

An Analysis on Student Burden Double Reduction Policy in China - Based on Kingdon' s Policy Stream Model

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[요약]

Based on Kingdon' s policy stream model, the logical mechanism of student burden double reduction policy agenda setting process in China was analyzed from three aspects: problem stream, policy stream, political stream. It was found that the direct reflection of data, the feedback and improvement of current policies constitute the problem stream. The high attention of government departments, the suggestions of CPPCC members and experts and scholars, the strong voice of schools, and the continuous voice of stakeholders constitute the policy stream. The ruling party' s governing idea and educational policy, national mood and interest game during the transition period constitute the political policy stream. The three streams, coupling interaction, open the policy window, promoting the introduction of the 'double reduction' policy.

주제어: China, the 'Double Reduction' Policy, Compulsory Education, Kingdon' s Policy Stream Model

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I . Introduction

On July 24, 2021, In China, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and The General Office of the State Council issued the Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Off-campus Training for Students in Compulsory Education (referred to as the ‘double reduction’ policy). A vigorous ‘double reduction’ action then swept the whole country. After the introduction of the ‘double reduction’ policy, the current academic research mainly focuses on the implementation difficulties, policy impact, coping strategies and other aspects of the ‘double reduction’ policy, while the research on the ‘double reduction’ policy agenda setting from the perspective of the policy process is relatively rare.

Therefore, this paper uses Kingdon’s policy stream model to explore why the ‘double reduction’ policy has entered the vision of decision-makers, tries to analyze the deep reasons and logical mechanism behind the ‘double reduction’ policy from three aspects: problem stream, policy stream and political stream, explains the interaction and influence of various factors in the process of policy making, and then reveals the rationality and inevitability of policy introduction.

II. Kingdon’s policy stream model and its adaptability

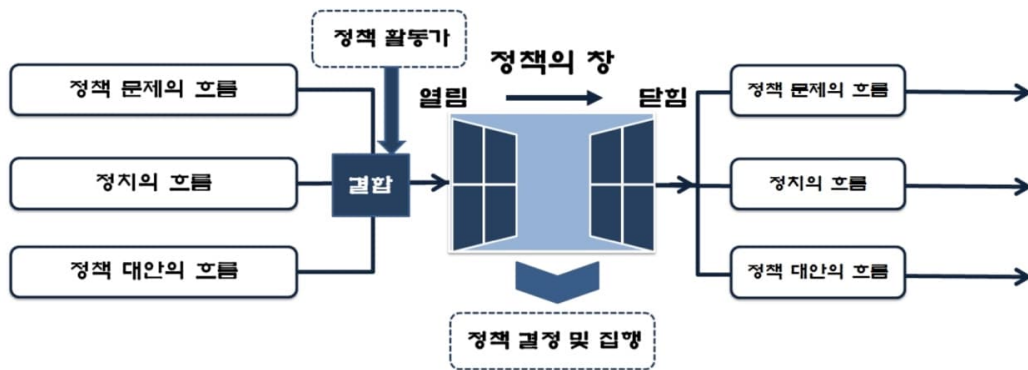
1. Kingdon’s policy stream model

In 1984, based on the Garbage Can Model by Cohen, March, and Olsen, J.W. Kingdon, an American public policy scientist, proposed the policy streams model in his book ‘Agenda, Alternatives, and Public Policy’, which provides an important analytical framework for explaining policy processes under fuzzy conditions.

According to Kingdon’s policy stream theory, among many social problems, only some problems attract the attention of decision-makers and enter the policy agenda, which is the result of the joint action of the three major sources: Problem Stream, Policy Stream and Political Stream(保羅·A·薩巴蒂爾, 1999). Problem streams answer

and explain how actual situations are defined as problems, and how they are addressed and elevated into the policy agenda process. Policy streams are the opinions and propositions put forward by the policy community (government personnel, scholars, researchers, interest groups, etc.). The political stream mainly includes national sentiment, the game of interest groups, the change of administration or legislation and so on.

These three streams are coupled together at the right time, thus opening a ‘policy window’ and the issue is put on the policy agenda (Figure 1). Kingdon defines a ‘policy window’ as ‘an opportunity for advocates of policy proposals to present their preferred solution, or for them to bring attention to their particular problem.’(約翰·W·金登, 1973). Policy entrepreneurs need to seize and use the opening of the ‘policy window’ as an opportunity to couple issues, politics, and the policies they advocate to ensure that their policy proposals move up the policy agenda and shape specific policy outcomes.



[Figure 1] Kingdon's policy stream model¹⁾

2. The adaptability of Kingdon's policy stream model in this study

As an important decision-making theory in the policy process, Kingdon's policy stream model is used to explain how the government makes policies under the

¹⁾ Heesook Lee, Jae Young Chung (2012). An Analysis of School Violence Prevention Policy Based on Kingdon's Policy Stream Model. The Journal of Korean Education. 2012, 39(4): 61-82.

condition of ambiguity, attaches importance to the mutual influence of various factors, emphasizes the multi-participation policy making process, and is very sensitive to complexity. As a socialist country under the people's democratic dictatorship, with the continuous improvement of the government's modern governance ability, the vitality of democracy has been effectively brought into play. The birth of any policy must be the result of considering the interests and needs of different strata of people, gathering wisdom and collective efforts. This is consistent with the internal logic of Kingdon's policy stream theory.

Since the establishment of Kingdon's policy stream model, more than 10,000 citations have been included in Google Academic, and the social science citation directory shows that its citation rate is about 80 times per year, which is sufficient to prove that Kingdon's policy stream is an important analytical tool to explain the public policy agenda(古琳钰, 2021) and can effectively explain the policy-making process of national, subnational, regional and supranational organizations(JONES, M.D., PETERSON, H.L., PIERCE, J. J., et al, 2016).

From the perspective of the localization interpretation of Kingdon's policy stream model, Ding Huang, Fang Xing and other scholars first translated Kingdon's book *Agenda, Alternatives and Public Policy* into Chinese in 2004, which later became the basis for introducing Kingdon's policy stream model in China. After searching CNKI and Wanfang database, it is found that Kingdon's policy stream model first appeared in papers in 2005. Chen Jingde applied Kingdon's policy stream model to interpret the multi-source stream of China's public policy, and Zhou Chao and Yan Xueyong applied Kingdon's policy stream model to make a reasonable explanation of the policy transformation process of China's compulsory asylum to free assistance. Since then, research on public policy analysis based on policy stream model has gradually increased, involving various aspects such as medical and health care, pension insurance, talent policy, poverty alleviation, and environmental protection. Many scholars have also tried to apply Kingdon's policy stream model to the research of preschool education, innovation and entrepreneurship education, double first-class construction, school management, higher vocational college enrollment expansion, network education, etc., which shows that Kingdon's policy stream model has a certain adaptability to the analysis of China's education policy.

III. Analysis Results

1. Problem stream: heavy academic burden and feedback of burden reduction

Among the many social problems, why do policymakers pay attention to some and ignore others? A range of indicators (data), major events or crisis events, feedback from ongoing projects, etc. can push issues to the forefront. Due to the lack of major events or crisis events, the problem streams that promote the ‘double reduction’ policy into the decision-making agenda mainly include: direct reflection of data and feedback of current policies.

1) Intuitive reflection of data

The data directly reflect the realistic problems of heavy schoolwork burden and chaotic off-campus training for primary and secondary school students in China. According to a 2015 survey by the China Youth and Children Research Center, primary school students born after 2000 spend an average of 8.1 hours in school, while junior middle school students spend an average of 11.0 hours. 66.4% of post-00s primary school students spend 1.7 hours on homework, and 78.5% of junior middle school students spend 3 hours. 81.1 percent of post-00s primary school students spent 2.8 hours on homework on rest days, and 87.1 percent of middle school students spent 4.3 hours. Based on the survey data in 2005 and 2015, the comparison between the ‘post-90s’ and ‘post-00s’ generations found that the ‘post-00s’ not only spent more time in school and doing homework than the post-90s’, but also spent more time on off-campus training. The time spent on off-campus training on study days was 0.8 hours, twice as much as that of the ‘post-90s’ . The time spent on off-campus training on rest days is 2.1 hours, three times that of the post-90s generation(搜狐新聞, 2016). According to the ‘2018 Survey Report on Reducing the Burden of Primary School Students’ released by the Academic Committee of the China Education 30 Forum, 40% of parents believe that students’ academic burden is too heavy, and more

than 60% of students participate in off-campus training classes(王宏澤, 2018). The above data all reflect the fact that Chinese primary and secondary school students are overloaded with schoolwork in and out of school.

On the other hand, the influx of social capital into the off-campus training market has destroyed the normal national education order, intensified the internal education, and also increased the burden of families and students.

Off-campus training has developed into an education industry worth billions or even tens of billions of dollars. According to the data of the '2020-2025 China Education and Training Industry Panoramic Survey and Development Strategy Research Consulting Report', the size of China's education and training market in 2019 is about 3.24 trillion yuan, and it is expected that from 2020 to 2025, with the increase of the age of two and three children to school age children, the average growth rate of the size of the education and training market will be stable at about 15%. It is estimated that by 2025, China's education and training market will reach 7.5 trillion yuan (中國產業研究院, 2019). As of December 17, 2020, there were 223 financing events in the domestic education industry in 2020, with a total of 68.044 billion yuan of financing completed. In particular, the total financing of online education in 2020 exceeds the sum of the previous four years(澎湃新聞, 2021). The capital driven by profits rushes into the off-campus training market, which seriously destroys the education ecology. According to the report '2020 Education and Training Consumer Public Opinion Data Analysis' released by Beijing Sunshine Consumption Big Data Research Institute, the whole network has monitored a total of 3,847,566 pieces of education and training consumer public opinion information by 2020, 2,712,138 pieces of negative public opinion information, accounting for 70.49%(張維, 2021). From the state market supervision department imposed a maximum penalty on 15 off-campus training institutions, there are illegal acts such as fiction, exaggeration, induction, etc., such as fictitious teacher qualifications, exaggerated training effects, boasting of the strength of training institutions, fabricating user evaluations, and fictional original prices. The off-campus training institutions are usually confined to the temporary gain, more or less there are problems such as only score theory, advanced learning, exam-oriented education, etc., which seriously interferes with the normal order of national education.

At the same time, the burden on families and students is increasing. Under the

thinking guidance of ‘poor education can not be poor again, and bitter children can not be bitter’, Chinese parents who ‘hope for a dragon and hope for a woman to become a phoenix’ have always spared no expense in their children’s education. According to the survey, 22.4% of families spend 12,000–24,000 yuan on children’s education, 21.7% spend 24,000–36,000 yuan on education, 38.8% spend on children’s education and out-of-school training, accounting for 2–3 percent of the family’s annual income (前程無憂, 2019). Education has become the second largest daily expenditure for Chinese families after food and clothing. The above data directly reflect the practical problems of excessive academic burden inside and outside the school and urgent management of off-campus training market.

2) Feedback on current policies

In recent years, the state has successively introduced policies to reduce the burden on primary and secondary school students, from class, school to extracurricular, off-campus, with great strength, wide scope and remarkable results, which are obvious to all. For example, on August 22, 2013, the ‘Ten Regulations on Reducing the burden of primary school students’ landed, making clear provisions on primary school sunshine enrollment, balanced class planning, student homework, exam evaluation, violation of the make up, exercise time, supervision and so on. In 2017, the ‘Opinions on Deepening the Reform of the Education System and Mechanism’ pointed out that it is necessary to reasonably design the content and time of homework, establish and improve the after-school service system, standardize off-campus education and training institutions, and effectively reduce the excessive academic burden of students.

In 2018, the ‘Notice on Effectively Reducing the Extracurricular burden of Primary and Secondary School Students to carry out special governance actions of Off-campus Training Institutions’, ‘Notice on Accelerating the special governance work of Off-campus Training Institutions’, and ‘Opinions on standardizing the development of off-campus training institutions’ were successively issued to carry out special governance of off-campus training institutions. In 2019, the ‘Implementation Opinions on Standardizing Off-Campus Online Training’ put forward specific regulatory requirements from the aspects of online training content, duration, teachers, and

management, and for the first time put on the 'straitjacket' for online training at the national level. A series of policies issued by the state to reduce the burden have formed good feedback, give full play to the spillover effect of the policy, and provide a good policy fertile ground for the introduction of the 'double reduction' policy in the new period of the 14th Five-Year Plan.

2. Policy Stream—Policy community to reduce the burden of advice

Policy Streams are the various opinions and propositions put forward by the policy community. Policy Streams that promote the 'double reduction' policy into the decision-making agenda can be summarized as: the high attention of government departments, the suggestions of CPPCC members and experts and scholars, the strong voice of the school line, and the continuous voice of stakeholders.

1) High attention from government departments

The successive introduction of the policy to reduce the burden not only shows that the heavy burden of primary and secondary school students is a chronic problem, but also reflects the government departments attach great importance to this problem. Scholar Xiang Xianming combing through the history of 'burden reduction' pointed out that from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, and from the mid-1980s to the present, 'burden reduction' has twice become a hot issue in China's education reform. According to the statistics of scholars such as Wang Yuxun and Liu Jian, since the reform and opening up to 2018, China has introduced 35 'burden reduction' policies for primary and secondary schools, of which 11 special policies for 'burden reduction' and 24 related policies.

The voice of the government officials not only means that they are strongly concerned about the issue, but also that they are involved in promoting the introduction of the 'double reduction' policy. For example, at the National Education Work Conference in January 2021, Minister of Education Chen Baosheng said that more efforts should be made to regulate and rectify off-campus training institutions, reduce the burden on students and families, liberate students from off-campus subject

tutoring, and liberate parents from sending them to school to accompany them. For example, at the press conference of the Ministry of Education on February 23, 2021, Lu Yugang, Director general of the Department of Basic Education of the Ministry of Education, said that the total amount of students' homework should be strictly controlled and parents should not be asked to check and correct homework; Strictly examine and approve off-campus training institutions, and strengthen the supervision of training content. Subsequently, the topic of 'parents should not be asked to check and correct homework' rushed to the hot search, causing hot discussion.

2) Suggestions from CPPCC members, experts and scholars

Problems such as the difficulty of reducing the burden of primary and secondary school students under the 'only score theory' and the chaos of off-campus training institutions have repeatedly become the focus of attention of CPPCC members. During the two sessions in 2020, Wu Zhiming, a member of the CPPCC National Committee, a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee, and the chairman of the Fujian Provincial Committee, led by Cui Yuying and 108 other members of the CPPCC National Committee jointly called for reducing the burden on primary and secondary school students. During the two sessions in 2021, Yu Jinyao, a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), advocated that off-campus training institutions should be prohibited from training in compulsory subjects such as Chinese, mathematics and English, and such institutions can carry out personality training, or conduct production and life skills training for adults. Ma Guangyu, a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, suggested abolishing homework for primary school students, clarifying the responsibility boundary between schools and parents, and delaying the end of primary school to reduce the burden on parents.

On the other hand, the problem of reducing the burden of primary and secondary school students in and out of school has always been a hot issue in basic education research. With their rich knowledge, experts and scholars express their academic opinions and propositions through projects, papers, books, academic conferences and other ways. For example, scholar Zheng Donghui found that the internal structure of

the psychological burden of primary and secondary school students is unbalanced, and the psychological burden in terms of the type and amount of homework is heavier than the difficulty of homework. He suggested reconstructing the structure of homework burden, focusing on reducing students' psychological burden in terms of the type and amount of homework. Parents and teachers should provide help and guidance for students' self-evaluation, transformation and internalization of learning expectations, and create a good homework environment for students(鄭東輝,2016). Xue Haiping, a scholar, found that the schoolwork of primary and secondary school students is still at a relatively heavy level, and the schoolwork load on campus is heavier than the schoolwork load off campus(薛海平, 2015), which indicates that schoolwork is still the main source of schoolwork load for students. He also found that off-campus training increased students' off-campus homework and off-campus learning time, so we should continue to pay close attention to the governance of off-campus training institutions. We should recognize the damaging effect of off-campus training institutions on the fair ecology of education and the reproduction effect of accelerating the solidification of social classes, and take the governance of off-campus training institutions as a long-term governance task to build a good education ecology. The thinking of experts and scholars on this issue has played a driving role in the setting of the policy agenda.

3) Strong voice from school front-line personnel such as principals and teachers

Principals and teachers in the front line of schools can more effectively feel the problem of primary and secondary school students' workload, and their experience and feedback have played a certain role in promoting it. Shao Zhihao, principal of the High School affiliated to Northeast Normal University, advocated that schools should coordinate the length of homework, so that primary school students can complete their homework in school, middle school students can complete part of their homework in school, and they can choose some extended and supplementary homework at home (人民日報, 2021). He also stressed the need to respect the laws of education, regulate and manage, guide and lead the healthy development of online education from the legal and institutional aspects. Yu Xiaobing, a teacher at the Experimental High School

Affiliated to Beijing Normal University, has been working hard in the front line of education for more than 20 years and has taught more than 2,000 students. He has always practiced the 'three No's' principle of 'no extra lessons, no delay in class, and no hard homework', advocating more time and energy on research and teaching, and striving to improve students' learning efficiency and independent learning ability(北青網, 2021). Only in this way can we achieve real low input and high output.

4) Continuous voice of stakeholders

In response to the problem of heavy academic burden of primary and secondary school students, off-campus training institutions as stakeholders are also constantly speaking out. Yu Minhong, one of the founders of New Oriental, believes that primary and secondary school students have a heavy workload, which comes from competition between primary and secondary schools, and can not only blame off-campus training institutions, and should strictly control the examination of children and children, and reform the examination system. As a good supplement to public education, private education is a remedy for the shortcomings of public education and opposes the advanced and exceptional education of off-campus training institutions. Therefore, it is indeed necessary for the state to rectify off-campus training institutions (俞敏洪, 張邦鑫, 2019). Another example, Zhang Bangxin, the founder of Good Future, said that there is a common misconception in society that off-campus training institutions increase the burden on students. In the face of such misunderstandings, he proposed to reduce costs, reduce difficulty, reduce time, 'reducing costs can not reduce quality, to actively develop science and technology; Reduce the difficulty, can not reduce the ability, to diversify development; Reduce time, not effect, to improve efficiency.' (俞敏洪,張邦鑫, 2019) Off-campus training institutions should reduce the burden of students from the perspective of teaching, so that students love to learn, learn and think, and society's view of the off-campus training industry will also change.

Although government personnel, experts and scholars, school front-line personnel, stakeholders and other identities are different, distributed in different fields, and the perspective of the problem is different, they all express their own opinions or suggestions around the issue of reducing the burden of primary and secondary school students. As a

policy community, their collective participation, in the constant communication and collision, promoted this issue smoothly into the vision of decision-makers, their operable proposals have also become part of the 'double reduction' policy content, and promoted the process of 'double reduction' policy introduction.

3. Political Stream—Multiple forces formed a consensus

In the framework of Kingdon's Policy Stream Model, the political source flow mainly includes national sentiment, the game of interest groups, and the change of administration or legislation. Considering the basic national conditions of our country, the political source of promoting the 'double reduction' policy into the decision-making agenda can be divided into three aspects: the party's ruling philosophy and education policy, national sentiment, and the interest game in the transition period.

1) The Party's governing philosophy and educational policy

In China, the influence of the party's ruling philosophy and educational policy on the setting of educational policy agenda is needless to say. The Party and the government have always adhered to the concept of 'people-oriented, governing for the people', and 'people-oriented, governing for the people' focuses on solving practical problems for the people, and solving the most direct and realistic interests of the people. The Outline of China's Education Reform and Development issued in 1993 clearly proposed that primary and secondary schools should shift from 'exam-oriented education' to 'quality-oriented education'. However, as a chronic disease, the problem of excessive schoolwork burden of primary and secondary school students hinders the promotion of quality education, and has become a problem that the whole society pays attention to but cannot be cured for a long time. The Outline of the National Plan for Medium - and Long-Term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020) promulgated on July 8, 2010, as an educational program document for the period 2010-2020, clearly implements burden reduction into the whole process of primary and secondary education, emphasizing that reducing students' academic burden is the common responsibility of the whole society, and the government, schools, families and society

must work together. Address both symptoms and root causes, take a comprehensive approach, and make a comprehensive plan to reduce the burden from institutional mechanisms, curriculum reform, enrollment examinations, off-campus training, and balanced development. In the following 10 years, policies were introduced to reduce the burden on primary and secondary school students. On September 24, 2017, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and The General Office of the State Council jointly issued the Opinions on Deepening the Reform of the Education system and Mechanism, which proposed for the first time in the form of a red-headed document to standardize off-campus education and training institutions, strictly examine the qualifications of running schools, standardize the scope and content of off-campus training and other special governance content. It also indicates that the special governance of off-campus training has become the highlight of the policy introduction in 2018. It is the basic requirement to carry out the Party's educational policy to promote the overall reduction of the burden inside and outside the primary and secondary schools and to promote the all-round development of students.

2) National sentiment

National sentiment mainly refers to the common concern and thinking of the majority of people in a country on social issues. Policymakers' perception of changes in the national mood can not only promote the rise of some issues to the agenda, but also inhibit the rise of others. That is, changes in national sentiment have a significant impact on policy agendas and outcomes. Changes in the national mood are usually expressed in the form of public opinion through the mass media. Ordinary people can express their personal opinions through various we-media platforms such as Wechat and Weibo. On the one hand, mass media plays the functions of public opinion supervision and social service, becoming an important channel to convey social conditions and public opinions; on the other hand, it also plays the functions of 'gatekeeper' and 'agenda setting' of media, influencing the public's judgment on relevant issues and their importance. Due to the temporary lack of authoritative public opinion surveys, this paper mainly reflects people's concern about this issue through the search index of the keyword 'reducing the burden'.



[Figure 2] Search Index of 'Burden Reduction'

According to the change of the search index of the keyword 'burden reduction' in the past 10 years (Figure 2), the peak of people's search volume for burden reduction appeared in March to September 2013, March to May 2014, March to July 2018, March to July 2019, and October to December 2019. It shows that people pay strong attention to the problem of reducing the burden during these periods. In these peak periods of search volume, or the national two sessions were held, or the introduction of relevant policies to reduce the burden, which shows that the holding of major meetings or the introduction of new policies can trigger public attention and discussion on the issue of reducing the burden. In addition, since 2018, the search index has basically remained above the average, indicating that people have continued to pay attention to this issue in recent years. This public atmosphere of continuous attention not only promotes decision-makers to further deepen their understanding of the problem of reducing the burden, reflect on the effect of the implementation of current policies, but also promotes the introduction of new policies.

3) Interest game in transition period

Group theory holds that public policy is actually the result of group struggle and mutual compromise, and is a balance product between different interest groups. This balance is determined by the relative influence of interest groups. Changes in the relative influence of any interest group may lead to changes in public policy(夏雪,楊穎秀, 2014). In short, the power game between different interest groups can push relevant issues into the policy process. The government, schools, families, and society

interact with each other to promote the ‘double reduction’ policy into the process of agenda setting.

The problem of heavy schoolwork burden of primary and secondary school students has not been cured for a long time, which has become a major disease hindering the development of basic education. In the new historical period of promoting the modernization of education and building an educational power, the state has put forward a higher goal for personnel training, and must adhere to the socialist education development road with Chinese characteristics, and train socialist builders and successors with all-round development of morality, intelligence, physical fitness, the United States and labor. The heavy schoolwork burden of primary and secondary school students is the result of one-sided pursuit of intellectual education and neglect of moral, physical, beauty and labor, which violates the educational policy of cultivating all-round development of people. The problem of heavy schoolwork burden of primary and secondary school students has become a major disease that hinders the development of basic education and needs to be eradicated urgently. In this regard, the Party and the government attach great importance to, give full play to political functions, it is necessary to introduce burden reduction policies through administrative means.

Although the Ministry of Education and other administrative departments repeatedly stressed that it is not allowed to one-sided evaluation of schools, principals and teachers by high school entrance examination results or enrollment rates, and resolutely overcome the tendency of ‘only learning’ and ‘only scores’, however, many places still equate academic results and enrollment rates with education quality, and even directly use them as indicators to measure educational performance. Schools, as the main front of education, on the one hand, in order to obtain better educational resources, bear layers of pressure to complete the educational performance indicators, and have to pay close attention to academic performance and enrollment rate, resulting in further increase of students’ academic burden. On the other hand, the national level has been concerned about the heavy burden of primary and secondary school students for a long time, and has issued a series of policies to reduce the burden of students, and schools are also facing the test of how to effectively implement the policy of reducing the burden.

Family is the first classroom for students to grow up. Parents, as the enlightening

teachers and lifelong teachers of students, play an irreplaceable role in the growth of students. In order not to let their children lose at the starting line, parents spend a lot of time, energy and money, such as hiring tutors with high salaries, and going to a variety of off-campus training, unconsciously falling into the vortex of 'herd effect'. This not only gave birth to the wild growth of off-campus training institutions, students under the pressure of parents, between the school and off-campus training institutions has gradually become the norm, carrying more and more heavy homework burden, falling into the circle of reducing the burden of the school and increasing the burden of the school.

At the social level, the publishing agencies of secondary and primary education materials and a variety of off-campus training institutions have become the driving force behind the heavy workload of primary and secondary school students. Some publishing institutions one-sided pursuit of economic benefits, in a variety of titles to publish and sell a wide variety of review materials, problem sets, exercise books, simulation problems, etc., the content is repeated, the quality is worrying. In addition, off-campus training institutions grow barbarously, learn ahead of the class, one-sided pursuit of students' test-taking skills, and destroy the ecological balance of school education. There are also many off-campus training institutions driven by economic interests, through a variety of marketing methods, wanton exaggeration of the training effect, rendering anxiety, intentionally or unintentionally to induce parents to consume, in violation of the law of the market.

The problem of heavy schoolwork burden in primary and secondary schools is not simply an education problem, but a social issue that is widely concerned by the whole society, involving the government, schools, families and various social interest groups. In the game of interests and needs, the government, schools, families and society gradually reach a consensus, promoting the issue of burden reduction into the decision-making process.

4) The 'Policy Window'

According to the interpretation of policy stream model, at a critical point in time, the problem source, policy source and political source are coupled together, and the

problem will be perceived, valued by decision makers and eventually rise to the agenda. The time to open a ‘policy window’ is fleeting, usually by pressing issues or major events in the political stream. According to the local interpretation of the policy stream model by Chinese scholars, there are two main ways to open the ‘policy window’ in China, one is a major social emergency, and the other is the two sessions. Due to the lack of major social emergencies, the time to promote the coupling of problem sources, policy sources and political sources is the fourth session of the 13th National People’s Congress, which will be held on March 5, 2021. One of the priorities for 2021 is to develop fairer and higher quality education, including promoting the high-quality and balanced development of compulsory education, giving full play to the advantages of online education, improving the mechanism of school, family and social coordination for education, and standardizing out-of-school training. This shows that the Chinese government attaches great importance to relevant issues and has become the key to opening the ‘policy window’ .

In addition, the implementation of relevant policies has exerted a spillover effect and provided a good policy environment. The heavy workload of primary and secondary school students and the chaos of off-campus training have been the hot topic of the whole society in recent years. Each year, the two sessions, related proposals, reports are also emerging. Especially after 2015, the government responded to the problem, It has successively issued the Opinions on Deepening the Reform of the Education System and Mechanism, the Notice on Effectively Reducing the Extracurricular Burden of Primary and Secondary School Students and Carrying out Special Governance Actions of Off-campus Training Institutions, the Notice on Accelerating the special governance work of Off-campus Training Institutions, the Opinions on standardizing the development of Off-campus Training Institutions, the Implementation Opinions on standardizing Off-campus Online Training, and the Notice on the Development of Off-campus Training Institutions The Notice on the management of off-campus training institutions during the winter vacation, the Notice on the issuance of the Contract for Off-campus Training Services for Primary and Secondary School Students (Model Text), the Notice on the centralized rectification of the illegal acts of off-campus training institutions using unfair format terms to infringe on consumers’ rights and Interests, and other policies, vigorously manage off-campus training and reduce the academic

burden of primary and secondary school students. These policies have achieved remarkable results, given full play to the spillover effect, and cultivated a good policy fertile soil for the introduction of the ‘double reduction’ policy.

After the coupling of problem source, policy source and political source, the ‘policy window’ is opened, the problem enters the vision of decision-makers and is put on the decision-making agenda. On July 24, 2021, the General Office of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and The General Office of the State Council issued the Opinions on Further Reducing the Burden of Homework and Off-campus Training for Students in the Compulsory Education Stage, which officially landed the ‘double reduction’ policy.

IV. Conclusion

As an important theory to explain the policy process under the condition of fuzziness, Kingdon’s policy stream model is suitable for analyzing the policy agenda setting of ‘double reduction’ and provides a reasonable theoretical analysis framework. It is found that the policy of ‘double reduction’ is the result of various factors such as problem stream, policy stream and political stream.

About problem stream, China has entered a new historical period of promoting the modernization of education and building an educational power, and training socialist builders and successors with all-round development of morality, intelligence, physical fitness, the United States and labor has become a higher goal of national personnel training. However, a series of data directly reflected the heavy burden of primary and secondary school students, out-of-school training market chaos constantly realistic problems, contrary to this educational concept. Previously, the relevant policies introduced by the State have achieved remarkable results, played a good spillover effect, well verified the effectiveness of national special governance, and also provided policy fertile ground for the introduction of the ‘double reduction’ policy in the new period of the 14th Five-Year Plan.

As for policy stream, government personnel, CPPCC members, experts and scholars, school front-line personnel, stakeholders constitute a policy community, although they

are different, but around the problem of reducing the burden of primary and secondary school students, constantly through various channels to give advice, express their own views and propositions. The collective participation of the policy community promotes the relevant issues to enter the vision of decision-makers smoothly, and the operable suggestions they put forward have also become part of the content of the 'double reduction' policy, promoting the process of the 'double reduction' policy.

In terms of political stream, China is a socialist country under the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and the concept of 'putting people first and governing for the people' is reflected in solving the most direct and realistic interests of the people. As an educational problem and a social problem, the Party, the government, schools, families and the society generally pay attention to the problem of reducing the burden of primary and secondary school students. In this public atmosphere of continuous concern, different interest groups have gradually reached a consensus and jointly promoted the introduction of the 'double reduction' policy.

As a socialist country with people's democracy, China's two sessions system organically integrates direct democracy and indirect democracy, providing an opportunity to open the 'policy window'. Problem stream, policy stream, political stream coupling of the three streams, the convening of the national two sessions opened the 'policy window', so that relevant issues smoothly put on the decision-making agenda. Through the 'double reduction' policy agenda setting policy stream model interpretation.

Kingdon's policy stream model vividly explains the interaction of problem source, policy source and political source in the process of making education policy, and provides reasonable support for analyzing the deep reason and logical mechanism of our country's education policy process. For education policy makers, in the face of various 'problem sources' in the field of education, they should actively respond and give feedback, constantly pay attention to the dynamic development of education issues, and further improve the channels for suggestions and suggestions, and at the same time, it is necessary to conduct reasonable and effective screening and testing of various opinions and propositions in the 'policy window'. Not only that, educational policy decision-making should always adhere to the value orientation of the public

interest as the center, give full play to the superiority of the two sessions system, and pay attention to the realistic difficulties in the process of education modernization development in the new era.

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[국문초록]

중국 의무교육단계 학생 부담경감 정책의 흐름 분석
- Kingdon의 정책흐름모형을 중심으로

이효휘 (강소대학교)

이 연구는 중국 의무교육단계 학생 부담경감 최신정책 '쌍감'정책을 중심으로 Kingdon의 정책흐름모형을 활용하여 정책의 흐름을 분석하였다. 데이터의 직관적인 반영, 현행 정책의 피드백 등으로 문제의 흐름을 구성하였다. 중국 정부의 높은 관심, 정치협상회의 위원과 전문가의 건언, 학교 현장과 이해관계자의 강한 요구 등은 정책대안의 흐름을 구성하였다. 집권당의 집권 이념과 교육 지침, 국민 정서, 전환기 이익 게임 등은 정치의 흐름을 구성한 것이다. 문제의 흐름, 정책대안의 흐름, 정치의 흐름 세 가지 흐름이 결합되어 '정책의 창'이 열리게 된 것으로 분석되었다.

Keywords: 중국, 학생부담경감, 의무교육, Kingdon의 정책흐름모형