SHADOW EDUCATION AND STUDENTS' ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

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Informasi Artikel

Abstract

Shadow education is also called private tutoring but it covers many other ways of getting support in studies. It has been very common in Nepal and everywhere in the world since formal education started. This paper is a part of the study with 'Faculty Research Grant' from the University Grants Commission, Nepal. We have studied the different forms of shadow education used by students of high school level asking the teachers teaching in high schools and the students studying bachelor level in different universities in Nepal about their school level experiences regarding shadow education activities and the impact of shadow education in their scores. It was a survey study based on the information gathered from different faculty students studying at the bachelor level. For the research tool we used a questionnaire for the students and a set of interview guidelines for FGD and interviewing the teachers teaching in high schools of three major cities of Nepal; Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu. After the analysis of the information gathered, we found that there were different forms of shadowing in education that have been in practice in Nepal and the trend of shadowing has also been changing with the development of ICTs and online applications. We also found that there were majority of the students practising shadow education and it was also revealed that most of the students' achievement in education was promoted by different forms of shadowing. So shadowing in education is a good practice as the teachers viewed that the students involved in shadowing were good in the classes. The paper proves that shadowing needs to be systematized and any unethical practices in shadow education need to be controlled by the concerned authority.

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GENERAL BACKGROUND

Education in Nepal has a bit different history and tradition, as the society is guided by Hindu philosophy where educating the disciples used to be completed by living with and learning the skills and cultures of Gurus. This domination of the Gurukul Shikshya Education system is somewhat linked with shadow education or private tutoring at present as it paved the way that one can get a better education by just going close to the Guru. Tuition-taking has practically become ingrained in Nepal's elite schools as well. Different forms for imparting education to the students out of the formal school or college situations are termed as shadow education. Researchers and academics have coined the term "shadow education" to describe academic activities intended to supplement students' classroom instruction in disciplines that are examinable. Since these activities replicate and adhere to the mainstream education system in many ways, Stevenson and Baker (1992) are thought to have coined the term "shadow education" as a metaphor. Bray (1999) emphasizes that it's critical to understand the rationale behind the word "shadow" selection to characterize academic learning that is done in private. The word "shadow" refers to the fact that

this system follows, mimics, and replicates the mainstream educational system; modifications to the latter's scope, format, curriculum, and organizational framework also have an impact on the former. According to Bray (2007), the primary features of private tutoring that were discussed in the Policy Forum were described and interpreted using the metaphor of a shadow, which is a suitable emblem of private tutoring.

- The existence of mainstream education is the only reason private supplemental tutoring is possible.
- The scope and structure of supplemental tutoring vary in tandem with the size and composition of the mainstream system.
- The mainstream receives far more public attention than its shadow in practically all societies.
- Compared to the main stream system, the shadow system's features are far less clear.

Shadow education is getting concern of the researchers and academicians everywhere in the world as it has been in use for a long time. Although research on shadow education has lagged behind reality and continues to do so, Zhang and Bray (2020) point out that shadow education is now recognized as an important area of study in the field of education because reality is changing so quickly. In addition to being the subject of numerous books, articles, and chapters, shadow education has also been the focus of several special journal issues. Policymakers and practitioners have also, to some extent, been interested in scholars. Nonetheless, a great deal of work still needs to be done in conjunction with experts from many fields. According to Kim et al. (2018), curriculum studies experts have not kept up with their counterparts in the fields of comparative education, educational policy, education sociology, and education and economics. Other experts in fields such as philosophy, administration, brain science, demographics, marketing, and psychology are still desperately needed. In fact, all the lenses that are used to examine mainstream education and its related subfields of study should also be used to examine shadow education, to the extent that shadow education imitates mainstream education. Regarding the development of the curriculum for shadow education and the shadowing of educational activities, Malik's assessment (2017) stated that the field appears to be expanding upwards rather than examining and fortifying its foundation. Undoubtedly, he raised

an important issue regarding the foundations, citing definitions once more. However, more focus has to be placed on the caliber of the bricks used to construct the structure as well as the methods in which different-shaped bricks can fit together. Researchers should also take into account the building's general goals and design, or "what ought to be" as opposed to just "what is." This involves analyzing how the objectives and nature of shadow education align with both traditional education and the more general goals of social development, as well as the insights that differing shadow education epistemological stances offer into the nature of knowing and knowledge. Therefore, in addition to more focused issues of technicality, research goals ought to address basic philosophical challenges (2017, p. 19).

Therefore, private tuition is a fee-based educational service that can be offered by a variety of service providers. Bray (1999) refers to this system as the "shadow education." The services are designed to assist students in fulfilling the requirements of the curriculum and are closely associated with the formal education system. Private tuition is frequently offered by people, ranging from graduates and certified teachers to secondary school students, university students, organized enterprises, and even chain businesses. In the same way, the shadow education also covers the cram schooling which is common in Nepal in the name of Bridge course, Entrance preparation classes, Teacher service preparation classes and public service commission classes etc. According to Wikipedia (2020), a cram school is a specialized educational institution that prepares students for specific objectives, most frequently passing entrance exams for high schools or universities. It is also known by the colloquial terms "test-prep" or "exam factory." The word for "cramming" in English refers to studying diligently or learning a lot of material quickly. In this context, Byun et al. (2014) also note that one of the fastest-growing industries globally is shadow education, which is defined as paid private supplemental tutoring or coaching intended to help students outside of the classroom, primarily to prepare for various exams. However, because of its potential to contribute to educational inequity, the global expansion of this enterprise has raised serious concerns among educational officials. Unfortunately, this kind of concern has not been very common in Nepali academia and the concern authorities are unaware of bringing the shadow education providing institutions and cram schools

in to the main stream of national economy as there is lack of systematic studies related to this area. Similar to this, Buchmann, Condron, and Roscigno (2010) described shadow education as "extracurricular learning experiences like tutoring that take place outside of regular schooling and are intended to increase a student's chances of graduating from high school and enrolling in the college of their choice" (p. 436).

Stressing the significance of alternative education and the circumstances surrounding its integration with traditional education According to Javadi & Kazemirad (2020), shadow education has grown over the globe and is now an unavoidable learning environment for a large number of students. It gives kids more individualized instruction and challenges the idea of a one-size-fits-all, factory-style education. Furthermore, it does more than just follow the traditional education; rather, it holds a mirror up to it, exposing its flaws. Despite an increase in research on the phenomena globally, little is known about its extent, features, origins, and uses. Therefore, researchers who try to figure out where, how, what, and with whom the shadow education should not ignore as an increasing subject of current curricular studies. The definition of "shadow education" and one of its elements, "shadow curriculum," which is a new area of curriculum studies focused on a student's academic progress in formal education, are discussed in detail in this article. With shadow education, as opposed to public schooling, parents and students can choose the courses, curriculum, and even the teachers (Kim & Jung, 2019a). Thus, according to Kim & Jung, 2019a, cited in Javadi, & Kazemirad (2020), "shadow education, and more specifically shadow curriculum, should emerge as a new research area in the field of curriculum studies in an era when shadow education is reshaping student learning and arguably the whole landscape of education in many countries worldwide."

The benefits of shadow education for students were examined by Liang et al. (2022), with a particular focus on the wellbeing of teachers and students. The study's findings indicated that, in the student dimension, students who participated in shadow education had a significantly higher level of well-being than those who did not, and that, in the school dimension, the competitive climate of the school had a significant impact on students' wellbeing. However, students' well-being did not appear to be significantly impacted by pressure to complete schoolwork or by the support provided by the shadow educator. Additionally, there was a negative interaction between the shadow education period and the competitive climate that had an adverse effect on well-being. In a similar vein, Bray (2021) outlines the reasons why students take shadow classes, emphasizes how they help with academic performance, and shows that the majority of students and families that participate in shadow classes believe that it helps them succeed academically. That is understandable, of course, as they probably wouldn't spend money on tutoring if they didn't think it would be beneficial. Nonetheless, because it appears that everyone else is doing so, a lot of families and kids feel under pressure to spend money on shadow education. Furthermore, shadow education has both additive and subtractive effects on the system. Particularly in urban settings, shadow education may take some of the best teachers away from schools to work in tutorial centres; and teachers who remain in schools but provide supplementary tutoring commonly devote more effort to their private lessons, in which income depends on performance, than to their regular classes for which they are paid regardless of quality. Further problems may be related to the burdens on children and youth who have full days of schooling followed by full evenings and weekends of tutoring.

After researching how shadow education affects students' academic performance, Bray (2014) comes to the conclusion that one apparent concern for stakeholders is whether or not private additional tutoring "works" in the sense of improving students' academic performance. Finding resounding affirmative responses is simple. Citing various research studies, Crotty (2012), for instance, concluded that hiring a private tutor is a very successful strategy for guaranteeing academic success. As one might anticipate, the industry itself frequently makes broad claims of this kind (e.g. Growing Stars, 2013; Tutors International, 2013). Equally sweeping claims from segments of the academic world may come as a surprise. "The benefit of private tutoring is unarguable," according to Baily (2012: 382), and "private tutoring, like any teaching and learning interaction, undoubtedly has positive outcomes for individuals," according to Ünal et al. (2010: 5513). Such claims require investigation. Undoubtedly, a lot will depend on the type of tutoring, how much

tutoring is done, the tutors' qualifications, the students' goals, and a host of other variables. More cautious academics might concur that "empirical evidence has been inconsistent, contradictory, and even confusing," as stated by Byun (2014: 40) according to Bray, (2014). Krishnaswami et al. (2019) assert that their research showed parents were putting undue pressure on their children's academic decisions, leading to heightened stress and anxiety levels in the kids. The impact of parental influence on children's learning ability can be traumatizing and distressing. The reasons why more people are drawn to shadowing are also evident to everyone, as Jansen et al. (2023), citing many sources, assert that parents fund shadow schooling with the expectation that their children will learn more as a result. The relationships between achievement and shadow schooling, both directly and indirectly, have been the subject of numerous researches. Small positive impacts have been reported in some South Korean study, which is frequently linked to test preparation activities (Byun, 2014).

Procedures of study and objectives

This study is basically planned to analyse the influence of shadow education in the academic achievement of the students in Nepal. The objectives of the study were mainly to describe various forms of shadow education used in Nepal, and analyse the influence of shadow education on the students' achievement in English. For this, the study was focused in three major cities of Nepal as the education hub of the country; Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu. For the present survey study we gathered information from 400 students studying bachelor level in different faculties of different universities and 30 teachers teaching in high schools of the cities. There was a FGD guideline and two sets of questionnaires for the students and teachers as the research tools. The study was granted by UGC Nepal with Faculty Research Grant and it took about two years to complete the research and the report. The major findings of the research are presented below in some themes.

Forms of shadow education as practised in Nepal

As one of the major concerns of the study was to find out and analyse the various forms of shadow education among the high school students in Nepal, some inquiries were made**.** One concern was that the places for shadow education i.e. where they get shadow education. Most often

the shadow education provider teachers are blamed for taking tuition within the school classrooms and to the students whom they teach in regular school classes and the teachers are also blamed for not teaching well in the school and finishing courses earlier in the school so that they have time for teaching tuition or coaching classes within the school hour in the same school. In the same way, the dependency of the students in only regular school teaching and those who take tuition and coaching like shadowing activities was also studied in this context. Thus, students getting education from only school and those who get support from other sources was the also a curiosity for the research and so a question was asked to the students and teachers about the number of students depending on only schools and those who did not depend on only school and got education from other various sources. The data gathered from the study found that there were a great number of students in different schools in Nepal who did not rely on just the school they were studying. The table below shows the number of students studying in bachelor level and their trend of taking shadow education during their school education.

Table No 1: Students getting education from the places other than their schools

Responses	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent	Remarks
Positive	140	35	134	34	
Negative	62	15	64	16	
Total	202		198		

The table no 1 above shows that there were a large number of students taking shadow education. It was found that about 70 percent of the informants told that they were involved in different kinds of educational activities outside their regular classes in the school. This shows that the trend of not being dependent only on the regular school classes and activities has been a bit different at present as the students have many alternatives for their educational development and achievements.

The major concern of the study was to find out the different forms of shadowing activities practised in Nepal. For this, there was a question to the students to mention the forms of shadow education apart from their regular classes of the schools. The students were given the opportunity to choose the varieties of forms of shadow education and an extra place to

mention any other way they got education from if not mentioned there. In that question some very common ways of getting shadow education like taking tuition, coaching classes, home tuition, study groups, You-tube / online learning, consulting seniors, academic support from relatives and family members were mentioned and there was a space to mention any other way or form of shadow education for the students. The four hundred students' responses of the forms of shadow education have been presented below.
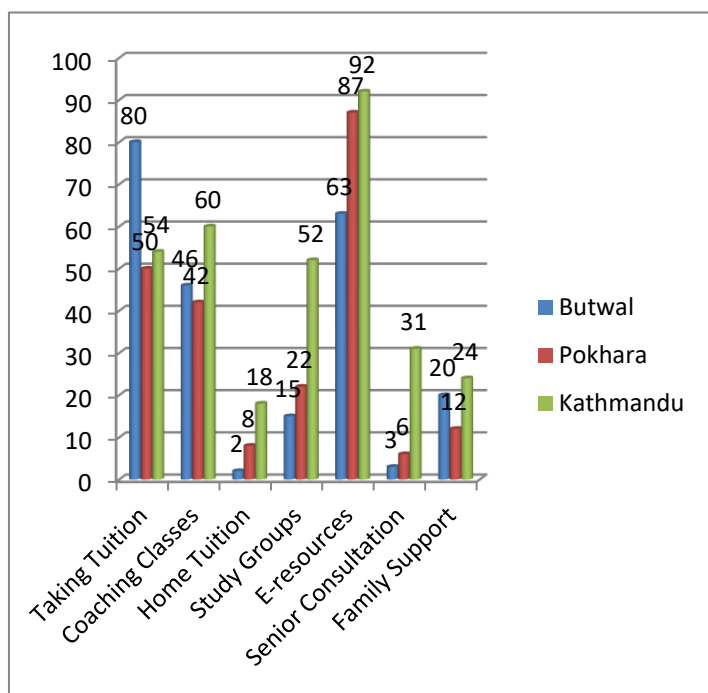

Figure No 1: Forms of shadow education

The figure no 1 above shows the various forms of shadow education used by the respondent students studying in the selected cities of Nepal. This figure shows that the students took the different forms of shadow education in the cities where they were studying during the SEE exam time and grade XI and XII exam preparation period. This means that the students might have completed their higher school education from other parts of the nation. This shows that the students were very much attracted towards using different kinds of online resources like YouTube, Google search and other e-resources as well as taking tuition in all the cities of the nation. The data shows that the trend of taking tuition was higher in Butwal as 80 students from Butwal responded that they took tuition apart from the regular school

teaching. Not only this, fifty students from Pokhara also told that they took tuition for their shadowing in education. On the other hand, 54 students from Kathmandu city responded that they took tuition for the preparation of their SEE and grade XI and XII examinations. Thus, it can be said that taking tuition is still a very common shadowing practice among the students as 46 percent of the students responded that they took tuition as their shadowing to the regular school classes.

Regarding the popularity of another common shadowing practice which is joining the coaching classes organized by the schools the students studying or conducted by the outsiders, the trend was seen slightly different. Only 37 percent of the students i.e. 148 respondents responded that they had joined coaching classes as the shadowing to the regular school teaching and learning activities. Among them 46 students were from Butwal, 42 from Pokhara and 60 respondents were from Kathmandu. In the same way, taking home tuition was not found to be very common to the students of this level, as only 28 respondents i.e. seven percent of the respondents replied that they took home tuition for their academic support apart from the regular classes in their schools. Among them only two from Butwal, eight students from Pokhara and 18 students from Kathmandu wrote that they took home tuition for their academic support.

As for the other forms of shadowing 22 percent of the students responded that they formed study groups of friends and supported each other for their mutual benefit. Among them, fifteen from Butwal, twenty two from Pokhara and fifty one respondents from Kathmandu wrote that they formed study groups and supported each other for their mutual academic benefit. On the other hand, only ten percent of the students responded that they consulted seniors for their academic benefit. Consultation of seniors means that whenever and wherever the students feel any problem in their studies, they have some seniors to ask and get support in their studies. This practice is very common in the hostels and some common residential areas where there are a lot of students residing for their studies. Three students from Butwal, six from Pokhara and 31 respondents from Kathmandu responded that they had access to consult senior students for their academic support for the preparation of different level examinations. Not only this, another common

form of shadowing in education was getting academic support from their relatives and family members. Fourteen percent of the respondents responded that they were getting family support and support from their relatives for their studies. Twenty respondents from Butwal, twelve from Pokhara and twenty four from Kathmandu replied that they got academic support from their family members and relatives.

The most common form of shadowing was found to be the use of online recourses or e-recourses like You Tube and other resources as the support for academic problems instead of joining tuition, coaching classes or other activities. Those who responded that they used online resources for their academic support were more than 60 percent, i.e. 242 respondents were found to have used the e-resources like You Tube and Google search etc. From Butwal area 63 students were found to respond that they used such online resources and YouTube like sources as their shadowing activities for their academic support. Likewise, 87 respondent students from Pokhara replied that that they used the online resources whereas 92 respondents from Kathmandu replied that they used the online resources like YouTube and online resources as the form of shadow education. This indicates that the trend of shadowing has been slightly changing over the time as the students can easily click on to their cell phones to search anything they feel difficulty and they can take some online classes for studying different courses free of cost or with much economized fees. The internet facilities in Nepal are becoming common and almost everyone can easily access to online resources. Many advantages of using e-resources over taking tuition or joining coaching classes have brought such trends in shadowing activities.

Reasons for getting shadow education

It is clear from general practices of shadowing that the students are involved in shadowing activities apart from the regular school classes they get and most of them have only one aim of joining the tuition and coaching like shadowing activities for education. Many students in Nepal and other countries of the world are involved in different kinds of shadowing activities for various reasons. In the past, when we used to be students in schools also there were many students joining the tuition and coaching classes with many reasons mainly with the intention to increase the marks

in decisive examinations and to be close to the teachers so that when there is any problem they can get support from their teachers. The question asked to mention the reasons for taking tuition and coaching like shadowing education was answered by all the respondents of the study. The results from the responses of the students regarding the reasons for studying tuition and coaching classes are presented in the figure I below.
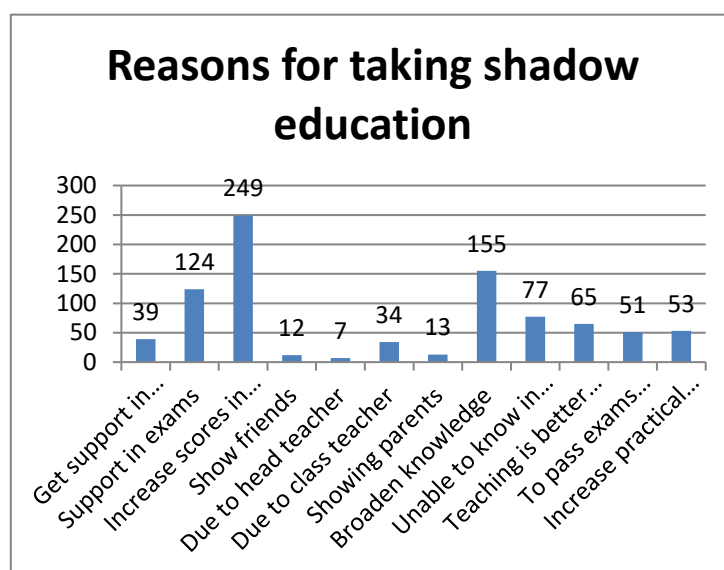

Fig. No 2. Reasons for taking shadow education

The figure number 2 above shows that 39 students replied that they were getting shadow education to get support in accomplishing home works given to them. In the same way, 124 students responded that they started the shadowing activities for setting support in the internal and final exams. On the other hand the main aim of studying is to broaden the knowledge and increase the scores in the exams and the students when they realize that they need some support for these shadowing activities. In the figure above 249 students responded that they have taken tuition and coaching like activities for basically increasing the scores in the final exams as well as internal examinations. On the other hand, 155 students replied that they joined shadowing activities with the aim of broadening the knowledge.

The students replied in various ways to the question how the tuition and coaching classes supported their learning and increasing the scores in the different subjects. The

shadowing in education helped them increase their educational achievement mainly in the following ways as the informants reported.

- The students can easily ask what they cannot understand in the class and get better understanding.
- The tuition and coaching always help them clear any doubts in their studies and support learning.
- The students get opportunity to practice time and again and the more they practice the better scores or grades they can acquire.
- They feel easy in examinations as they practice varieties of sets of extra questions in different subjects if they join tuition and coaching classes. The students' mindset is positive about learning and understanding what they have
- The tuition and coaching centres and teachers provide with them the tricks and tips to solve different questions for getting better scores in the examinations and they feel more confidence in the examinations.
- The tuition and coaching centre teachers give very easy and simple explanations of the contents of their course even difficult concepts are also simplified to the weak students.
- The tuition and coaching centre teachers provide different kinds of study materials and notes to the students and this helps students learn better and secure better scores and grades.
- The personalized care of teachers in the tuition and coaching centres is also another major way to attract the students towards shadowing and increasing the scores or grades in the examinations.

Teachers' views and practices of shadowing

In this study there were some questions for the teachers which intended to find out the information regarding their shadowing practices like the duration of such practices, number of classes they take daily, their belief regarding the contribution of shadowing activities in increasing the students' scores. The informant teachers were found a bit overloaded as their shadow classes were found to be more in terms

of hours of their work. There were three teachers with ten hours classes every day except Saturday and four teachers with nine classes and five teachers with eight hours working load apart from their daily regular job load. In the same way, four teachers with five classes, eight teachers with six classes and six teachers with seven classes daily apart from their regular jobs. The teachers were found to believe that the students secured better marks due to coaching, tuition like shadowing activities. Almost all teachers i.e. 80 percent of the teachers believed that the students' better scores were the outcome of the tuition and coaching like shadowing activities and the 20 percent teachers thought that the scores were not only because of shadowing activities of education. Not only this, 22 teachers out of 30 were in the view that the tuition and coaching like activities have great contribution in the increment of the students' scores in the decisive examination. In the same way, there were sixteen teachers who were teaching the same students whom they teach in the regular school classes and remaining 14 teachers responded that teaching the students in their tuition and coaching centres to those whom they teach in their schools cannot be a good practice. Those who said that it was good practice gave the examples of coaching classes run by the school administration taking some extra amount from the students and thus teaching tuition to them could not be unethical as they would pay whoever outsider teachers they take tuition. They were found to be in the view that the teacher who teaches the students in the regular class and in the tuition centre understands the students well and the teacher can support students far better than the teacher who only teaches them in the tuition centre. Knowing students' problems and capabilities is very important to the teacher.

In this study, we have also tried to get the views of teachers towards the social accusations for the teachers that the teachers do not teach well in the class and try to attract the students towards their tuition and coaching centres and another blame the schools compel the students to take tuition and coaching by asking very difficult questions in the internal examinations and failing the students to recommend the tuition and coaching classes for the all types of students; brighter ones to get excellent results, medium ones to secure better scores and weaker ones to be able to pass the decisive exams. During FGDs, the informant

teachers were found to be in the view that the school administration evaluates the students and suggests the necessary ones to take tuition and coaching centres for their betterment. But they did not compel them to take tuition and coaching centres. The informant teachers also gave some idea about who normally encourages the students to get involved in the shadowing activities. According to the information gathered, 26 teachers were found to be in the view that the parents were the ones to encourage the students towards coaching and tuition like activities, whereas 22 teachers wrote that the friends encouraged the students for shadowing and 20 teachers responded that the school administration encouraged the students to take tuition and coaching like shadowing activities.

The teachers during the FGD also had mixed attitudes to the students getting shadow education. They said that the good thing was that the students who already had studied the things in the tuition and coaching classes would understand the contents easily in the class as the thing would be just the repetition for them. Teachers feel easy to teach such students. But some of the student were not concentration in the class and were disturbing the class as they have already studied the things in the tuition and coaching classes. Thus there were mixed attitudes of the teachers towards shadowing practices of the students.

Conclusions

Thus the study of the influence of the shadow education in students' achievement can be concluded that the students have the trend of taking part in shadow education practices and they think that the shadowing practices were responsible to their better scores in the decisive examinations like the results of the survey conducted by Ho Yung (2019) in Japan. Most of the respondents were found to have practised shadow education during their high school education and some were found to be practising shadow education activities even in their bachelor level studies as well. There was a huge number of students taking tuition and coaching like shadowing activities in education and this trend has been shifted towards using e-resources and online technologies for the academic support by the students. The forms of shadowing were found to be slightly changing as the students were getting support from the e-resources and you tube like sources in place of joining tuition and coaching classes. The

teachers were also found to be in the view that the tuition and coaching enhances the students' scores in the decisive examinations. They were found to be teaching their own students in their coaching and tuition classes and they said it was good to teach such students as they understand the students and their problems in advance during the regular school classes. Though teaching tuition and coaching classes in the same classes of the schools finishing the courses too fast or calling the students to the tuition and coaching centers by not teaching well in the school or by never finishing the courses in proper time are both unethical practices which must be discouraged in the academia. So the conclusion of the study is that the shadowing activities in education are helpful for the students to increase their scores in the decisive examinations as the teachers, parents and peer students suggest that the students need to take tuition and coaching classes or other supports apart from the regular classes in their schools. The basic idea is that the concerned authorities need to be aware of any unethical practices in the name of supporting students in and around the schools by the teachers who are involved in such entrepreneurship.

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