

Shadow Teaching and Actual Disparity: A Study from the Perspectives of Grade 9 Students in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

Shadow education stands for those for-profit activities which are to improve students' academic learning in school-taught subjects. Shadow teaching is a subcategory of shadow education which stands for paid private supplementary tutoring. It is assumed that such activities cause disparities as those students who do not receive them, might be a disadvantage. This paper investigates disparities caused by shadow teaching through the lenses of actual disparity. Actual disparity occurs when one stays away from advantage or facility due to unfavourable circumstances and feels deprived for not having it. Data was collected from grade 9 students belonging to eight schools in Multan, Pakistan. 394 questionnaires were analyzed. Additionally, 5 one-to-one and 6 focused-group interviews were conducted from 35 of those students who had not received shadow teaching. The findings show that out of 394, 117 students did not receive shadow teaching. Out of those 117, only 40 cited unfavourable circumstances. Others claimed to have stayed away by their own accord. During interviews, most of them said that they did not have any sense of deprivation for not receiving it. Many pointed out various strategies which they had been using instead of shadow teaching. They claimed that those strategies were more beneficial in their learning than shadow teaching. As a result, in most cases, shadow teaching did not cause actual disparity.

Keywords: *shadow education, shadow teaching, actual disparity, private tutoring,*

Introduction

Shadow education is a term employed for paid activities which are used to help students in improving their learning and performance in school-taught, examinable subjects (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Bray, 1999, 2009; Aslam & Atherton, 2012; Buchmann, Condrón & Roscigno, 2010; Zhang, 2011). Other than paid private tutoring, shadow education may also include a wide range of other activities such as online lectures, solved and unsolved exercises, helping books and CDs etc. (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Buchmann, Condrón & Roscigno, 2010). Malik (2017) divided shadow education into three subcategories: shadow teaching, shadow curriculum and pre-recorded academic aids (Malik, 2017, p. 21).

Shadow teaching stands for paid private supplementary tutoring. The issue of disparities caused by shadow education is likely to be more prominent in the case of shadow teaching as it is usually more expensive than the other two. Also, its impact is more direct and immediate upon the students. The teacher/tutor knows who are receiving extra coaching from him/her and who are not, making the students more prone to favouritism or biased treatment.

Shadow education is a growing phenomenon which has affected countries all over the world, but it appears to be more prevalent in the countries from the South than from the North (Bray, 1999). Researchers and policymakers are divided over its impact and effects. Some credit it for uplifting the overall quality and

effectiveness of education system in exams performance (Stevenson & Baker, 1992; Liu, 2012; Suleman, Aslam, Hussain, & Ali, 2013), improving students' efficacy (Montebon, 2016), improved class performance and income for the teachers (Benveniste, Marshall, & Santibañez, 2008), and helping the parents in ensuring better future opportunities for their children (Lee, 2014). On the other side, several researchers and scholars have pointed out that it may promote various social evils such as malpractices by teachers (Dawson, 2009; Zhang, 2014), lack of participation and attention in the formal classroom by the students who receive it (Yung & Bray, 2017), and social inequalities and disparities (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Borodchuk, 2011; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Entrich, 2018). It is also perceived to widen the chasm between haves and have-nots as one group of students is provided with it (presumably because of better access, permission and/or resources) while other being left out (presumably for the lack of them) (Bray, 1999). Bray (2009) also mentioned that it put an extra financial burden on the families, and sometimes they had to cut down expenses on other necessities of life to pay for it. Bray and Lykins (2012) said that the inequalities caused by shadow teaching are a "recurrent theme" and "self-evident" (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 44). Some philosophers and researchers even called it a social issue and asked it to be ruthlessly eliminated from the face of the earth (Sen, 2002; Kim, 2016).

While talking about the disparities caused by shadow education, most of the researchers focus on the numbers only (those who are provided with shadow education and those who are not), or base

it on theoretical assumptions. Malik and Liu (2018), while researching shadow education in Beijing, suggested that the issue of disparities caused by shadow education should be investigated more deeply. They presented the idea of actual disparity. Unlike disparity which focuses on numbers (one group has something, and others does not), actual disparity focuses on the causes for not receiving/ having that, and the feelings of those without it. According to this concept, only if those without a facility or advantage have been kept out, and feel depressed or deprived because of not having it; should it be an issue and a social evil hence causing actual disparity (Malik & Liu, 2018, p. 55, 56). Their findings showed that most of the students stayed away from shadow education because of their own choice hence did not have any negative feeling or sense of deprivation.

Zhang (2013), in her PhD dissertation, researched shadow education in Chongqing, China. She also investigated the main reasons for not receiving shadow education. There were thirteen reasons cited for not receiving shadow education (including "other reasons"). She did not categorize them. But if they are categorized into "unfavourable circumstances" and "one's own choice" categories, eight reasons may fall in the category of one's own choice (already good in studies 27, the school provides enough training 54, can turn to my teacher 153, help from family etc. 103, private tutoring not worth it 137, do not think it can improve academic achievements 178, it would take up my spare time 139, teacher does not recommend it 15). All in all, those reasons were reported 806 times. Three may fall

into the category of unfavourable circumstances (my parents do not want it 33, too expensive 109, available centres do not meet my needs 154). These reasons were reported 296 times. Two reasons could fall into the neutral category which may be interpreted in either way (so much work that no time is left for it 163, other reasons 25). These were reported 188 times (Zhang, 2013, p. 119). This study also shows that most of the students did not receive shadow education due to their own choice.

There has not been a lot of research exclusively about the students without shadow teaching to see the causes behind it, and how they feel. It is important to use mixed methods so that their feelings can be probed more deeply. This paper tries to reduce some of this research gap by focusing upon the students without shadow teaching and their feelings through mixed-methods research.

Methodology

This paper uses mixed research methods. Mixed methods research should be used when combining quantitative and qualitative research answers the research question better (Newman, Ridenour, Newman & DeMarco, 2003). In this paper, students' background information, the spread of shadow teaching, and causes for not receiving it are investigated through the quantitative method. For investigating the causes more deeply, and exploring the feelings of those who do not receive it; qualitative research method is employed.

Research Design

This paper uses a sequential explanatory design. In sequential explanatory design, first quantitative data is collected. After that, qualitative data is collected to further

interpret and explain the findings of quantitative data (Creswell, 2003). First, the students were asked through the questionnaire a variety of questions including the reasons for not receiving it, and then the same questions (and others about their feelings) were probed at length through interviews.

Participants and Sampling

As the research is from students' perspectives, the data was collected from grade 9 students. They belonged to eight public high schools in Multan, Pakistan. Four of those schools are boys' and four girls'. The schools were selected using a stratified sampling technique (Teddlie & Yu, 2007).

The basic unit was school. The strata for this research were the geographical location (suburban, cantonment and downtown areas), financial status (schools in posh areas and poor areas), and gender (boys' and girls' schools). Two schools (one boys' and one girls') were taken from suburban, posh, low-income and cantonment areas each. It was done to get a more balanced and comprehensive picture.

The students were not selected randomly, but the whole classes were selected using a cluster sampling technique (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). It was done because the school principals did not allow selecting students randomly as that would have disturbed the working of multiple classes.

For the qualitative part, 5 one-to-one, and 6 focused-group interviews were conducted. One focused group consisted of five students each. All the interviews were face-to-face. They were audio-

recorded as the recording of the interviews “have been accepted in a rather matter-of-fact way” now (Lee, 2004, p. 879).

Tools Development and Data Collection

Quantitative data was collected through questionnaires which were originally designed in English and later translated into Urdu. It consisted of three parts: personal and background information, feelings about shadow teaching, and causes for not receiving shadow teaching.

With the permission of the school heads, self-administrated questionnaires method was practised as it leads to a higher response rate. Also, sampling is much more accurate, and the chances of confusions are mitigated greatly with this technique (Oppenheim, 2000). As a result, a 100% return rate was achieved (although some students left some questions unanswered).

Interviews were semi-structured as they give the researcher a choice of wording which helps in the process of the probe (Barriball & While, 1994). An interview guide was developed consisting of research questions, interview questions related to each research question and some suggestive supplementary questions. Further probe and questioning were done based on the answers of the participants. Focused-group interviews were less structured, and the participants were allowed to support or counter each other’s opinion. The researcher was there to ensure that the focused-group interviews did not go beyond the research boundaries. On average, one-to-one and focused-group interviews were 17 and 58 minutes long respectively.

Reliability and Validity

For reliability of the questionnaires, the test-retest strategy was used. The

questionnaires were given twice to the students with a gap of 10 to 15 days. The test-retest reliability value was 0.92. 394 is the number of students who replied both times. In total, 867 questionnaires were distributed on two occasions- 425 the first time and 442 the second time. 100% response rate means that all the students present at that time returned the questionnaires.

The questionnaire and the interview guide were created in English and shown to quantitative and qualitative research experts at a Chinese university. They were also sent to one shadow education expert for content validity. Once in Pakistan, the Urdu version was shown to educationists and experienced head-teachers for their expert opinion. Appropriate changes were made as per their suggestions.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used through SPSS 16 to analyze questionnaires. Interviews were transcribed and then analyzed. As there were only eleven interviews, this task was done manually as suggested by literature (Bleck et al. 2015).

Marshall and Rossman’s (2006) model for qualitative data analysis was followed by using coding and categorization. Verbatim quotations were also used frequently as often the emphasis of the argument cannot be depicted by picking words or phrases only. Verbatim quotations also improve the quality of research (Corden & Sainsbury, 2005, 2006).

Findings from Quantitative Data

Findings from the quantitative data were as follows.

Background Information

Out of 394 respondents, 195 (49.49%) were boys and 199 (50.51%) girls. The mean age of the participants was 14 years and 6 months. As the research was conducted in the city area, most of the students (n=366, 92.89%) reported having come from urban areas. Similarly, an overwhelming majority (n=295, 74.81%) were from science group and only 95 (24.11%) from humanities.

Answering the question about family support for academic learning and homework, 171 (43.4%) said that they had been receiving family support in this regard; while 212 (53.81%) said that they did not.

Spread and Type of Shadow Teaching

Out of 377 students who had answered this question, 260 (68.96%) said that they had received shadow teaching during the last 12 months. A slightly higher number of boys said to have received shadow teaching as compared to the girls (137 boys and 123 girls). The geographical location of the schools did not appear to have much influence on the percentage of the students receiving shadow teaching.

Most of the students who belonged to the schools in suburban and downtown areas reported having received shadow teaching from the higher class students, and their class teachers. On the other hand, the majority of the students from the schools in cantonment and posh areas said that they received shadow teaching from other school teachers or went to the academies.

The attitude of the Teachers

Another point that is often made is that the students without shadow teaching might face unfavourable or even hostile attitude from the teachers. Out of 326 students

who answered this question, only 94 (28.83%) agreed to this. Out of those 94 students, 66 were receiving shadow education, and 28 were not.

Students without Shadow Teaching

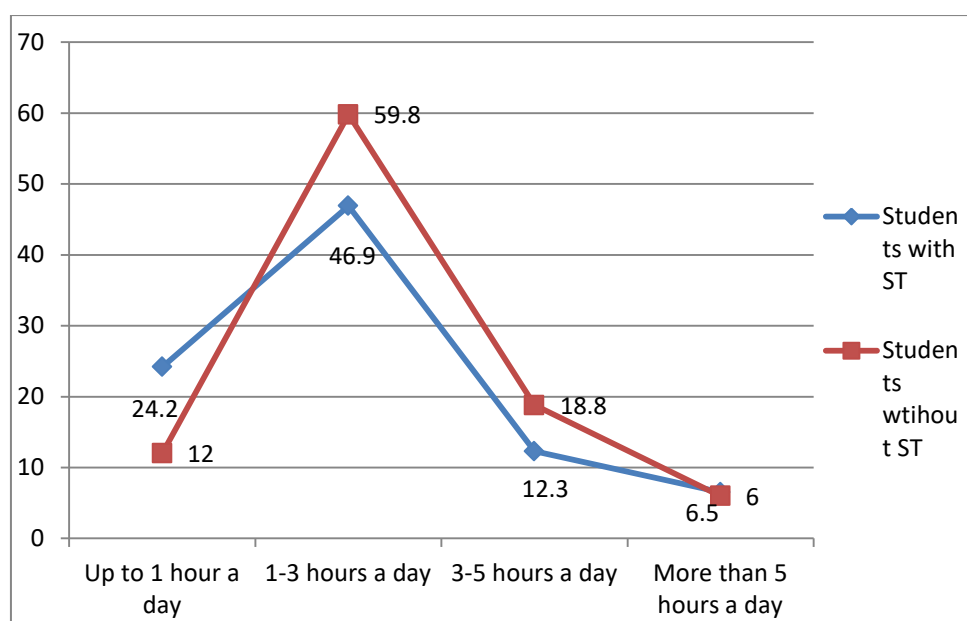
Out of 117 students who said that they had not received shadow teaching for the last one year, 110 cited different reasons for staying out of it. 70 out of 110 (63.64%) cited reasons which showed that it was their own choice (not satisfied with the quality of shadow teaching- 6, prefer self-study- 45, the family helps me- 19). Only a little over one-third of them (40 out of 110, 36.36%) reported unfavorable circumstances for not receiving shadow teaching (financial problems 17, too far from home 23).

Out of those 117 students without shadow teaching, only 27 (23.08%) said that they were not happy with the situation and would have loved to get extra coaching while a much larger number of the students (n=67, 57.26%) reported being quite content with the situation and said that they would not go for shadow teaching even if an opportunity was presented to them. Another 23 (19.66%) said that although they were content with the situation, they would go for the shadow teaching if given an option.

Shadow Teaching and Number of Hours Spent on Self-Study

As it may be seen in the figure i, students without shadow teaching seemed to spend a lot more time on the self-study than those with shadow teaching. Although, it is unclear if they spent extra time because they had more free time or because they felt that they could be lagging behind if they did not spend extra hours on study.

Figure i: Number of hours spent on self-study



Findings from Qualitative Data

5 one-to-one and 6 focused group interviews were conducted from 35 students who had not received shadow teaching for the last one year. The interviews were focused on the reasons for not receiving shadow teaching, and how they felt about it.

Causes for Not Receiving Shadow Teaching

The causes cited by the students for not receiving shadow teaching were divided into two main categories: external factors or due to unfavourable circumstances (lack of money, access, permission etc.); and internal factors or those based on one's own choice and decision.

External Factors/ Unfavorable Circumstances

11 out of the 35 interviewees (3 who gave face-to-face interviews, and 8 who were part of different focused groups) said that they did not take shadow teaching mainly due to external factors which were not under their control. They included poverty, cultural issues, lack of resources, the

remoteness of the good academies and gender bias (resources/ permission given to boys, but not to girls).

A boy from one of the focused groups, who belonged to a middle-class family said that his family was not able to pay for the tuition fee for the home tutor. He further added that the academies in his locality were not up-to-mark. He reported that most of the good academies were in posh areas which were too far from his house. He couldn't go there as he did not have a motorbike or even a bicycle. His family was too poor to get personal conveyance for him, hire private transport or get a home tutor. As a result, he would stay at home and do his studies by himself despite his upmost desire to do otherwise.

Another girl also pointed out financial issues, but she said that it was not that her parents did not have money; it was that their priority was on the boys. She told that all of her brothers (three to be exact) had been receiving shadow teaching, but her parents did not pay for her (despite her being the only daughter).

They instead asked her to study by herself and take help from her elder brothers. She explained it in these words.

“They (my parents) have money, but not for me. All of my brothers go to an academy and take all the subjects. I have asked for it many times, for English only; (but) my father says, ‘stay at home, help your mother. If there is any issue with studies, your brothers will help’.” (*translated from Urdu*).

Although she said that her brothers would help her whenever she would need, she would prefer to go to the academy. She expressed disappointment that most of her classmates were going to the academy, but she was not.

Another girl who gave one-to-one interview said that her family was poor. She also said that her parents did not allow her to go out of the house to any academy. Also they would not “trust the environment in the academies”. They could not afford home tutors. Although there were a few university students available who were willing to provide home tuition at a very low cost, her parents would not permit.

“Some boys, students themselves in our neighborhood, give tuition in evening. Fee also low; but my parents say no, especially my father and elder brother. They think it is bad, immoral. Those boys are young. They do not trust them.” (*translated from Urdu*)

Due to all these reasons, she said that she had to stay at home and study by herself. Although she said that her elder brother helped her, but it was “not good enough” and he did not have time to teach her on daily basis.

Nine out of those eleven students said that they would love to receive shadow teaching if given an opportunity.

Internal Factors/ By Their Own Choice

Interestingly, majority of the students who were interviewed stated that they stayed away from shadow teaching by their own choice. 24 out of 35 students who were interviewed said that they opted to stay away from shadow teaching by their own choice. Moreover, most of them said that they did not feel any frustration, depression or sense of deprivation for not receiving it.

Ten out of those twenty four interviewees, who did not go for shadow teaching by their own choice, stated that they had found self-study a lot more beneficial for learning than shadow teaching. When a student was asked if he did not take shadow teaching due to financial problems or any other reason imposed upon him, he rebutted that very emphatically, saying,

“No, not at all. My parents are willing to pay me the money. I have bicycle. I can go there. I took shadow teaching classes in grade 8, but I don’t think it (is) good. I travel for 40 minutes to go to the academy, take classes for two hours and then come back, again forty minutes. I travel for 80 minutes to study for 120 minutes. It is not worth it. I try to understand the concept in the class and then practice at home. That is it. If I have any problem, I can talk to them (the teachers) in the school. Often they explain.” (*translated from Urdu*)

A lot of them said that they liked to study by themselves in their house. They

pointed out that it was possible to prepare the subjects by themselves if the students wanted to. A girl said that her weak subject was mathematics, but she did not take any shadow teaching. She explained her studying strategy and why she thought shadow teaching was not essential in these words,

“There are some key books for mathematics. All the questions are solved over there step by step. Not only questions are solved step by step, but also they explain them. As a result, it is kind of a full time teacher that you have in your bag.”
(translated from Urdu)

Most of the students expressed the same feelings, and said that in the presence of guide books and *ainas* (a kind of guide book commonly used in Pakistan); the students could prepare their lessons easily. Another girl pointed out the Pakistani education system which emphasized on rote learning and cramming. She said that in such situation one could easily prepare by oneself. She pointed out that for all the subjects, questions were given in the text and guidebooks, and the papers were made from those given questions. She especially talked about English, saying,

“Even in English translation, we have some paragraphs. Paragraphs for translation will always come from them. One can easily memorize them. Even essays... there are twenty or thirty essays. If a student learns by heart first fifteen of them, one of them will always be in the exams. We have choice.” (translated from Urdu)

This point is very important. Education system varies from country to country, even from one stream to another

within the same country. The education system which is used in matriculation schools is based on cramming and rote-learning. The contents and questions are given in the textbooks or the key books. The students only have to learn them and write them down in the examination. If the examination system is conceptual (like the one in Hong Kong of China or even in Pakistan for O and A levels), key books and guides may not be able to play such an important role; but in an examination system like that in Pakistan, one can sit at home, cram from key books and obtain good marks.

Two boys (one from focused group and one from one-to-one interview, but from the same class) said that they did not attempt receiving shadow teaching classes as they had a better alternate. They said that five students from their class would get together and study every day. They would help each other in different subjects, and give each other a leg up. He explained that in these words,

“It is like cooperative society. One of us is really good at English. I am good at maths. Some are good at one subject, other in other so we work together, and help each other out” (translated from Urdu)

One of those boys made an interesting point about the advantage of this method. He said that he planned to offer shadow teaching in the future after intermediate (grade 12) or maybe even matriculation (grade 10). Such study group not only helped him in learning, but also in knowing how to teach and explain the concepts- something that would help him in his future profession as well.

Some students also mentioned that their family members helped them in

academic learning and homework thus eliminating the need for shadow teaching.

Attitude of the Teachers

During the interviews, only three students said that there were a few teachers who would tell the exam and test questions to those who would take shadow teaching from them. Most said that it was more prevalent in earlier classes (up to grade 8) when the exams were held internally by the school. They said that it played much less part in grade 9 and 10 as the exams were held externally by the board, and even the students knew that such unfair means would only be counterproductive.

Feelings of the Students without Shadow Teaching

Most of the points and questions lead to the key question if the students without shadow teaching suffered from actual disparity i.e. felt bad for not taking it. The students without shadow teaching were asked extensively to tell how they felt for not taking shadow teaching. It was also linked to the causes for not going for shadow teaching. The supposition was that if a student had opportunity, but did not go for shadow teaching due to his or her own choice, he or she should not feel actual disparity. Contrary to this, if a student wanted to receive shadow teaching, but did not have opportunity, he or she was more likely to feel depressed and frustrated (Malik & Liu, 2018).

One interesting revelation was that the students without shadow teaching were mostly aware that they were competing against those who were taking extra classes so they put in extra efforts. One female student said,

“I know I do not take shadow teaching. I spent that time at home

studying by myself. I use notes; points I took in the school lecture and help books to study by myself. I know I do not take extra classes so I need to work harder by myself to compete with my classmates and get good marks.” (*translated from Urdu*)

Majority of them said that they did not feel bad for not receiving shadow teaching as it was their own choice. One girl when asked if she felt bad for not going for shadow teaching, said, “Why should I feel bad?”. She said that she had all the resources and permissions; it was her choice. She made it clear that she was perfectly glad with that. She further elaborated the reason behind her choice,

“When I study by myself, I learn more. When teachers explain, they just use one method to explain that, but when I try to do self-study, I often find so many new things that the teacher did not explain because they are not directly related.” (*translated from Urdu*)

Another boy said that his eldest sister was a college student. She would help him in his lessons especially in maths as she had selected mathematics as her major. He echoed the same opinion that the lack of shadow teaching did not make him lose heart or hope. He was content with the situation and did not have any regrets for not attending shadow teaching classes.

There was a long discussion with a girl who was interviewed one to one about the impact of not taking shadow teaching: both academically and psychologically. She said it very clearly that she did not feel bad for not taking shadow teaching. She pointed out that it was her decision and her

parents had actually asked if she wanted to join an academy in the neighborhood, but she declined. She added that she was happy to do self-study and it actually made her more knowledgeable than the most.

Another girl also said that she did self-study. Her family did not help her, but it did not bother her.

“I am used to it now. Even as a child, my parents would not help me in my school work. I used to go to a neighbor’s house when I was in junior school, I remember, but now I study by myself. I have developed this habit of learning by myself which I think really works for me. I focus on the lecture fully and then revise it in my house. I am used to it. I am happy with it.”
(translated from Urdu)

She said that shadow teaching could help a student in the learning, but if the student wanted to study and use that time for self-learning, the results might be even better. She also pointed out the curriculum which was based on cramming, and guide-books. She further pointed out her position in the class as a proof that shadow teaching was not compulsory for good academic learning.

“I am one of the top five students in the class. Sometimes, among top three. It has worked for me. I have been able to learn well, perform well. Why should I go for shadow teaching? I spend that time in a better way, in my opinion.”
(translated from Urdu)

The two boys who had formed study group with their peers also expressed their contentment at their situation.

Actually, they said they felt a lot more excited and thrilled with their method of learning. One of them stated that it gave them “feelings of power as a teacher and fun as a student”. He said that he would not go for extra teaching even if it was offered “free of cost”.

Even some of the students who said that they could not attend shadow teaching due to unfavorable circumstances, did not feel deprived for not receiving shadow teaching. One girl said that although she wanted to attend shadow teaching classes, she was not upset about it. She said that it would have been good if she could attend it, but still she could do her work with the help of her brothers. Another girl, on the other hand, reported to feel depressed for not receiving shadow teaching. Although she revealed that the bad feelings were not due to lagging behind academically, but for not having an opportunity to go out and have fun like her classmates had. She said,

“I want to go to the academy like my classmates. Not just for studies but for fun as well. I want to go out, talk with my friends, and maybe do some shopping on the way back. My friends tell me stories about the academy. Sometimes they have birthday parties; they order pizzas and other things. I miss them. I want study too, but I miss those activities more.”
(translated from Urdu)

Discussion and Conclusion

It has been commonly assumed by the researchers that shadow education creates disparities amongst the students as those with better resources and access are able to gain an advantage over those who do not have (Dang & Rogers, 2008; Bray, 1999;

Borodchuk, 2011; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Entrich, 2018); but some of the researchers challenged this, saying that it is better to find out the feelings of those without it than assume automatically that not receiving shadow teaching would be a cause of stress and sense of deprivation (Malik & Liu, 2018). Also, it is important to see how those without it feel. Actual disparity occurs only if the one without that facility, does not have it because of unfavorable circumstance (not by one's own choice), and feels deprived or stressed because of not having that.

The findings of this paper suggest that contrary to the general perceptions, shadow teaching may not cause that much actual disparity among the students as most of them stayed away because of their own choice. Malik and Liu (2018) also suggested the same during their research on the same topic in Beijing, but their findings were not conclusive as they only used quantitative method and did not use interviews to probe the feelings further and deeper. Zhang (2013) did not investigate the issue of shadow education from this perspective directly, but her findings also showed that the students without shadow education mostly did it by their own choice. (p. 119)

Both quantitative and qualitative data collected in this research support this. There were 110 students in this research who did not take shadow teaching, but majority of them (n=70, 63.64%) said that they stayed away because of their own will. Qualitative data reflected the same thing with majority of the students showing no regret or sense of deprivation for not taking it. This is quite contrary to what most of the research has been suggesting; but then again most of those

studies were not focused upon the students who did not take shadow teaching, but theoretical assumptions (shadow education gives unfair advantage to some, likely those with much better resources; those who do not take it, are at disadvantage; it is social evil; the students divided into haves and have nots etc.). Although some students reported teachers' favoritism for those who would take shadow teaching from them (which would cause actual disparity), majority did not think so. The students suggested that different reasons such as external examinations did not allow teachers to have that much influence over the marks or the grades. Also most of the students took shadow teaching from persons other than their class/subject teachers. One may assume that the students from the lower grade could be more vulnerable to teachers' bias or favoritism where the teachers have a lot more control over the students' academic achievements and grades. As such, it may be assumed that shadow teaching could cause more actual disparity in those grades.

There is a great need to investigate and analyze the issue of disparities caused by shadow teaching through this approach, focusing on those who are supposed to be left out. What really matters is what the people without a facility or advantage think and feel rather than others' assumptions and perceptions. One should focus on the actual feelings of the ones supposed to be at disadvantage, instead of judging based on the surface level situation (who has it and who does not). Shadow teaching is not one of basic human needs, it is add-on. Absence of it should not make one assume automatically that the group without it is deprived or at

disadvantage (Malik & Liu, 2018). One should focus on the reasons and the feelings to understand the situation better.

Further Research

As it has been suggested by some of the participants in the study, disparities caused by shadow teaching, and the feelings of those without it may vary from grade to grade. This issue should be investigated from the students from different grades (especially with school based annual examination) to see if the situation is different there. Additionally, it might be interesting to investigate the issue of disparities caused by shadow teaching through the lenses of actual disparity in different parts of the world to see if the pattern is the same or different.

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