the way the staff members were treated. Once again, the bigger cram school firm took the negative side of the experience as she argued “the environment is not very good, as no staff are treated well by management and leadership. Nobody is happy working there, often you just have to complete the curriculum as quickly as possible so parents are happy.” One of the reasons why the cram school teachers are unhappy working in certain schools is in fact because no teaching is actually involved: “Answers are just copied off the board. The results of the exam have to be over 95% so there is no point in these tests being done and finally, teachers can’t analyse their student’s progression. As long as the parents are happy, the school is happy.” As for the second experience teaching in a smaller school, many positive feedbacks and impressions were given on the environment of teaching: “the environment of teaching was very good. The management of the school and the owners do a great job. They treat staff very well and are very appreciative.” She then explained that once teachers can teach their own curriculum, they are fulfilled and tend to teach for longer.

Teachers qualifications

Indeed, while interviewing cram school teachers in Taiwan, the study sought to give a better understanding of the qualifications of cram school teachers, including the years of experience as a teacher, a training prior teaching and their belief on why they got employed as teachers. We have discovered that 100% of teacher interviewed didn't receive any form of training nor in possession of a teaching certificate. They were actually "thrown" into teaching as participant F argued: "I was directly thrown into teaching and had to find my own style". Participant C assumes she was picked because she was an English speaker but also because of her colored skin. She added that in the smaller size cram schools, they only hired white teachers, even though they are not native English speakers and have low English ability, the language ability does not seem to matter as much. Participant H is a Dutch-English teacher said that a Bachelor degree was sufficient to teach English in his first cram school but also because he fitted how they wanted a teacher to look like – Caucasian and tall. He then mentioned that nowadays, it was still important but teaching skills, good interaction with students, discipline in class and Chinese ability are becoming more valuable in 2016.

Here, we will look at the Taiwanese participants. Participant E has been teaching History, Geography, and Citizenship for at least 10 years and argued that having an extraverted personality and being reactive were key to becoming a teacher in cram school and admitted that he was employed because of the significant lack of teachers working in Cram schools. Participant D, a 27-year-old teacher said it was easy to become a cram school teacher and that the requirements are not high. Participant H who is a Taiwanese citizen teaching English language in Taiwan for more than 10 years in five different cram schools argued that no specific training is required before hand. However, he mentioned three elements that are important to become an English teacher: according to him; the educational background, teaching experience and a passion for teaching are key requirements for teachers working in cram school.

4.1.3 Question 3. Learning outcomes and pros and cons

The importance of English learning

All former attendees interviewed are Taiwanese citizens. The average age group sample is 28 years old. Concerning the frequency of attendance, one student attends at least two cram schools in their academic path. All interviewees experienced going to regular cram schools and 50 percent of them experienced also going to a non-academic cram school. All participants studied at least one of those subjects; Mathematics or English. The results show that 75 percent of the former attendees, attended English class and 62,5 percent attended Maths class.

Learning outcomes

In the literature review, the researcher argued about Biggs' (1987) idea, that how students learn depends on presage factors related to both the person and the learning environment. Most students want to learn to influence their academic performance, and this argument is largely mentioned as being the reason why students attend cram school, it was mentioned 100% by the interviews conducted that students attended cram school to get better grades.

The study has discovered that the teacher's ability was an important factor in one's choice of cram school, 87,5 percent of former attendees mentioned that teachers taught better in cram school.

In the literature review, cram schooling is said to be more of a mimic behavior (Chang & Yi, 2004). As Participant I mentioned that using rote memorization in cram school prevented her from learning new skills and thinking in new ways. Because of that; she said that she didn't like her experience: "Not at all. Because all I did was imitate. Before going to cram school, I thought of studying new things but in fact, cram school's goal is to pass the examination, it doesn't really "teach." Other than participant I, all other students didn't mention anything about rote memorizing and its

disadvantages. One thing that Participant K mentioned is the inability for students to get a chance to really explore oneself fully. Participant M mentioned the uncertain effect of going to cram school in terms of performance and said it depended largely on the students' motivation. Participant N said it was a waste of time and money and his experience as a cram school student was "fair". Participant O mentioned the convenience of online teaching, that cram school teachers are better; and you get a chance to learn more from them. From experience, the staff's attitude was poor in one of her cram schools and that students are too many in one single classroom.

The rote-learning method is part of the testing-oriented education in Asian culture and has shown its successful outcomes in certain domains. Taiwanese students keep ahead having high scores in Mathematics. Liu (2011) argued in the same way that cram schools do help in the academic improvement of school children and may have a positive influence on students' academic performance. Tsai (2002) suggested in his research that going to cram school was in fact perceived as an opportunity to access to higher education. On the other hand, Chang's argues that cram school on student's mathematics performance only showed negligible improvement. The researcher sought to look at the grades of our participants in order to see if Liu or Chang's assumptions on cram schools student's performance were true or false. Unfortunately, only three answered that question with a specific number. The received three grades are as follow; 87/100 from participant L, a B from participant O and 70/100 from participant N. The first two grades are considered as a "good" and the last one as "average". Two other interviewees gave some detail to help us answer that question. Participant K mentioned receiving good grades despite his "unlikeable" experience in cram school. Participant P said cram school effectively helped her get better grades when she was almost failing. After going to cram school to get some support, she slowly progressed and scored over 12 out of 20 in all following exams. More than a half of the interviewee received good grades.

Cram school experience

In this part, we will look closely at three different former attendee's cram school

experience Participant I, J and K. Participant I is an interesting interviewee as she is into Arts and French language. Next year, she will study in France in the Art school of Tours. She attended both academic and non-academic cram schools. The reason why she attended a non-academic cram school was to learn Art.

When the interview started, the first question was about knowing what factor drove her decision to study in a cram school; she replied easily saying, “I went to cram school to have better chances to pass my final examination and get into a more prestigious school. In my secondary school, I went to study French because I was interested in Arts. My parents approved my decision.” Then, the next question was about the skills she learnt, and in the absence of alternatives, she replied that she indeed learned new skills in cram school, “In my school there weren’t any art classes provided in our curriculum. So I did learn new skills in Cram school.” Participant I said “if you go to cram school, the higher chances you get to succeed at your final exam, also you get to do the same as everybody else, it’s a direct ticket to University finally, you get to see different things because students come from all around Taiwan.” As for negative aspects, she felt as though she wasn’t encouraged to make new friends or to explore more artistic subjects and endeavours as that these kinds of interactions are not as important as receiving the best grades. Also, she said that it limits your imagination because they require realistic ideas and there’s no place for imagination.

Participant J had a different experience from Participant I, as he was a cram school teacher himself, he gave insightful information about his experience as a former attendee. Firstly he agreed on the idea that cram school teachers teach in a better way than regular school teachers: “I chose this cram school because it is renowned and teachers teach well.” For him, the goal of the cram school is to learn what you want in the most efficient way, combining easy and excellence. He did improve his English and other skills. On his behalf, he said cram school’s advantage is its ability to give students new ways of learning in a more efficient way. Compared with Participant I, participant J says it’s a good way to practice to perfect your skills, it is a good way to make friends. “Cram school is important because you make up for what you don’t learn in regular school. It is useful to train in other specialties. I have evolved stronger throughout this experience.” However, he says that cram schooling takes a lot of time during childhood and that a child could spend his time differently/better doing other

activities instead. As a suggestion to make his experience more interesting, he argued that sitting in the front row of the class as much possible, and revise your lessons when you get back home and review your homework is very helpful. His overall experience was rather positive.

Cram school Experiences are different from a participant to another but some similarities can also be triggered: Participant K will be our last example of our attendee's cram school experience as it provides once more a new approach to understanding the cram school experience. His experience was rather negative; he argued that the pressure to get a title and succeed makes people motivated to study. As a positive aspect; he mentioned teacher assistants as being helpful in answering questions and correcting homework. Also, he appreciated that teachers are able to recognize each individual even coming from different schools. Cram school is a remedy when regular schoolteachers don't teach well. On the contrary, the negative aspects similar to participant I, cram schools prevent the individual from participating to other activities (for instance: working for an association), it is expensive and it only allows students to solve problems and it doesn't give a real chance to explore oneself. Similar to participant K, participant J said "If you don't need any supplementary classes, then study by yourself and don't go to cram school, instead explore the world by traveling and socializing with different communities." Throughout the interviews of participants J and K, the main point was; if you go to cram school you might miss out on opportunities happening outside schooling.

The common and main idea from all interviewees was that regular school teachers don't teach well enough and that is the reason why students have to resort to cram school.

4.1.4 Case Study

The pedagogy observed in a cram schools' drama class

This part provides a practical example of the cram school pedagogy and environment of study in one cram school also called an chin-ban. The researcher went to interview both the teacher and owner of this school. As the study asked “How does an English language cram school environment look like in Taiwan?” - The environment of cram school can diverge according to many factors such as; the number of students, the subject of teaching so as the personality and ways of teaching of the instructor, the students’ attitude and so on. Very little literature or none mention the cram school environment nowadays that is why for the purpose of this research, an observation will give the readers a better idea of how an English class function in a small cram school also called an-chin ban in Taipei, Taiwan. For that purpose, the researcher went for an observation in a small cram school in Taipei where the teacher was teaching drama in English language for two separate classes from 7 to 12 years old with a total of 14 students. The teacher said the cram school owner was flexible to let her choose freely whatever she was willing to teach the students as long as it was taught in English language and that she provided reading, writing and speaking during her class. The teacher adapted her material providing a mixture of games, some reading and writing. The “no Chinese” rule is adopted in that cram school, however students between them did speak in Chinese at times.

In the first class children were between 7 to 9 years old and looked amused and excited for the activities the teacher was to provide. The activities were various and interactive and students seemed to be having a recreation time. The teacher was teaching students the four cardinal points, while rehearsing what they had learnt the previous weeks, she created a game where students competed for the first place. Each time the teacher gave out a cardinal point, they had to run to the correct point and the last one of the group arriving was eliminated. At the end, the final last one remaining won the game by getting all the right points and was praised by the teacher and classmates. The classroom was small, containing one white board and a table in the centre with chairs where all students could sit down close to each other but have enough room to play games and run around. Noticing that some students were wearing a uniform, some others were not. For the reading part, students all sat down with the teacher and repeated after her, the ones who did a good job at repeating got the chance to flip over the image of the book. Then, the writing part was a little more

chaotic as students sat close to each other and some were annoying other students. As the students were getting louder, the teacher had to use techniques to calm them down in order to get through the exercise. Finally, some students were very quiet and worked in a very efficient way, where others were distracted and didn't get the right answers and finally, two students couldn't follow the class in the same way as their other classmates and they needed special attention because of their learning difficulties.

When the first class was over, all students from the first class went in another small room to do their homework and could benefit from the staff member's help. The second class held 5 students from 10 to 12 years old and functioned in the same way; one hour class, there were interactive games, some reading but no writing. The teacher created games to enhance the student's reflex of action, in English language and teamed up students to create once more this atmosphere of "competition". In the reading part, students repeated after the teacher read the sentences in the book, even though some of them didn't seem to fully understand what they were saying when for instance, one automatically repeated the words of the teacher that weren't part of the reading. The class ended, and all students went back into the study room to finish their homework while just one student left the school with his mother. In this cram school, students usually stay more than two hours after regular school to do their homework and attend English class but never receive homework from that English teacher, each week the teacher makes the student rehearse what they have studied in the previous lesson or teaches something new.

This observation brought to the study a practical example of what an English class may be like in a Taiwanese cram school operating for less than ten years and aiming to attract students that want to learn English in an entertaining way and a happy environment.

4.2 Discussion

The study discovered that the Taiwanese authorities were urging schools and teachers to enhance more creative citizens. This move is showing the efforts to improve the current cram schools into more student-centred learning schools. Participant A, shared

the same point of view saying, that Educational reforms in Taiwan have impacted the survival of cram schools. As a positive impact, reading is no longer the single way to get through school, the requirements on the subject is no longer quite as high 10 years ago. At the end, the reforms have impacted the cram schools' teaching methods by enforcing English language and making it a main subject for students. Through this impact, cram schools have clearly affected the student's way of learning and may also have enhanced their learning abilities.

Teaching method

From the two cram school owners interviewed, we can observe a real engagement from certain cram schools, - in this study, from English learning schools - In fact, they are now encouraging students to diversify their knowledge for better development.

In Taiwan, we realize that the teacher-centred method prevails among the student-centred method. Although, that method is still used in many schools in Taiwan because of its efficiency and long-time use, we have found that some schools, are trying to implement a student focus education to enhance new ways of thinking, creativity, and communication abilities among students; for instance, Participant A owner of an English cram school is a good example to illustrate this willingness of trying new ways of teaching by hiring a Drama teacher and favour student-centred approach. That approach has been recognized as the Western method of teaching, which is now being praised by parents, students and even cram school teachers in Taiwan. Both of the owners interviewed shared their enthusiasm towards a more creative education in Taiwan and hiring teachers who can provide a different or new style of teaching. Participant B, the second owner thinks it is a great idea for cram schools to promote more learning and thinking. Coming from a Westernized education, she believes creative learning and thinking is an integral part of any student's education. Participant B acknowledges the necessity of implementing creative learning and thinking in cram schools for younger students and elementary grade levels and change is happening now.

The two interviews conducted on English language cram school owners helped understand the “English learning fever” and the “push for online English learning”. Online learning is becoming more and more popular in the cram school industry nowadays and will continue to attract students as long as the Taiwanese education system changes its current way of teaching English. Participant B shared the feedback of her online students and believes that in-classroom classes are still necessary.

The aim of educational reform aimed to improve the nation’s international competitiveness and cultivate better human resources to bring the best of each child and make Taiwan a more healthy and stronger country. In the 21st century, in-depth learning, creativity, and innovative learning as well as looking forward to quality instead of availability are replacing the conventional ‘knowing how to take tests’ in Taiwanese education.

Environment and teaching style

Through both findings and the literature review, it is clear that the environment in cram school can vary from one school to another, and throughout the interview process, the researcher has found that the bigger the cram school, the less positive the experience will be from both teachers and students. From the teachers’ perspective, the researcher discovered that a poor management of a cram school can lead to greater unsatisfactory experiences. Oppositely, a good management and leadership can lead to a more respectful attitude towards its staff and teachers creating an overall satisfactory experience where teachers stay for longer and are delighted to teach (See Participant C).

Quality in cram schools

The government seems to have accepted cram schools to work in parallel for student’s learning achievement. As we mentioned previously, this suggests that the authorities

believe cram school offering a suitable learning environment for students and set of subjects that should “guarantee” results in students’ academic achievements. Which have proven to be successful to a certain degree. In terms of grades, half of the students interviewed received good grades or, if not considered good, were at least better than before their cram school attendance. The only remaining concern is the inability to associate cram school with “quality education” because in this study, a large majority of teachers have been examined as not holding any teaching certificate. In fact, a teaching certificate is useful to prove that the teacher is able to teach and has experience with teacher trainings.

Through the teacher interviews show different assumptions on how to become a cram school teachers. For foreigners teaching English, the main belief is to be chosen from their nationality and colour of skin. For the only Taiwanese teaching English, it’s about background, experience and passion for teaching and finally, for Taiwanese teaching academic classes, the assumptions are personality, lack of teachers. Although, some of the above requirements may sound important, some cram schools may hire unqualified teachers with no experience that have little or no idea how to teach children. On the families’ behalf, they pay high amounts of money for their children to attend cram school without the guarantee of receiving a good learning experience. The study has found out that the requirements to become a cram school teacher in Taiwan are not “high”, and discovered that one of the reasons cram schools employ numerous un-certified English teachers is because of the high demand to learn English from children to older adults. This argument brings doubt to the cram school institution’s way of processing and on the quality of teaching that may hinder students learning experience.

Another interesting aspect the researcher found out is; all foreign teachers mentioned that in the smaller size cram schools, they usually hire white teachers, even though they are not native English speakers and have lower English ability; the language ability does not seem to matter as much as the appearance (Participant C, F and G).

The literature review helped the researcher find that all governments have the obligation to ensure that their citizens receive good education from whatever source it

is provided. That is the reason why cram schools are not the most reliable place for students to receive knowledge.

Learning outcome

The researcher has found out that Taiwanese cram schools cannot assure parents and students to provide quality education because of the lack of trainings and experience that can be explained by a big number of teachers without any certificates or training. That is why cram schools are controversial for students' learning experience and achievement.

Teaching methods can affect the students in their way of assimilating knowledge in the long term (Participant C). That teacher taught in three different schools, and could differentiate the environment of teaching and students abilities in both bigger institutions and smaller an-chin ban. In the second school, the larger of the cram schools studied, children could not speak any English after years of being in the school and could only read English. Depending on the type of cram school, the experience will diverge but also, the learning outcomes as a result of an unsuitable environment, pressure and lack of attention. Even though some teachers have done the effort to suggest new ways of teaching, in the literature review, the teachers supported that argument saying the student centred method was not effective in cram school classes and usually brings chaos rather than discipline.

However, cram schooling may not guarantee full quality for students but it still remains as the major resource of complementary education in addition to regular schooling. Attending cram schools can help a student receive better grades for examination purposes. Most students want to attend cram school to influence their academic performance, and this argument is largely mentioned as being the main reason why students attend cram school (100% answered this way). The study has discovered that the teacher's ability to teach was an important element in the students' choice of cram school. Finally, 87,5 percent of former attendees mentioned that teachers taught better in cram school. After collecting data, more than a half of interviewee samples received good grades through cram school even if they didn't

fully enjoy their experience. Concerning Liu's assumption on Cram schools having an important role in students' learning achievement is true (Liu, 2011). After all, cram school does help in students' academic achievements to a certain degree, especially because the current Taiwanese education system is still failing to provide the necessary tools for students to succeed normally without having to go to cram school.

English in cram school

The findings prove the necessity and how important is the link between English and cram school in Taiwan through literature review and research methods. Also, throughout this study, the researcher discovers that mastering the English language is crucial because of a large amount of students attending English cram schools. In the literature review, we mentioned how the English language was valued and how big the investment was towards helping students learn that skill. English language is a skill that is believed to be mastered, sometimes from even an early age, and this is when cram schools become involved with English (Krashen, 2003).

As mentioned previously in the literature review, Krashen (2003) speaks of the English Fever in Taiwan and looked closely at language learning stereotypes. Through his study he concluded that outdoor experience was a necessity to learn a language. Language class will only help students reach the intermediate stage, so they can continue improving on their own.

The study has also found that Cram schools have increasingly embraced online tutoring, and the students enrolled in distance programs are rapidly rising. There is a clear fact that online teaching/learning is getting more and more popular nationwide. Even though the former attendees interviewed have not participated in an online teaching cram school, shows how recent this new way of teaching is. In Taiwan, one of the reasons cram schools employ numerous un-certified English teachers is because of the high demand to learn English from children to older adults. In that sense, cram schools can be limiting to students learning of English because of the large amount of

time students need to study during a week. Students then don't have time to go outside and explore their capacities of learning.

Diversity of cram school experience

Through the findings, the researcher can argue that cram school experience is different for each individual more interestingly depending on the environment of the cram school and the students' motivation.

In the case of Participant I, the first former attendee interviewee, her cram school experience was rather disappointing. It seems she had high expectations on the cram school she was going to study; she was looking forward to use her imagination and her creative thinking, but in fact, most cram schools don't provide such way of learning. The fact she had this expectation on this art cram school shows how well these institutions are convincing but also it suggests how easy it is for cram schools to influence people's choices in such an exam oriented society, where; having good grades and entering in the best schools are the most important motivations for students to attend cram school. Cram schools have become a common place for children to get supplementary education in Taiwanese society.

Despite the lack of opportunity in cram school to learn in a more creative way, cram schools do offer other opportunities that the mainstream school is not able to provide and that tends to enhance the students' experience. Two female former attendees (Participants L and P) were interviewed and both 22 years old had similar ways of seeing their cram school experience from the positive part, both mentioned the teacher's patience and trying to encourage students to raise their hands to ask questions as being a lot less stressful in cram school than in mainstream school. Also, the interaction between students and teachers is much more evident in cram school than in their regular school which can enhance greater communication. As mentioned Svitek (2015), learning experiences are often created through interaction. Therefore, interacting is an important part of schooling and communicating and expressing oneself outside plays a role in the schooling experience.

On the other hand, both participants mentioned the lack of space in bigger size cram schools due to overcharged classrooms; this can effectively hinder the quality of learning as mentioned by Participant P.

The pressure from cram schooling can also decrease the satisfaction of the cram school experience. Even though some participants mentioned how less stressful it was to raise ones hand in class to ask questions some other pressures still remain. Participant P, L, and K, mentioned the pressure received from the cram schools' Quizz and ranking according to grades. In fact, having to be compared between classmates and being ranked according to your performance can be humiliating at school as well as in front of their parents. Cram schools are also very expensive and take a lot of time. Both participant K and J attended fifteen to sixteen hours of cram school per week and mentioned the high cost of attending cram school. Because of the intense requirements from regular schools, adding supplementary classes on top of 50 hours of classes per week can be excessive for children and teenager. These two former attendees confessed that because of cram school, some students get the feeling that they've missed out on their childhood. In this part, the researcher acknowledges that the pressure endured from cram school can be both physical (intense school hours) and emotional (fear and humiliation).

Discussion summary

As suspected, because of cram schools' influence in Taiwan's society, these supplementary tutoring institutions deserve greater attention on its function and impact for instructing the next inventive generation. As Bray & Lykins (2012) argued, policy makers have neglected the role of private supplementary tutoring, which may have negative as well as positive outcomes.

Liu, (2011) discussed about cram school as being a place where other than having to do their homework, children can communicate by sharing experiences between them. In this study, this argument has been analyzed correctly through the former attendee's interview. Bray and Lykins who argued about cram schooling as bringing positive

impacts for students' academic achievement, mentioned that the rote-memorizing type of private tutoring did limit the capacity of learning by focusing on narrow domains of achievement (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Both Participant I and K argued on this statement, especially participant I who was disappointed after attending a non-academic cram school to study Art. Cram schools are indeed great adepts of rote memorization, which can result in students' lack of creativity and ability to reflect and make insightful judgments (The International Guide on Students' achievement, Hattie & Anderman).

The researcher has discovered that if students get to choose whether to go to cram school or not, it will highly determine their sentiment of satisfaction in cram school. It appeared that 3 students who firmly decided to go to cram school (Participant L, O and P) have more satisfying experience than those who were forced by their parents (Participant K and N).

Along the interview process, the researcher found out that the factor that can lead to a satisfactory experience in cram school is, motivation. Indeed, students must be motivated in order to get the best out of their cram school experience. Depending on one's specific needs, the motivation behind attending a cram school will diverge. After embracing all interviewee's data, learning in a more efficient way gathered 50% of respondents, and 62.5% respondents replied that getting teachers attention is the main motivation that make students willing to study in cram school. Significantly, the study discovered that a majority of respondents affirmed that cram schools made them learn more efficiently and a larger amount of students find cram school teachers better than teachers in mainstream school. A few students interviewed described cram school teachers as providing deeper and wider knowledge than those in mainstream schools.

The study has shown that the reasons behind the decision to attend a cram school are diverse and unique to the individual and as such the outcome of the students' experience is varied. Some students enrolled in cram school because they feel it is the "right thing to do" in terms of following peers or the trend. Some other students show real intentions to get better results or becoming more efficient through cram school

experience. Most students replied showing indifference towards their cram school experience saying that students who need the help, should go to cram school. From that angle, cram schools and its teaching methods are seen as better options for students' academic achievement. The other students believe in cram school as providing better academic achievements than regular school and would even recommend this experience to peers.

At the end, few students have shown negative feelings about their cram school experience but when they did, the teaching methods were criticized twice for its incapacity to draw independent thinking or link students' day-to-day life with what they learnt at school. Cram schools environment draws out an intensive learning environment and two participants said that intensity prevented them from living their childhood to the fullest. Interestingly, all cram schools do not provide the same type of learning and experience.

The most common and important idea gathered from the former attendee's interviews was that regular school teachers don't teach well enough and that is the reason why students believe (87,5%) cram school teachers are better teachers.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

When the researcher began the interview process, he discovered that most students studied English more than Mathematics in cram school. Experience soon proved that the English language is an extremely valued subject by the education system and society in Taiwan. After, the first two interviews, the researcher found necessary to gather additional information about the teachers and owners of cram school to understand the phenomenon from another angle. From the new interviewees, nearly all of them involved the English language in their subject of teaching or curriculum. Separate conclusions concerning teachers and students experience in cram school were derived from the interviews.

The tendency for Taiwanese students to attend cram school has massively led to the changes required in cram school teaching methods. This study aimed to investigate the cram school phenomenon as well as to discuss teaching methods and the students and teachers' cram school experience. The owner interviews revealed the necessity to enhance creative teaching by trying new teaching methods and shown how educational reforms have impacted this transition. The teacher and students interviews revealed that trying new approaches to teaching have helped students to a certain extent by improving academic grades for examination purposes. Students interviews indeed revealed that students ability to choose to attend cram school often determine their sentiment of satisfaction in cram school. Significantly, the study discovered that a majority of students find cram school teaching methods and overall experience more satisfactory than in mainstream school. Cram schools environment draws out an intensive learning environment, interestingly all cram school do not provide the same type of learning and experience. The study also showed some obstacles due to the complexity and diversity of cram schools preventing the researcher to grasp a complete picture of the cram school teaching methods and students' experience.

The cram school phenomenon has evolved along with the changing of Taiwanese society where cram schools have become nowadays an exclusive place for high-income families and highly praised establishments for students to get better results. Educational reforms have indeed impacted the cram school phenomenon unexpectedly. Mastering English language has also been reviewed as crucial in students' academic path and that explains the large amount of students attending English cram schools nowadays. Cram schools and English language can almost be part of one unique element, which is why the study sought to put greater focus on English language cram schools in particular.

The study has shown that the government has “allowed” the private sector to serve as another alternative by his “laissez-faire” attitude instead of developing and changing its current public system failing to bring satisfying results to families in demand. Considering the inability of the current system, our study aims to research the cram school phenomenon and to expose its function in Taiwan's society already known as a supplement to the current education system.

In this study, the cram school industry has shown both benefits and costs in its way of teaching students to get higher academic achievement. The study has come to realize, that cram schools provided at times even better learning achievements in enhancing students' efficiency and perfectionism that regular schools can't fully guarantee. Also, former attendees have in majority discussed about cram schools being helpful to achieve perfectionism and gain new knowledge. The main paradox of this study is the students vision of their cram school teachers as being better teachers than those in regular school even considering their absence of qualification. Cram school teachers are then more efficient than regular school teachers and efficiency is what students are seeking for.

Though, the researcher discovered that cram school teachers are often never required to have a certified teaching diploma to justify their level of professionalism. Thus a large amount of a teachers work with this status, yet showing both the inability to guarantee a quality and secure a suitable learning environment for students.

Furthermore, throughout our research, we have observed the gap between the student's knowledge gained in school and the requirements that will be waiting for them outside, in life. We understand that the educational process of growing up is that schooling experiences should facilitate the learners to fully fulfill their potentials and not only for the purpose of passing exams. To do this, schooling should aim to inspire rather than to control.

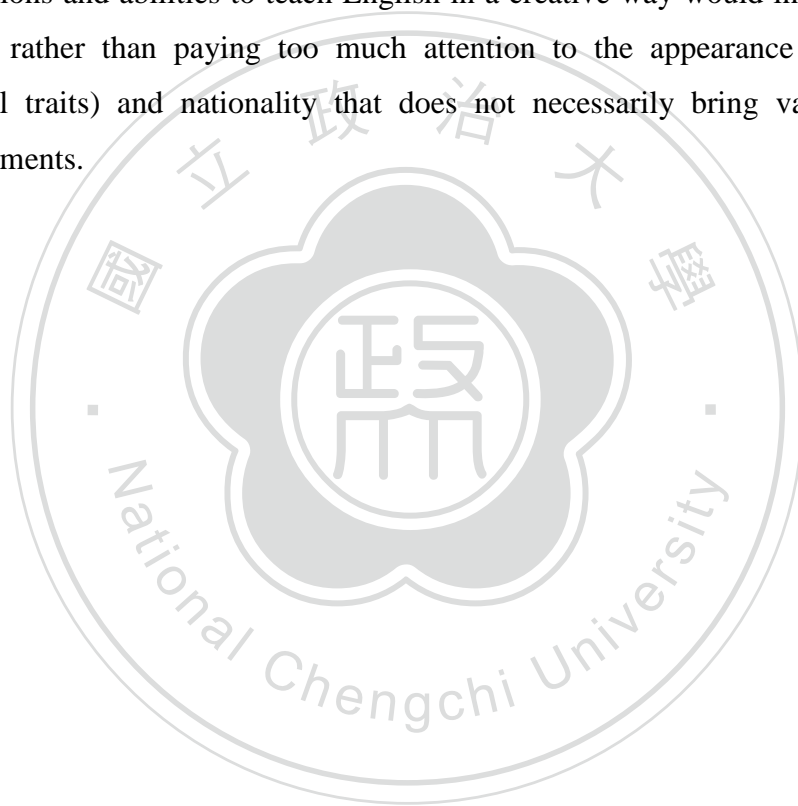
Through interviewees, cram schooling has been said as creating more opportunities of interaction between students and teachers however, the remaining teacher-centred method still show that changes are happening slowly compared to what students will have to face after school. This study aimed to show how the cram school experience could bring life long impacts on a students learning achievements.

After all, cram school education does help in students' academic achievements to a certain degree for certain motivated students. The current Taiwanese education system is still failing to provide the necessary tools for students to succeed normally without having to go to cram school. That is why cram schools are controversial for students' learning experience and achievement. Cram schools are no longer just a supplement but a necessity for Taiwanese secondary school students.

5.2 Limitations and Recommendations

Concerning the methodology, after finalizing the interviews, I do realize that it may not capture all details that I expected due to a lack of elaboration from some of the respondents. Moreover, due to the small sample size, the research findings may not have been completely representative to portray all aspects of cram schools. Also, the cultural barrier may have added an extra challenge in understanding properly what the Chinese-speaking respondents actually meant or felt. Though, in this study, using mostly a qualitative research method through extensive interviews from cram school owners, teachers and students was the best solution to capture detailed information through open-ended questions. The study didn't interview any policy makers, by doing additional interviews, the study may open greater discussion on the transition

cram schools are taking with new teaching methods. Due to the following limitations, the sample size can be enlarged and be more inclusive. Finally, due to a lack of existing literature on student's experience in cram schools, and the cram school environment, the study contributes to a greater extent through interviews. Additional surveys were also conducted on former attendees, current attendees, and parent's attitude also. Finally, supplementary classroom observations would be recommended to increase results of the present study. In terms of recommendations, the researcher has one suggestion concerning the cram school owners, is to pay greater attention to the teachers they are hiring. By looking closer into the teachers' background, motivations and abilities to teach English in a creative way would increase academic results, rather than paying too much attention to the appearance (color of skin, physical traits) and nationality that does not necessarily bring value to students achievements.



REFERENCES

- Aurén, H. & Joshi, D. (2016). Teaching the World that Less is More: global education testing and the Finnish national brand. In W. C. Smith (Ed.), *The Global Testing Culture: shaping education policy, perceptions, and practice* (pp. 64-77). United Kingdom: Symposium Books.
- Balwanz, D. (2016). The Discursive Hold of the Matric: is there space for a new vision for secondary education in South Africa? In W. C. Smith (Ed.), *The Global Testing Culture: shaping education policy, perceptions, and practice* (pp. 270-276). United Kingdom: Symposium Books.
- Bokova I. (2015). The World Education Forum To Education 2030. Podcast retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/education-2030-framework-for-action/>
- Bray, M. & Kwo O. (2014). *Regulating Private Tutoring for Public Good. Policy Options for Supplementary Education in Asia*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Center (CERC).
- Bray, M. (2003). Adverse Effects of Private Supplementary Tutoring : Dimensions, implications and government responses. UNESCO. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001330/133039e.pdf>
- Bush, T. (2007). Educational leadership and management: theory, policy, and practice. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.729.7350&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Chang, Y. H. & Yi, C. C. (2004). Cram schooling and Academic Achievement. Academia Sinica. Retrieved from http://www.typ.sinica.edu.tw/upfiles/2004_Ying-Hwa%20Chang.pdf

Chang, W. (1994). After-School Schooling. Taiwan Today. Retrieved from <http://www.taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=99555&ctNode=2198&mp=9>

Chen, H. & Fan, H. H. (2014). Education in Taiwan: The Vision and Goals of the 12-Year Curriculum. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/education-in-taiwan-the-vision-and-goals-of-the-12-year-curriculum/>

Chen, S. Y. & Lu, L. (2009). After school Time Use in Taiwan: effects on educational achievement and well-being.

Chou, C. P. & Ching, G. (2012). *Taiwan Education at the Crossroad: When Globalization meets localization*. US: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chou, C. P. (2014). A matter of trust: shadow education in Taiwan. *Revue Internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*. Retrieved from <https://ries.revues.org/3800>

Chou, C. & Ho, A. (2007). "Schooling in Taiwan". *Going to School in East Asia*, 15 ; 344-371.

Courtenay, M. J. (2013). *Culture & Competition. A study of Supplementary Education in Taiwan*. Durham thesis, Durham University. Retrieved from <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6906/>

Entrance exam reform stirs controversy (1992). Taiwan Info. Retrieved from <http://taiwaninfo.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=75519&ctNode=103>

Entwistle, N. & Ramsden, P. (2015). *Understanding Students Learning*, Preface. Routledge Revivals.

Elrich, S. H. (2003). Experience-What is it? (pp. 1126). *Int J Psychology*.

Goh, S. C. & Khine M. S. (2002). Creating Positive Learning Environments in Taiwan. *Studies in Educational Learning Environments, an International Perspective* (pp. 225-227). Singapore : World Scientific Publishing Co. Pt. Ltd.

Hammond, J. R. (2013). Cram schools in Taiwan and the Counterproductive 'No Chinese Rule.' Retrieved from <http://www.jeremyrhammond.com/2013/03/05/cram-schools-in-taiwan-and-the-counterproductive-no-chinese-rule/>

Hsieh, J. S. (2001). The effect of Cramming Schools on Students' Mathematics Achievement. *Journal of National Taipei Teachers College*, Vol. XIV (pp. 313-338).

Hsu, S. C. (2006). Children of Working Parents. Retrieved from <http://ir.lib.tiit.edu.tw/bitstream/987654321/152/1/Children+of+Working+Parents.pdf>

Is it twilight for cram schools? The Japan Times (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/08/30/editorials/twilight-cram-schools/#.Vt5rAJPdQ1>

Kao, H. H. (2010). Investigating the effects of implementing online tutoring in an English afterschool program. Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042810004490>

Kim, K. J. & Bonk, C. J. (2006). Educause Quarterly. *The Future of Online Teaching and Learning in Higher Education* (pp. 22-29). Retrieved from <https://net.educause.edu/ir/library/pdf/EQM0644.pdf>

Ko, S. & Yeh, L. (2002). English to be made official. The Taipei Times. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2002/05/01/0000134069>

Koh, A. (2014). The "magic" of tutorial centres in Hong Kong: An analysis of media marketing and pedagogy in a tutorial centre. Singapore: Springer. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/9050604/The_magic_of_tutorial_centres_in_Hong_Kong_An_analysis_of_media_marketing_and_pedagogy_in_a_tutorial_centre

Krashen, S. (2003). Dealing with English Fever. In Selected Papers from the Twelfth International Symposium on English Teaching. English teachers' Association/ROC, Taipei: Crane Publishing Company pp. 100-108.

Language Professionals of Taiwan, My Website. Retrieved from http://myu.com.tw/recommended_teachers.php?lang=en&PHPSESSID=pfbq4k811m cit621b8e5uiqba3

Lee, J. Migdley, J & Zhu, Y. (2014). Social Policy and Change in East Asia. Gender, Social security and Citizenship (pp. 53-55).

Liu, J. (2012). An Overview of Student Achievement and the Related Factors in Taiwan. In Hattie, J. & Anderman, E. M. (Ed.) *the International Guide to Student Achievement* (pp. 490-492). Routledge.

Liu, J. (2011). Does cram school matter? Who goes to cram schools? Evidence from Taiwan. *International Journal of Educational Development*. Elsevier.

Mok, K. H. (2006). Taiwan's Response to Globalization: Changing Governance in Higher Education. *Education Reform and Education Policy in East Asia* (pp. 38-40 & 152-159).

More public, less private education is needed. The China Post (2016). Retrieved from <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/editorial/taiwan-issues/2016/07/07/471440/More-public.htm>

New Zealand Council Educational Research (NZCER, 2015). Shifting to 21st Century Thinking in education and learning: The Knowledge Age. Retrieved from http://www.shiftingthinking.org/?page_id=58

Orkodashvili, M. (2016). How Much Stakes For Tests? Public Schooling, Private Tutoring and Equilibrium. In W. C. Smith (Ed.), *The Global Testing Culture: shaping education policy, perceptions, and practice* (pp. 215-218).

United Kingdom: Symposium Books.

Park, H. (2013). Are high-test scores of Japanese and Korean students due to “shadow education”? In *Re-Evaluating Education in Japan and Korea: Demystifying the Stereotype* (pp. 65-92). US & Canada: Routledge.

Peng, M. (2004). MOE English-teaching policy sparks storm of controversy. Taiwan Info. Retrieved from <http://taiwaninfo.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=20539&ctNode=103>

Potaka, E. & Yeh, B. (2011). Book Dragons: Inside Taiwan’s cram schools. The Taipei Times. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2011/06/08/2003505264>

Richardson, H. (2015). Chinese schools young ‘robbing young of individuality. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/education-34605430>

Roesgaard, M. H. (2006). *Japanese Education and the Cram School Business: Functions, Challenges and Perspectives of the Juku*. Denmark: NIAS Press.

Sadi, O. (2015). The Analysis of High School Students’ Conceptions of Learning in Different Domains. *International Journal Of Environmental & Science Education*, 10 (pp. 814-815).

Smith, W. C. (2016). An Introduction to the Global Testing Culture. In W. C. Smith (Ed.), *The Global Testing Culture: shaping education policy, perceptions, and practice* (pp. 7-11). United Kingdom: Symposium Books.

Steynmayr, R. Meibner, A. Weidinger, A. F. & Wirthwein, L. (2014). Academic achievement. *The Oxford Bibliographies, introduction*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756810/obo-9780199756810-0108.xml>

Student learning, Student achievement: How do teachers measure up? NBPTS.
Retrieved from

[http://www.nbpts.org/sites/default/files/documents/research/NBPTS_Student%20Learning%20Student%20Achievement%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.nbpts.org/sites/default/files/documents/research/NBPTS_Student%20Learning%20Student%20Achievement%20(2).pdf)

The Ministry of Education's Bulletin. A Newly Revised Refund Standard for Short-Term Cram School Programs (2016). Retrieved from

<http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=7732&ctNode=517&mp=1>

The Ministry of Education. Developing 21st Century Competences for our Next Generation. A White paper on International education for primary and secondary schools (2014). Retrieved from

<http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=14915&ctNode=11411&mp=1>

The Ministry of Education. Enrolment rates of School. Educational Statistical Indicators (2015). Retrieved from

<http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=14504&CtNode=11430&mp=1>

The Ministry of Education. Education in Taiwan 2013-2014, pp. 9. Retrieved from
https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/ebook/Education_in_Taiwan/2013-2014_Education_in_Taiwan.pdf

The Ministry of Education. Education in Taiwan 2014-2015: Youth development Affairs, pp. 45. Retrieved from

https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/ebook/Education_in_Taiwan/2014-2015_Education_in_Taiwan.pdf

The Ministry of Education. 2015 Education Statistical Indicators. Retrieved from
<http://english.moe.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=14504&CtNode=11430&mp=1>

The Oxford Dictionary. Definition of *cram school* in English. Retrieved from
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cram-school>

UNESCO (2005). EFA Global Monitoring Report. *Understanding Education Quality* (pp.28-30). Retrieved from
http://www.unesco.org/education/gmr_download/chapter1.pdf



APPENDIX A

CRAM SCHOOL OWNER INTERVIEW

Name:

QUESTIONS

How many classes of students do you have in your Buxiban?

- How many students per classes? / How many teachers work there? / How old are the students?

1) When was your cram school established? What was your motivation at that time? And now?

2) Did you encounter any trouble in opening your cram school? (For example: regulations)

3) Did the education reforms in Taiwan impact your buxiban? In what way ?

4) How do you think your Cram school attracts students better than that one of your competitors?

5) What are your requirements to hire teachers? 5 to 10 years before, was it the same ?

6) Do you often hire new teachers? What is their average Income?

7) Is the material used in cram school identical to the one used in regular school? 10 years ago, was it the same?

- How would you define your teaching method? Do you feel it has changed ?

8) For each class, do you try to follow the students' regular schools' agenda?

9) What are your requirements to accept students in your cram school?

10) How much money do parents have to spend on their children?

11) What is your biggest challenge in managing a cram school today? 5 to 10 years ago, was it the same?

12) How do you perceive your cram school in the coming 5 to 10 years?

13) What do you think about the Taiwan Ministry of Education promoting creative learning and thinking? Do you think it can be applied in cram school in the coming 5 to 10 years?

APPENDIX B

CRAM SCHOOL TEACHER INTERVIEW

Name:

Age:

QUESTIONS

- 1) How long have you been in Taiwan for?
- 2) How long have you been a cram school teacher for?
-In how many cram schools have you worked for? How old were the students?
- 3) What subject(s) do you teach?
-Why did you want to become a teacher?
- 4) What were the requirements to become a cram school teacher? (Teaching certificate, personality traits, experience, others...)
- 5) According to you, why did they pick you to become a teacher?
- 6) What kind of training did you get before starting teaching?
- 7) How many students do you have for each class?
- 8) How many hours do you work per week?
- Are you paid daily/ weekly/ monthly?
- 9) Please, briefly, describe your day as a cram school teacher:
- 10) Is the school flexible in terms of allowing teachers to provide extra-curricular material for students?
- 11) Do you find useful to provide extra-curricular material for your student's improvement?
- 12) Do you usually try out different teaching styles/ activities or do they want you to follow the « Taiwanese way »? (Ex: use of rote-memorization)
- 13) For you, what is the biggest challenge in teaching in a cram school in Taiwan?
- 14) Would you be willing to continue teaching in Taiwan in the future? And why?
- 15) Have you also experienced teaching in a regular school in Taiwan?
- If yes, what was the biggest difference between teaching in a Cram school vs. Regular school?
- 16) How do you see yourself in the coming 5 years?

APPENDIX C
STUDENT CRAM SCHOOL
INTERVIEW

Name:

Age:

QUESTIONS

- 1) How many cram schools did you attend?
- 2) Was it an Academic or non-academic cram school?
- 3) When did you attend cram school? Please write the specific year (Ex: 1999)
- 4) Why did you choose that cram school in particular? Did your parents have influence over that choice?
- 5) Have you already changed cram school in order to get better results?
- 6) Did you like your experience?
- 8) At school, how were you ranked ? .../100 or ...C, B, A
- 9) According to you, what is the goal of a cram school?
- 10) Can you say you have learnt new skills thanks to going to Buxiban?
- 11) Can you think of 5 positive / 5 negative things about your cram school experience?
- 12) Would you recommend that experience to other people? And why?
- 13) According to you, why are Cram schools important?
- 14) How many hours do you recall working? In average.
- 15) Do you find the disadvantages worth the effort?
- 16) What kind of pressure did you have during that experience? Please describe what kind of pressure:
- 17) Did you find the material and/or teaching style useful for your learning?
- 18) Did you improve or get better grades after attending cram school?
- 19) Please describe briefly a day at school and in your Cram school:
- 20) What are you currently doing ?
- 21) What would you suggest to make the Cram school experience more interesting to you?

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY OF INTERVIEWEES

This appendix contains samples of all the participant interviews. When the researcher began the interview process, he discovered that most students studied English in cram school. Experience soon proved that English language is an extremely valued subject by the education system and society in Taiwan. After, the first two interviews, the researcher found necessary to gather additional information about the teachers and owners of cram school to understand the phenomenon from another angle. From the new interviewees, nearly all of them involved English language in their subject of teaching or curriculum. Separate conclusions concerning teachers and students experience in cram school were derived from the interviews.

CRAM SCHOOL OWNER INTERVIEW

Participant A : Lilian (Taiwanese) English Learning Cram school

Participant B : Pheobe (Taiwanese Born American) English Learning Cram school

PARTICIPANT A (OWNER)

The researcher met participant A in her respective cram school in May 2016. Her cram school is similar to an-chinban, which involves teachers and supervisors helping students with assignments and homework but it also provides proper English/Drama classes in the main room. Before Lilian's cram school opened in September 2009, the school was a kindergarten but because of societal changes such as low birth rate and the high demand for English, and private courses, she decided to redesign the operational aspects of the school to make it more profitable. The main idea gathered from this interview is that reforms have had an impact on cram schools and on their way of operating.

PARTICIPANT B (OWNER)

The second owner of the cram school the researcher sought to interview offered her perspective as having a language cram school with an extended branch for online tutoring. The students are from the age of 10 to 40 years of age. The adult cram school was opened to expand the business and provide a learning institution for adult learners. The language centre offers both in-classroom and online learning to our students. The company believes that the language school will continue to grow. The main idea gathered from this interview is that even though online learning is becoming more and more popular, we have listened to the feedback of our online students and believe that in-classroom classes are still necessary.

CRAM SCHOOL TEACHER INTERVIEW

Half of interviewees are Taiwanese, the other half are foreigners. Average age group sample: 34 years old.

Participant C : Francesca (British) / Experience: One year and a half in three different Cram schools/ Teaches English and Drama to children from four to sixteen years old / No training / No certificate

Age: 26

Participant D : Meng (Taiwanese) Experience: Two years in three different Cram schools / Teaches high school classes including History, Geography, Social Sciences, Biology to teenagers from fifteen to eighteen year old students / No training / No certificate.

Age: 27

Participant E : Sean (Taiwanese) Experience: ten years in two Cram schools / Teaches History, Geography, Citizenship to teenagers from fifteen to eighteen year old students / No training / No certificate.

Age: 27

Participant F : Anonymous (American) / Experience: Two years in two different cram schools/ Teaches English to children and adults from four to mid-forties/ No training/ No certificate.

Age: 28

Participant G : Anonymous (Dutch) Experience: thirteen years in ten different Cram schools / Teaches English to children from six to eighteen years old / No training / No certificate.

Age: 40

Participant H : James (Taiwanese) Experience: Ten years in five different Cram schools/ Teaches English to adults from sixteen to fifteen and children from four to fifteen years old / No training/ No certificate. James was interviewed both as a teacher and student.

Age: 58

PARTICIPANT C (TEACHER)

Participant C has been a cram school teacher in Taiwan for the past two years in three different cram schools; she is 26 years old from England. She has taught English in both academic and an an-chinban type of cram school to children from four to sixteen years old. She has no teaching certificate. The main idea drawn out of this interview is in the three different cram schools she taught English, all three demanded a specific approach to teaching while affecting the teacher's experience as a consequence. Also, the study conducted the observation case study in one of her classes. This is when the researcher realized that having a training prior teaching is a necessity as you may encounter students with special needs and find the experience of teaching difficult as a result.

PARTICIPANT D (TEACHER)

Participant D is a Taiwanese graduate student in National Chengchi University, 27 years old. He has been a teacher after experiencing being himself a student in academic cram schools where he taught History, Geography, Social Sciences, Biology as main subjects to high school students from fifteen to eighteen year old. He had received no certificate prior teaching. Through his interview, the main idea was that it is easy to become a cram school teachers and the requirements are not high. He would consider continuing tutoring because the salary is high, working hours are short and flexible. Cram schools teaching methods/curriculum are the same as in regular school apart from cram schools that are exam preparation oriented.

PARTICIPANT E (TEACHER)

Sean is a Taiwanese teacher of 27 years old, he has been teaching for the past ten years in two different cram schools in Taiwan. He teaches mainly History, Geography, Citizenship to high School students from fifteen to eighteen year old and has no certificate. The main idea through this interview is the lack of teachers in Taiwan compared to the numbers of schools, and the lack of student that can also be a challenge for the teachers. Sean has also been a teacher in regular school and said that it depends largely on “luck”, for instance if they meet the right teacher then you’ll be able to teach in regular school. Instead, in cram schools, you have the opportunity to chose the subject that most suits you.

PARTICIPANT F (TEACHER)

The Participant F is an American citizen of 28 years old, he has been in Taiwan for 2 years and has been teaching since he’s been in the country. He mostly taught in academic cram schools and in an online language institute. For privacy concerns, the researcher was requested not to use his actual name in the interview. Through this interview, the main idea was that the requirements to become a teacher in cram schools were firstly the nationality and secondly the appearance or experience of the teacher. Also, we learnt that the environment in cram schools could be poor or unpleasant when teachers are treated as number. For foreigners, Taiwanese teachers’ way of handling a student in class may appear inappropriate, when he mentioned seeing his students frightened after being grounded. Finally, the researcher also realised that students underwent a lot of pressure staying at school for long hours, whether they want it or not.

PARTICIPANT G (TEACHER)

Participant G is Dutch and has been teaching English in Taiwan for the past thirteen years in ten different cram schools mostly in academic cram schools but has also experimented an-chinban. His students are children from six to eighteen years old. Since years of teaching reveals his experience, the researcher discovered that some changes have occurred through out the years since he started teaching such as the teaching requirements: “it was my first job in Taiwan, because I fit the profile of what

they wanted a teacher to look like. It is sad but true, Caucasian and tall are the most desired in the industry. Nowadays, this is still important, but teaching skills, good interaction with the students, discipline in class, and Chinese ability are also a big factor.” His experience also revealed the elements that haven’t changed; for instance the teaching materials must be finished by the end of the school year: “As long as all the material gets taught. Tests are important and they need to be prepared.” The biggest challenge for him as a teacher is to focus on quantifying learning results through tests. A lot of quantitative results cannot be measured, e.g. joy of learning, creating interest in culture and language, etc.

PARTICIPANT H (TEACHER)

The participant H is a Taiwanese citizen of 58 years old, he has been teaching English for the past ten years in five different cram schools to adults from sixteen to fifty and children from four to fifteen years old. Has been interviewed both as a teacher and student and shared his passion for teaching. His major objective was to help people to improve their English abilities. To him, the educational background, teaching experiences, and passion for teaching are the most important requirements to become a cram school teacher. For a cram school teacher, it is very important to have a sufficient preparation before teaching. Cram schools in Taiwan are very competitive, if teaching styles or activities are not interesting to students, the school may lose some students, so it is important for a cram school teacher to try out different teaching styles or activities. The biggest challenge for him was to learn how to make students learn English happier and more effectively.

According to our interviews, teachers feel that students don’t want to be at school however, students interviewed replied otherwise and in majority felt they had the choice in their decision of attending cram school.

STUDENT CRAM SCHOOL INTERVIEW

All interviewees are Taiwanese citizens. Average age group sample: 28 years old. One student attends at least two cram schools in their academic path. Almost all include either Mathematics or English as a subject to study. The results show that 75 percent of the former attendees, attended English cram school and 62,5 percent attended Maths classes. All interviewees went to regular cram school and 50 percent attend a non-academic cram school.

Participant I : Tiffany (Taiwanese) Attended academic cram school in Junior High School for English, Maths, Geography and in non-academic cram school in High School.

Age: 19

Participant J : Chi (Taiwanese) Attended academic and non academic cram schools including Mathematics and English.

Age: 25

Participant K : Chen (Taiwanese) Attended academic and non academic cram schools including Mathematics and English.

Age: 26

Participant L : Amanda (Taiwanese) Attended three academic Cram schools including English, Physics, Chemistry and one non-academic to learn French (not taught in school).

Age: 22

Participant M : James (Taiwanese) Attended an English language Cram school.

Age: 58

Participant N : Huang (Taiwanese) Attended mostly academic cram schools.

Age: 22

Participant O : Ruby (Taiwanese) Attended three cram schools including Mathematics and English.

Age: 34

Participant P : Vivian (Taiwanese) Attended three different Cram schools including Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics.

Age: 21

PARTICIPANT I (STUDENT)

Participant I is a Taiwanese undergraduate university student interested in Arts and French language, she is 19 years old. Next year, she will study in France in the Art school of Tours. During her schooling Tiffany attended academic cram school in Junior High School and a non-academic cram school in High School where she studied English, Mathematics, Geography, Sciences and Art. On a weekly basis, a day can be as long as 12 hours (including Cram school). Through this interview we learnt that cram school could have been a place to learn but because the teaching methods in cram school are still not fully adapted to enhancing certain skills and rather emphasises on rote memorization, Tiffany couldn't develop this skill as well as she wanted. Overall, she didn't enjoy her experience in cram school and felt disappointed. "Most of the time we « pretend » we are working hard."

PARTICIPANT J (STUDENT)

Participant J is a Taiwanese male resident doctor of 25 years old. He attended academic cram school for Mathematics and English for fifteen hours a week in average. He said attending cram schools offers the opportunity to learn in a more efficient way. He would recommend this experience with caution: "If you need the help, then go to Cram school. But you are young only once!"

PARTICIPANT K (STUDENT)

Participant K is a 26 years old Taiwanese currently doing his military service. He has attended academic cram school in English and Mathematics in the past for four hours a day every week for a total of sixteen hours per week in average. His experience in Cram school is not satisfying even though he obtained good grades: "I didn't like my experience, though I got good grades out of my exams." Cram school is a guarantee to regular school teacher's lack of efficiency: "If teachers don't teach well in regular school, at least cram school teachers can serve as a remedy."

PARTICIPANT L (STUDENT)

Participant L is a Taiwanese female of 22 years old currently doing undergraduate studies in French. She went to four academic cram schools in total in which she studied English, Physics, Chemistry and French with her parents supports. She first

attended an English cram school (2002-2005) for four hours a day and later (2006-2007), she attended Physics and Chemistry for three hours a day. Her last attendance was in a French cram school (2008-2011 and 2015) for two hours a day. She described experience as « fair », received an 87/100 at her final examination which shows that cram school can help in students academic achievement. She described cram school as being a better place because it offered a suitable environment to connect with teachers: “Teachers in cram school are encouraging students to raise their hands to ask questions.”

PARTICIPANT M (STUDENT)

Participant M is a Taiwanese 58 year old teacher that shared his experience as a student. He was taught English for the first time in a Catholic Church and in a Centre for Public and Business administration at NCCU. He attended cram school to perfect his English, and English writing. He mentioned that it takes a lot of time to commit and attend cram school. Having been taught by “good” teachers, highly motivated him to become a teacher himself.

PARTICIPANT N (STUDENT)

Participant N is Huang, 22 years old student in photoelectric materials. He attended academic cram school for academic subjects in general (didn't specify). He went to his first cram school in 2008 for three hours a day. Parents forced him to go that is the reason why he didn't have a satisfying experience. He received 70/100, which is the minimum grade to pass. According to him, attending cram school was a waste of time and waste of money. He didn't agree on the system where “the better grade you get, the mayor.”

PARTICIPANT O (STUDENT)

Participant O is Ruby; a 34-year-old Taiwanese recently graduated from her Master degree in National Chengchi University and is currently working as a civil servant. She attended three academic cram schools to study English and Mathematics. She started attended from 1998 to 2005 for 3three to four hours a day. She declared it was her own choice to attend these classes and she received support from her parents. The

main message of her interview was that she declared, “Cram school teachers teach better than regular schoolteachers.”

PARTICIPANT P (STUDENT)

Participant P is 21 years old Taiwanese citizens in her senior year in Political Science. She attended two academic cram schools to study Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry from 2008 to 2009 (由申甲) and 2010 to 2013 (華薪). Her parents suggested the option to go and she got to decide on her own. She mentioned that cram school can help you perfect your way of learning by introducing you to new tricks and also added: “Teachers teach a lot better than regular teachers. If you go to cram school, it will help you improve in class.”

