

Shadow Education: A Role of Private Tutoring in Learning

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the process, reasons and consequences of private tutoring as perceived by the secondary level teachers and students of community schools. This is a qualitative study based on the data generated from the focus group discussions and interviews. The article argues that the students perceived improved learning through private tutoring even though there is no any significant difference in pedagogical practices than in the mainstream schooling. Exam focused learning, poor classroom teaching, peer culture, parental pressure and indirect pressure from their teachers are the main reasons behind receiving private tutoring. However, improved learning by immediate support and feedback from their teachers and development of self-confidence among students are positive consequences of private tutoring. Similarly, there are negative consequences of private tutoring learning such as to pass examination, lack of students' attention during classroom hours, extra financial burden for parents and teachers and less classes during the regular teaching hours.

KEYWORDS: Shadow education, private tutoring, mainstream schooling, pedagogy, students' learning

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INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring is common phenomenon in Nepali society. It is conceived as indispensable supplementary input for mainstream schooling. Currently, there is a common trend of private tutoring among the students of both community and institutional schools. Some scholars view private supplementary tutoring as a form of shadow education because it fulfills the gap between students' expectation and actual learning in the mainstream (Bray, 2007). The very purpose of private tutoring is to complement the mainstream education. Therefore, as there is change in mainstream education, the content and method of private tutoring also changes (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Both of high achieving students and low achieving students may want to receive supplementary where educational needs are not fully satisfied, (Upadhaya, 2005). So, the shadow education is becoming an inseparable component of mainstream schooling in Nepal.

As Bray (2013) claims that private tutoring is understood as a natural element of the mainstream schooling. A similar situation can be seen everywhere in Nepal now. In recent years there is a growing trend of private tutoring in residential hostels than in private tutoring centers. Now, there is mushrooming phenomenon of establishing private tutoring centers as residential homes for the students. These centers are called 'hostels'. Both independent institutions and private schools are running such hostels. Also, community schools are imitating such practices of residential hostels for their Secondary Education Examination (SEE) examinations appearing students and making it a mandatory provision for them to stay

in hostels. The intent of such private tutoring is to increase pass percentage of their students in the SEE exam. Similarly, increasing students' performance in the SEE exam is the other intent of such practice. However, it is blamed that "the prosperity of private tutoring distorts students' ability to learn by encouraging rote memorization" (Upadhaya, 2005). Even though, there is no significant evidence of fostering students learning by private tutoring, it has a long history in the school education system of Nepal. Nowadays, it is commonly accepted that hastened practice of private tutoring is a major part of public education crisis.

The term 'shadow education' refers to as private education by informal education institutions or tutoring informally by individual teachers or outsiders from schools. It is common phenomenon that private supplementary tutoring is considered as shadow education (Bray & Silova, 2006). However, the term became popular after Bray (1999) coined this term to denote private tutoring. As a result, various scholars have been attracted and are making contribution on the shadow education. Buchmann, Condron, and Roscigno (2010) defined shadow education as, "educational activities, such as tutoring and extra classes, occurring outside of the formal channels of an educational system that are designed to improve a student's chance of successfully moving through all the allocation process" (p. 484). Research also indicates that private tutoring is growing phenomenon in the world (Bray & Silova, 2006). So, private tutoring either offered by institutions or by individuals is shadow education. Being informal, it is being taught in addition to mainstream schooling. Similarly, financial gain is the main intent of private tutoring, and at the same time it is also considered a symbol of social segregation in India and elsewhere (Majumdar, 2014). Majumdar (2014) noted that:

More often than not, coaching classes are themselves socio-economically stratified and segregated. In other words, as in the case of mainstream schools, here too one routinely observes a streaming of tutees between low fee, lowbrow tuition centres and highbrow, comparatively better quality, coaching institutions thereby making it that much harder to enhance social mixing and collegiality among students. (p. 16)

The view in the above statement by Majumdar clearly indicates private tutoring as another form of social inequity, exploitation and lack of social harmony among students. This kind of differentiation has been noted in Loyalka and Zakharov (2016).

FORMS OF PRIVATE TUTORING

According to Bray (2007), the term 'private tutoring' "varies in different countries. Such as private tutoring in English speaking societies, in Japan 'Juku' for tuition center, in United Kingdom such centers are called 'Crammers'" (p. 22). Similarly, it is called 'Frontisera' in Greece and 'dersane' in Turkey (Ireson, 2001, as cited in Bray & Silva, 2006). There exist three common aspects in every private tutoring (Bray, 2003); these are, tutoring in an academic school subjects, additional provision besides mainstream schooling, and the intention of financial gain. Shadow education is obvious trend and it exists most of the countries around the globe. For example, 80% students in grade 10 received tutoring, in China, 73.8% of primary students were receiving supplementary lessons, and 85.5% of senior secondary students had received tutoring in Hong Kong. Similarly, in India, up to 77.2% of students in grades 4-8 had received tuition, in Republic of Korea 60.5% students in general high school received tuition. Likewise, in Philippines, 46.5% of grade 10 students received tutoring (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 6). In England, 68 % tutorials usually took place at home of the student and tutorials typically remained of one hour (Tanner et al, 2009) as is mentioned, "It has grown significantly in both industrialized and less developed societies" (Bray, 2003). So, mainstream schooling has been significantly affected by supplementary tutoring. Various studies have found positive and negative consequences of such tutoring. It is beneficial because it helps students to increase their competitiveness; avenue for private investment in human capital; incomes for under paid educators; constructive out of school

activity (Bray & Silva, 2006). Similarly, it has negative consequences, for example, distortion of mainstream curricula and teacher performance pressure on young pupils; exacerbation of social inequalities and manipulation of clients by tutors (Bray, 2003).

In Nepal, the term 'shadow education' is simply understood as 'tuition'. Nowadays, such private tutoring is being run under privately owned residential hostels for the school students. There are various forms of private tutoring among Nepali context, such as, one-to-one at home, small group tutoring, large group tutoring, and tutoring in the residential hostels. In Nepal, it is difficult to find exact data regarding private tutoring. However, in a study, Thapa (2011) found that 68 % of grade 10 students were receiving private tutoring.

The Education Act of Nepal (1971) and a recent amendment in 2017 guaranteed free education in public schools from elementary level to secondary level. This act also states that the authorities should ensure a fixed proportion of student and teachers in each public school. These provisions are good in form and poor in implementation in Nepal. The law also states that government permission is necessary for education counseling services, bridge courses, language teaching courses, and any preparatory courses. It does not specify whether private tutoring fall within these categories or not. In this sense, the practice of private tutoring in an organized way is somehow seems to be regulated, but the tutoring on individual basis is not touched upon by the regulation. There is ongoing debate of quality education among stakeholders such as teachers, parents, administrators of public and private education system in Nepal. Private tutoring is so deeply rooted that parents as well as students think that better performance and exam results in standardized high stakes tests is not possible without additional tutoring.

PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The existing literature and debate of shadow education is in its infancy stage in Nepal. Therefore, it is imperative to study the dimensions of private tutoring on mainstream schooling. The objective of this paper is to explore the process, reasons and consequences of private tutoring as perceived by the secondary level teachers and students. The research question for this study was: How do secondary level teachers and students perceive private tutoring? Through this study, I would like to explore what motivates students for private tutoring and what are issues related to this phenomenon in Nepal.

DIMENSIONS OF PRIVATE TUTORING

I observed the phenomenon of private tutoring in Nepal from four dimensions as theoretical frame to analyze the prospects and challenges associated with it. These dimensions are cultural, social, economic, and psychological. I discuss each dimension on separate sub-heading.

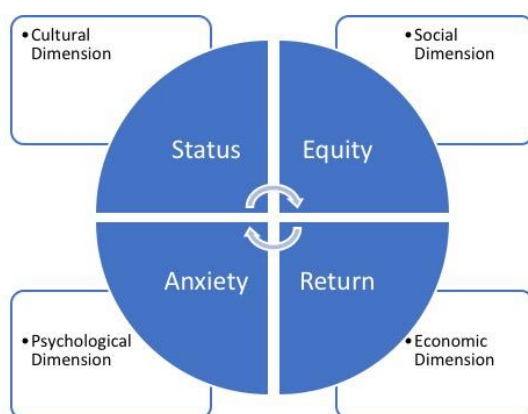


Figure 1. Four Dimensions of Private Tutoring

Cultural Dimension: Private tutoring has been developed as a culture in many places. Both the schools and parents have accepted it as a tradition since long (Baker et al., 2001). In the ancient period, in the Indian subcontinent, when there were no formal schools, children used to learn skills from private tutors (gurus). But, gurus did not take fees from students (Kashalkar-Karve, 2013; Shelly, 2015). Private tutoring has been deeply rooted in East Asian cultures and has been established as a culture (Bray, 2003). It is now a culture in developing and underdeveloped countries in North, Central, and Western Asia. This culture has been flourished due to the “competitive nature of educational process deep-seated anxiety that parents have over their children’s education” (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 25). South and East Asia has a long history of private tutoring and it has been an established culture. It has been depicted as a youth culture, school culture, and parent culture of depending on private tutoring for exams and educational success (Bray & Lykins, 2012). The parents feel safe, in academic sense, if their children get private tutoring. Children who join private tutoring feel safe within school climate and classroom due to their intimacy with the teacher and extra support they receive through tutoring. It has been a strong family tradition to send children in private tutoring for which the significant amount of household budget is allocated for private tutoring in Vietnam (Dang, 2007). Shadow education has been pervasive to all geographical boundaries. In this context, Bray (2013) claims, “the practice has long been ingrained in the cultures of East Asia, and is now increasingly evident in West and Central Asia, in Europe, in North America, and in Africa” (p. 412).

Social Dimension: Private tutoring has deep social connection and implication in terms of how it affects children’s right to free school education. Many parents consider that their children are and should be superior to others in school and for which they should learn more and learn better. There is social competition to enroll better educational institutions and maintain their high status and to show off others, they send their children to private tutoring or they hire private tutors at home (Pallegedara & Mottaleb, 2018). It has been a part of social class and status (increased living standard) that has motivated parents to hire private tutors despite the cost. Those who can afford may join private tutoring leaving behind those who cannot, creating a context of social inequity (Dang & Rogers, 2008). In this sense, private tutoring is disrupting public education and developing a sense of social segregation or mobility (Jerrim, 2017). In some places, private teachers even “secure advantages that are otherwise denied to them: it is rather as private tutors than as professionals that they enjoy a relatively respectable social status, economic rewards, and even political influence” (Popa & Acedo, 2006, p. 98). It is also one of the factors of social inequity in education (Valerio, 2013) because there is chance that students who do not join tutoring (shadow-education) may have “disadvantaged social backgrounds” (Choi & Park, 2016, p. 22). Even some scholars view this phenomenon as a loss of self-image of teachers who are engaged in private tutoring and educational bribery for success of their students (Popa, & Acedo, 2006). However, it has shown a positive correlation with socioeconomic status despite government’s failed effort to regulate this phenomenon in Republic of Korea (Choi & Choi, 2016).

Economic Dimension: Shadow education provides an incentive to the tutor. Some tutors who do not have other jobs, it is a main source of income. The teachers as private tutors earn more than what they receive as a salary from the school. For parents with low income, it is a huge burden to send their children for private tutoring (Valerio, 2013). For middle class parents with medium income level, it is a motivation to help their children achieve better in education and be successful in higher education and entrance tests in science and technology education, which is again an economic motive to improve future life. The parents who are already well off prefer private tutoring for their children to engage them in additional learning because they can afford it (Bray & Lykins, 2012; Jayachandran, 2014). It is an unregulated source of income for teachers and private tutors who can earn to afford their higher education. The other reasons for growing private tutoring, in many places, is the low

funding for public schools to support students who need extra-classes besides regular classes and low salary of teachers to meet the family basic needs (Popa & Acedo, 2006). Past studies showed that there is difference between parents' ability to afford for shadow education in rural and urban areas. Richer urban dwelling educated parents spend more on children's private tutoring than rural remote areas (Dang, 2007).

Psychological Dimension: Private tutoring has a deep connection to classroom teaching and learning. The motivating factor for private tutoring in many places is attributed to – poor quality of main stream education, less qualified teachers in schools, insufficient number of mathematics and English teachers in remote public schools, irregularity of classes in schools, and high stakes of high school grades (Pallegedara & Mottaleb, 2018). The teachers who offer private tutoring to students, often do not spend full time in the classroom or do not take teaching seriously in the class time and compel students to join tutoring (Choi & Choi, 2016; Jayachandran, 2014). The schools do not or cannot maintain the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom, but the same teachers are found to teach better in private tutoring. The children are then motivated to join private tutoring for better education due to proximity with teacher during small group or one-on-one tutoring. It is found to have a deteriorated effect on students learning process due to dependency on the private tutor (Valerio, 2013), which might eventually degrade their learning and achievement in the long run (Jheng, 2015). In the other hand, many students have a high degree of anxiety about college entrance exams and their anxiety level is elevated more when parents add their interest to see colorful high grades (Popa & Acedo, 2006). Then, students prefer to join private tutoring despite parents' loss of money and loss of their self-confidence, and social and sport activities after the school.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on exploratory design of qualitative research (Creswell, 2012). More specifically, I used qualitative interpretive exploration method in order to identify the perceptions of secondary level teachers and students on shadow education. In order to find out their perception towards the consequences of shadow education on mainstream schooling, I adopted purposive sampling (Creswell, 2012). The research participants were six secondary level teachers, who have been teaching in a high school under the Bhandardhik Resource Center at Lekhnath of Kaski District in Nepal. All of them were engaged in private tutoring for ninth and tenth grader students. Among them, two female teachers have three to five years teaching experience. Likewise, there were four male teachers having six to twenty years of teaching experiences. Some of them were recent practitioner of private tutoring and some of them had a long experience (i.e. 15 years) of private tutoring. Similarly, I chose two participant students who completed grade 10 and was waiting for the SEE result. These two students had experience of private tutoring from earlier classes. They have participated intensive tuition class (i.e. out of school teaching) in grade ten by focusing on the SEE exam. To maintain the anonymity of the research informants, their real names were replaced with pseudonyms. For the ethical consideration (Flick, 2012), informed consent to participate was secured from each participant.

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and interviews were research tools for data collection. The FGD was conducted with the selected secondary level teachers in their office premises for one and half hour. Similarly, thirty minutes interviews were conducted with each of the student participant. Since, they stayed in my neighborhood; I met them several times and had informal conversations with them. The conversations were not recorded to maintain the natural setting. Instead, I wrote a descriptive account of the interview experience. I prepared such note immediately after conversation with them. I recorded the FGD and transcribed it. I analyzed the data by developing meaningful codes and categories

leading to generation of final themes of the interview and FGD data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2000).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The following main themes are derived by analyzing the FGD with Secondary level teachers and the interview with the students as well.

Nature of Tuition

In Nepal, shadow education is understood as 'tuition' from many years. It is generally being offered out of school hours i.e. before or after the school hours and sometimes during school hours either inside or outside of the school premises. Sometimes such tutoring is called 'coaching' if the group is large. The term 'coaching' is also commonly used as term to denote private tutoring in many countries (Bray, 2011). Parents think tuition is an indispensable component of school system for ensuring their children perform well in exams. I have asked a question, 'how do you define tuition?' with the teachers during FGD. One of the teachers called Ramesh stated, "Tuition is voluntary teaching to a small group of students offered besides school hours. It is informal and offered for extra financial gain particularly on more difficult subjects, such as mathematics, science, English etc. The aim of such tuition is to ensure students better performance in exams".

I asked a similar question was asked to the informant students also. They agreed with the above view that they are taking extra tuition to get higher scores in exam. Various studies have found similar situation in the different part of the globe (Bray & Silova, 2006; Bray, 2011; Baker, Akiba, Tendre & Wiseman, 2001). Teacher and students were found to have focused on the exam only rather than learning. So, the system of shadow education is destroying mainstream schooling by rote learning. It includes tutoring students one to one, or in small groups as well as larger classes. Both the class instructor as well as armature instructor additional to the provision of mainstream schooling, parents have to bear extra financial burden (Bray, 2013; Bray, 2011).

Pedagogical Practices

Pedagogical process is one of the important key components of private tutoring. Parents believe tutorials classes to be more interactive. Such class offers students more opportunity to ask questions and gain clarifications" (Bray & Lykins, 2012). However, pedagogy is one of the various challenges in such tutorials (Bray, 2009, Buchmann, Cardon & Roscigno, 2010) regarding classroom pedagogy. I asked the teachers to share their experience on pedagogical difference between mainstream class and tutorial one. Samir, one of the participants, stated, "I did not have to do extra effort during tutorial class. But due to the small size I used to treat individually if the students had any confusions or difficulties. Similarly, I used to practice students by using reference materials. It would be easy to check homework of individual students as well".

Rashmi, one of the FGD participants seemed different from the above view. She stated,

There is significant difference between usual in-side school classroom and private tutorials. I could pay more attention and care for each of the students because of small size. It's easy for me to find out their difficulties and provide them immediate feedback in tutorials. It is not possible to do so in regular school classrooms.

Further, I asked them whether they have been practicing different teaching strategies or not. Participant teacher seemed that they have not practiced any different method comparing to their usual classroom. Similarly, I asked the same question was asked to the informant

students about teachers' treatment between regular and tutorial class. Pradip, one of the participant students expressed,

Teachers do not do different activities in private tutoring in comparison with the in-side school classroom teaching. But, I have seen that they become more laborious, provide personal care and correct errors immediately in tutorials rather than usual classrooms.

Bijaya seemed different from Pradip. He shared his bitter experience as he said,

Teachers seem lovely, humorous, polite and caring during tutorials. They use soft words and encourage us as well. While in usual classroom they become difference. One of my science teachers hurt me during classroom teaching as he told "ए गोरु तेरो दिमागमा गोबर भरियको छ, येत्ती पनि जन्दैनस?" translated as: Hey you bull! Is your brain full of shit, you even don't know it?

Above statements shows that students felt partial treatment by teachers and teachers felt more relaxed in tutorial classes as comparing it with the regular one. Teachers remain softer, caring and do not use rude remarks in tuition classes. Bray (2009) found that the pedagogy of private tutors differs from that of mainstream teacher. However, a study found no any differences in the methods and materials used in private tutoring and used in regular classroom teaching (Wittwer, 2014).

Prevalence of Private Tutoring

The culture of tuition is a common phenomenon in the Nepali schooling system. It is rooted for many years along with the mainstream schooling. It is parallel to mainstream education system as it is wide spread in different forms such as one to one tutoring, tutoring in small or in large class and tutoring in residential hostels in recent years. Currently, staying in hostel along with tutorial is common in urban areas of Nepal. Specially, SEE appearing students stay in such hostels. It's due to the common "perceptions of inadequacies in mainstream schooling are the driver of private tutoring" (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Similarly, other various factors are contributing private tutoring such as "cultural, educational & economic factors" (Bray & Silova, 2006, p. 31).

When asked a question, "how do you feel the necessity of supplementary tutoring?" to the teachers, they responded differently. Some of them agreed that such tutorial is necessary for better performance in examination. In contrary, some felt that supplementary tuition is becoming fashion and it is destroying the creativity of students. Bikas, a teacher feels as, I think private tutoring is becoming a fashion. Students are careless in their study. Lack of self-study and fully dependence on tutorial class is destroying their own originality and creativity. When SEE exam comes near, and then they take tutorial classes. Most of them used to move to the residential hostels in the name of improved learning. But such tutorials only focused on SEE exam and lacks deeper understanding of subject matter.

I asked a similar question, "why do you think the private tutorial in necessary?" to the students. They felt that they are less focused to understand subject matter during classroom instruction. Similarly, when they failed to understand particular subject matter during regular classroom, they have no any other choice than to join private tutorial. Personal guidance and feedback from teacher is not accessible according to them. Furthermore, they added that their colleague laughed when they asked questions to their teachers during instruction. Similarly, sometime teachers discouraged themselves by using rude remarks. As a result, culture of silence inside classroom is growing as it is argued, "Sometimes teachers are blamed for teaching less during the school day to increase demand for their tutoring" (Jayachandran, 2014, p. 190). However, both the informant teachers and students highlighted the needs of private tutoring which are given in Table 1.

Table 1. *Needs of Joining Private Tutoring*

<p>To strengthen and improve learning.</p> <p>To promote competition among colleges.</p> <p>To motivate students towards learning.</p> <p>To do focused learning/exam-oriented learning.</p> <p>To get a chance of interaction, clarification and immediate feedback.</p> <p>To treat personally to the weaker student.</p> <p>To persuade the parents.</p> <p>To increase success rate in SLC exam.</p> <p>To develop confidence.</p> <p>Being rooted culture of schooling.</p>
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Motivation

The motivation of public schools' students towards supplementary tuition is to get higher marks and doing better performance in exams. There is correlation between reception of tutoring and School Leaving Certificate (SLC) exam. Thapa (2011) found that public schools' students who had received private tutoring had added to their score by 1.74 percentage points in SLC exam. Similarly, currently it is becoming part of "extensive culture of formal education" as stated by Byun and Baker (2015, p. 4). Large classroom teaching with heavy workload is another problem for teacher. But in private tutoring there can be "individualized instruction and actively engaged in learning" (Wittwer, 2014). Similarly, more emphasis on solving problems and practicing is possible. Researchers found that those students who received private tutoring become more dedicated to their studying. Such as, did homework, repeated the contents of the curriculum, and engaged in practicing, attained higher academic performance, etc. (Wittwer, 2014; Byun & Baker, 2015). Regarding motivation UK based study (Ireson & Rushforth, 2014) found that parents were motivated to improve understanding subject by 70.8 percent, and to increase self-confidence by 59 percent, of their children. When asked about the motivation to be engaged in private tutoring, Kamal, one of the English teachers engaged in private tutoring stated, "It's not possible to ensure students learning in regular classroom teaching. Due to flexible time, small group of students, and more conscious students (towards exam) make me comfort. In addition to this, additional financial gain helps me to maintain my household expenses".

Table 2 summarizes the major motivational factors for joining private tutoring.

Table 2. *Factors for Students' Motivation to Join Private Tutoring*

<p>To pass the exam at any cost and score higher in test.</p> <p>There is no fear with teacher and learning is easy.</p> <p>Parents put continuous pressure for better result in exam.</p> <p>They can't understand in regular classroom.</p> <p>Opportunity for co-operative learning, adequate practice, problem solving and immediate feedback.</p> <p>Teacher treat differently in tutorial, so learning becomes easy.</p> <p>Teachers use verities for reference books.</p>
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One of the main motivational factors for private tutoring is additional financial gain for teachers/tutors which is becoming an extra economic burden for parents. Sometimes the teachers are blamed as they are not paying adequate effort in their regular classroom as it supposed to be. A study by Iversen, Saha & shah (2007) has blamed that teachers are playing a double role, so private tutoring should be banned. Additionally, they found private tutoring is one of the main causes increasing child labor. Students are motivated due to following reasons as they responded during interview (See Table 2).

Emotional Stress

As it is claimed, "Private tutoring can also increase pressures on young people and is not always effective" (Bray, 2013). Specially, students at the last grade of secondary level, i.e. grade 10, remains in high pressure from various factor, as stated by Pradip,

After entering grade 10, I felt on pressure from various sides. Parents are reminding me to get distinction or first division. Similarly, my teachers always put pressure a lot to do better in SEE exam. Sometimes, I feared that if I could not do well in SEE exam, all the doors will remain closed for me. Then I won't get better opportunity for a job in the future.

The above statement of Pradip indicates how SEE appearing students are suffering from emotional and mental pressure. Then they think that without private tutoring they can't do well. Bijay, a student, added: "Teachers always encourage us to do better; it is a kind of pressure". Bray (2013) found similar situations of emotional pressure of Hong Kong's secondary level students. I also talked about the pressure of tutoring during FGD with the teachers. They seemed to agree that students in grade 10 are in high academic pressure because parents and outsiders are carefully watching the SLC result. Similarly, they would fail to get admission in better schools if performed badly. In addition, the teachers also wanted better test results from them. All these factors put the students in greater stress.

Peer Culture

Almost all the students of grade 10 used to receive private tutoring, except parental failure to pay for additional tutoring. Bijaya, a student shared that:

All of my classmates of grade 10 went to hostel for tutoring. So, I also went there together with my mates. I couldn't do well in exam without tutoring. I had not fully understood all the lessons during my class. So, it would be easier for me to study with colleagues.

Similarly, Pradip, a student said, "Before I went to hostel, I received tuition of English & mathematics because most of my classmates joined tuition. Otherwise, I would be left behind among my classmates".

Due to informal nature of private tutoring students learn also by sharing ideas among their peers. Similarly, if the members of peer joins in the tutoring, remaining others also admit for tutoring due to peer pressure. Teachers had similar experience that peer culture influence in receiving private tutoring. This result reverberate the findings of a study in India by Sujatha (2014).

Parental Perception

Parental decision about their children is obvious in fact. Various studies have found parents' role determines whether to send their children for private tutoring or not. For example, such situation prevails in India (Azam, 2015; Sujatha, 2014), and in Cambodia (Ireson & Rush, 2014). The question, "How do you find the parental perception towards sending their children for private tutoring?" was asked to the teachers. Sangita shared her experience, "in my experiences parents are very much worried about their children. They think their children can't perform better in exam without private tutoring." However, Bikash felt differently as he said, "most of the parents used to view negatively to those teachers who are engaged in private tutoring. In addition, they think we are exploiting their children by poor teaching in regular classroom".

Ramesh added that not all the parents had similar views. Few of the parents who are educated view that private tutoring as supplementary effort to strengthen their children learning. I asked a similar question was asked to the students also. For Pradip, his father told, "I don't know anything. You must get first division in SEE. If you need tuition for that you can take the tuition." Bijaya shared that he hardly became succeeded to convince his parents

for taking private tutoring. His father became angry when he talked about tuition. He shared with me what his father told him, “What are you doing there all over the year in classroom? What did you learn, so far? What are your teachers doing at school? Are they playing cards at school? If not, why do you need to go for tuition? Your teachers are compelling us to send you for tuition and they want to earn money from us”.

From the above expressions of teachers and students, it shows that parents are worried about their children’s education. They think tuition is only way to improve and strengthen the learning of their children. Additionally, they think tuition is one of the burdens to them due to teachers’ poor and less teaching in classroom. Similar findings are derived from various studies in different parts of the globe (Bray, 2011; Bray, 2013; Bray & Silova, 2006; Ireson & Rushforth, 2014).

Consequences of Private Tutoring

Private tutoring is being conceived as indispensable elements of schooling. There are various studies carried about the consequences of private tutoring. However, there are no unanimous findings. Some of the studies found positive consequences, whereas other studies found negative ones (Byun & baker, 2015). During FGD with the teachers they discussed on both the positive and negative effects of private tutoring which are as follows in Table 3. Likewise, I talked to the students about the consequences of private tutoring. For them, there are both positive and negative effects of private tutoring. The positive effects are: students develop confidence, have easy access with teachers, and increase the feeling of competition. Similarly, the disadvantages of private tutoring are: they became less attentive during the school day, create financial burden to family, focus is to pass the exam, etc. These findings are consistent with literature. The most significant disadvantage is that it puts immense financial burden to parents of low-income families.

Table 3. *Positive and Negative Effects of Tutoring*

Positive Effects of Tuition	Negative Effects of Tuition
Students become attentive	Students do not become attentive in class
They manage study time effectively	Tend to fall on mental pressure
Mutual learning among colleagues	Students can be frustrated
More focused on learning/exams	They focus only on exam instead of deeper understanding
Adequate practice from various reference books	Increase financial burden to family
Can communicate easily with teachers	Decrease motivation towards teaching during school days
Increase competitiveness	Lacks continuous study habit.
Income for teachers	
Helps slow learners	
Enable teachers to treat on students’ individual needs.	

Chung and Lee (2017) stated that, “its burden on household budgets is quite substantial” (p. 153). Similarly, prevalence of other negative consequences is obvious. However, from the above discussion, it can be concluded that private tutoring focuses on scoring higher in the respective examinations of students rather than learning for understanding. Private tutoring in the form of shadow-education does not guarantee a high achievement of student. Rather, it deepens the inequity in the sense that students of low socioeconomic status may join low-quality tutoring service leading to marginal success compared to the students who afford to join high-quality tuition or coaching centers to achieve a better grade (Loyalka & Zakharov, 2016).

Limitations

The study is based on the small sample of informants. Two students who completed the grade ten and having experience of private tuition were interviewed. Similarly, six teachers from one of the public school of Kaski District under Bhandardhik resource centre participated in the focus group discussion. All of the informants were engaged in private tutoring activities. Although, there were no informants from outside the practitioners of private tutoring, because of small sample size and limited amount of data from FGD and interviews, the findings cannot be generalized in large sample and territory.

Implications

There are limited numbers of studies in related to private tutoring even though it has long rooted tradition along with the mainstream schooling in Nepal. Since, meaningful shifting in classroom teaching learning mode is one of the desired hot issues of Nepalese education system. It is imperative to understand the nature and consequences of private tutoring in order to make pedagogical reform in Nepalese schools. Similarly, it is one of the hidden places of educating children of having attraction of parents. Therefore, the study is highly significant from the point of view of pedagogical practices.

Nepal has experienced the various educational experiments in the name of policy reformations in education for six decades. However, the improvement level of education remained always questionable. Moreover, the state has not paid serious attention towards the system of private tutoring. Therefore, there is a dire need to rethink about the school education system in relation to pedagogy, educational financing, school management, persuasion and faith towards school education, and so on. The findings in this study can be helpful in reforming existing educational policy on the practice of school education as well as it is crucial to pay attention to education policy and plan to reduce the adverse effect of shadow-education in Nepal.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Private tutoring is supplementary fee-based tutoring provided to the students in their academic subjects of mainstream schooling. It is widely known as "shadow education" (Bray, 1999). Shadow education is worldwide phenomenon consisted cross national variations (Byun & Baker, 2015). Few of the studies are carried out on Nepal's private tutoring even though it is deep rooted in the mainstream schooling for many years. Secondary level teachers seem more positive consequences than negative one. Similarly, secondary level students also felt private tutoring as essential part of their schooling to get better performance. There exist mainly three types of private tutoring in community schools. Firstly, one-to-one tutoring for individual students. Secondly, tutoring students by teachers to offer for-profit tutoring to their own students. Thirdly, tutoring students by third party tutor in residential hostels or outside the schools besides school time. The study concludes that there is no significant difference in pedagogical practices during tutorial classes as Wittwer (2014) found. However, teachers remain more caring, show soft behaviors and use varieties of reference materials during tutoring. In addition, they provide adequate chances of interaction and problem solving with practices which generally lacks in their usual classroom. Students perceptions of "inadequacies in main streaming schooling (Bray & Lyking, 2012); poor classroom teaching with "less efforts by teachers" (Jayachandran, 2014); hopping to improve learning and peer culture of tutoring are the main reasons to receive private tutoring. The motivation of private tutoring for the teacher is additional tutoring for the teacher is additional earning while better and improved learning along with higher performance in SEE exam is the main intent of the students.

Private tutoring is not always helpful and beneficial for students. Sometimes it can increase mental and emotional pressure on them. For example, teachers pressure them to

receive tutoring, fear of failure in exam, fear of failing to get further study admission after SEE and pressure by parents for obtaining higher scores. Although, all the parents are not capable to send their children for tutoring, they have no other choices than to send their children for tutoring. Both the teachers and students perceived that private tutoring is a financial burden for parents. Parents think it is essential to receive private tutoring in order to improve their children's learning and for better performance in SEE exam. However, 'parental choice determines' children's admission for private tutoring (Azam, 2015; Suajatha, 2014). The study concludes that there are both positive as well as negative consequences of private tutoring in community schools especially for SEE appearing students. Development of self-confidence, improvement in learning by immediate feedback from the teachers and learning enrichment by peer competition are some of the positive consequences. Similarly, teachers' put less effort to teach during regular classroom, students being less attentive during classroom instruction, exam focused learning rather than learning for understanding and better performance, and extra financial burdens for family are the negative consequence of private tutoring. However, there is prevalent concept that improved as well as strengthened learning and better academic performance is impossible without private tutoring is deeply rooted among students and their parents. In addition, they consider private tutoring as indispensable component of mainstream schooling. Therefore, shadow-education should be regulated for systematic improvement in teaching and learning in public and private schools so that students do not depend on private tutoring for better grades despite financial burden to parents.

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