

Drivers and Demand for Shadow Education: A Case Study of Islamabad-Pakistan

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Abstract

Shadow education is a term which metaphorically denotes private tuition. The constitution of Pakistan provides for free education for children; however, their dependents (parents) along with children still pay a cost while paying fee for additionally purchased private tuition lessons. This research aims to understand the demand drivers of shadow education and its associated implicit and explicit costs in the federal capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad. The research methodology consisted of qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews, maximum variation sampling, and thematic data analysis. Parents who sent their children to both public and private schools and also opted for private tuition were considered as primary respondents. Findings showed an overall trust deficit among parents regarding public schools, classroom environment, and teachers' attitude among which compelled them to invest in private tuition. Whereas parents who enrolled children in private schools indicated themselves as economically stable, and they had wilfully opted for private tuition for the purpose of enrichment of children learning outcomes. The differencing background between rich and poor parents showed that shadow education exacerbates social and economic inequality. In addition to that, it was also revealed shadow education carries explicit (tangible) and implicit (intangible) costs, which must be reviewed in light of article 25A of the constitution of Pakistan.

Keywords: *Education, shadow education, private tuition, educational inequality, public education.*

1. Introduction

The schooling system of Pakistan is composed of public, private and madrassahs schools which are further sub-divided based on curriculum, examination system, medium of instruction and textbook quality. Sustainable economic development is achievable through improvement in human capital, and for building human capital, education plays an important role. Since Pakistan

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failed to achieve MDGs target related to education, the government intend to meet Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly Goal 4, which aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all citizens, through tangible improvements in country's education (GoP, 2019).

Provision of uniform and quality education is one of the challenges being faced by Pakistan. Children across all provinces remain unable to perform as per required national standards and also fail to attain least skill required in reading, language and mathematics. Moreover, it is estimated that 40% of the population (above the age of ten) cannot read and write. This has a direct relation with the difference in terms of classroom environment, and teachers' skills in Pakistani schooling systems (ASER, 2018). In line with the above shortcomings in formal education sector of Pakistan, shadow education also prevails throughout the country.

Private supplementary tutoring, which costs families' extra fees, is widely called "shadow education" because its form is different compared to mainstream schooling (Mahmud, 2021). The metaphor of "shadow" is also cited in several studies (ibid). Private tuition take place both within organized (i.e., business spaces/coaching/tuition centres) and domestic (i.e., one-to-one tutoring) settings. Private tuition is particularly questioned in one of its forms (i.e., coaching centres) on the pretext of poor quality of teaching and its business orientation (Hamid et al., 2009). Kenayathulla (2013) cited that shadow education grows in some developing countries because of a mediocre public education system. (i.e: due to large class sizes, and lower public spending on education).

Private tuition has frequent prevalence in urban areas of Pakistan (Aslam & Atherton, 2012). Children from across major urban cities/provincial capitals of Pakistan received private tuition with a percentage of 66 in Lahore, 54 in Karachi and 34 in Peshawar (Aslam & Mansoor, 2011). However, governmental statistics on shadow education remained scarce. In year 2015-16, the urban trend of private tuition was published for the last time in Pakistan Economic Survey in which a survey of 351 government and 298 private schools indicated that around 44% of all private school-going children opted paid tuition as compared to 19% of all government school children (GoP, 2015). The survey was first published in year 2011 which consistently relied upon ASER (Annual Status of Education Report), a private NGO. Moreover, the only educational census conducted by the Government of Pakistan did not cite data pertaining to private tuition centres (GoP, 2005).

It is pertinent to mention that free education is a constitutional guarantee in Pakistan, whereas shadow education comes with both time cost(s) and financial cost(s). Pakistan's current National Education Policy explicitly states that the emergence and continued presence of parallel systems of education in Pakistan i.e., private schools and Madaris, apparently, violates the principle of the uniformity of the educational system (GoP, 2009). By that, we may also believe that the private tuition centres are no different, as private tuition is a paid service similar to those of private schools. Thus, both the private tuition centres and private schools apparently violate the uniformity of education system.

As private tuition possess non-cognitive, psychological and financial implications, some countries are required to do more research on it (Foondun, 2002). The literature suggests that there is a strong presence of a third education sector in Pakistan: shadow education and despite its high incidence rate, there is limited evidence on its determinants (Khan & Shaikh, 2013). In this context, the constituting determinants of shadow education through conducting a local study would help determining its nature as either an inclusive or exploitative activity for the consumers. Although children are primary recipients (or consumers) of private tuition, however, they are dependent on parents. The decision to opt/not to opt private tuition is taken by parents. Parents' economic capacity is a major issue in educational privatization, particularly in shadow education, since it costs extra money (Mahmud, 2021).

While free state guaranteed education exists, a question emerges: should anyone buy additional educational lessons in form of private tuition? Similarly, who can buy it and how it might impact learning and educational outcomes? This study seeks to understand the phenomena and experience of parents regarding shadow education in Pakistan. It relied upon the same defining terms and setting parameters employed by Bray (2014) wherein the definition adapted for private supplementary tutoring had three components: first, the adjective private means tuition is provided as an exchange of fee, and not free of charge. Second, the supplementary nature of tuition means that it is provided in addition to regular schooling. Third, the focus of research is confined to academic subjects only.

1.1 Objectives of the Study

This study was based on following objectives;

1. To explore demand drivers for shadow education among parents.
2. To assess tangible and intangible cost(s) of shadow education.

1.2 Research Questions

This study examined the following research questions:

1. Why private tuition centres are preferred by the parents?

2. How implicit (intangible) and explicit (tangible) costs for private tuition are managed?
3. What are parental perceptions about the trend of private tuition?

1.3 Significance of Study

This research study aimed to clarify the phenomenon of shadow education by taking direct account of parents, who invested money in it. Moreover, the research would also assist the policymakers and educationist to determine the nature of shadow education in presence of a fee-free education policy adapted in State's Constitution.

2. Literature Review

Shadow education is a global phenomenon of present century (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). Shadow education is not an independent entity rather depend and exist on same lines as those of public schools (Faganel et al., 2013). From parental and students' perceptions to its organization, public education is affected by privatization (Ball & Youdell, 2007) while shadow education has association with privatization similar to neoliberal market (Giavrimis et al., 2018). In privatization theory, competition exists between public and private providers of education (Lubienski & Lubienski, 2006). On one hand, private tuition is purposeful because it allows students to enrich, provide remedy, and prepare well in their studies while on the other hand, it induces inequality in terms of opportunity as well as divisions of social class (Heyneman, 2011). Shadow education affects mainstream education and reinforce inequality (Hallak & Poisson, 2005). Bray and Lykins (2012) studying Asian region concluded that shadow education can no longer be ignored having its vast regional existence and clear signs of further growth in future.

Aslam and Mansoor (2011) narrated the relationship between private tuition and student achievement and its increasing trend as a policy attention. Aslam and Atherton (2012) while studying India and Pakistan concluded a large consequential implication for equality and social justice owing to growth of shadow education. ASER reported that private tuition incidence remained higher among students at private schools as compared with that of the government school. The national urban trend of private tuition among matric/10th grade students was reported 41.5 percent and 59 percent in government and private schools respectively. Whereas the trend in Urban areas of Islamabad was reported 35 percent and 42 percent in government and private schools respectively (ASER, 2018). From a comparative point of view, private tuition become prominent at certain levels, such as Grade 10 and 12, and also makes up for a significant proportion of household expenditure in India (Gupta, 2021).

Buchmann et al. (2010) referred beliefs, perceptions and motivations to operate behind shadow education related activities viz tangible behaviours. Many parents are appealed by tuition as a tool of individualized attention and a supplement of public schooling (Davies, 2004). Ireson and Rushforth (2014) revealed two demand drivers of shadow education through parental participation: (i) to increase child's confidence and (ii) improve understanding of a subject, however, parents found it as too expensive. Shadow education is easier to be bought by rich and remains unnoticed in various countries with fee-free educational policies (ibid). Costs of private tuition trouble parents (Kenayathulla, 2013). Tutoring might be a remedy for low performing pupils; however, it raises a debate about parents' impressions concerning family financial burden (Mahmud, 2021).

Private tuition is difficult to calculate because of a number of factors, such as mode of lessons (one-to-one/groups), and the geographic location (Hamid et al., 2009). Dang and Rogers (2008) used various micro and macro variables to determine drivers of private tuition, however, they found that it is tricky to measure because of unobserved dimensions (which ended up in error term), such as parental level of concern for child's education. Similarly, Kenayathulla (2013) analysing household expenditures on private tutoring in Malaysia also encountered an omitted variable bias (such as parental concern for their children's education). A study in Korea found that rich students and highly educated parents were more inclined towards shadow education, however, despite this inconsistency, it was a social norm (Lee, 2011) while another study revealed parental pressure as one of the factors to promote shadow education (Song et al., 2013).

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The research employed qualitative methods to investigate the factors which compelled parents to choose private tuition for their children. Semi-structured interview as well as structured questions were employed to obtain enriched and detailed information (Creswell, 2014). Insights can be gained from respondents using both quantitative and qualitative research (Bray, 2010). There have been numerous calls for more empirical research examining private tuition from diverse methodological approaches. However, there have been very few qualitative research endeavours probing this phenomenon, with comparative qualitative efforts even less common (Jokić et al., 2013). Bray (2014) in a research discussing proposed research methods of private tuition concluded that qualitative studies provide insights that cannot be secured through the quantitative approaches.

3.2 Sample and Sampling Technique

Parents, who enrolled their children either in a public or private school, and were also spending on private tuition, were chosen as primary research respondents. The reason to include respondents of private schools was to generate fair knowledge of the phenomenon of shadow education. The National Education Policy (2009) explicitly states that: “The rich send their children to private run English medium schools which offer foreign curricula and examination systems; the public schools enrol those who are too poor to do so”. Respondents who were willing to dedicate fair slot of time and expressed interest in topic were considered as research participant(s). Maximum variation sampling, a type of purposive sampling approach was used to identify potential research respondents (who preferred private tuition for their children).

3.3 Instrumentation

Prior to interview, potential participants were provided with an information sheet and consent form containing information about the topic, confidentiality policy, purpose, and nature of the academic research.

3.4 Data Collection

After seeking consent, the interviews were conducted in a highly informal environment. Respondents representing public sector schools were mostly available in terms of time and space as compared to parents representing private school. Semi-structured interviews were articulated to examine factors influencing choices for shadow education. In total, 40 individual interviews were conducted owing to resource and time constraint. Interviews were recorded and transcribed.

4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Primary collected (raw) data were broken-down into themes and sub-themes, supported with semi-structured interview guide to obtain the required information. The themes were assessed using thematic framework approach which Bryman (2012), termed as one of the most common approaches to analyse qualitative data. A theme is defined as a category identified by the analyst through data relating to research questions. The analysis of transcripts was carried out as follows:

- Data Management: Reviewing raw data, levelling, sorting and synthesis (the first stage of data management)
- Descriptive accounts: Researcher used ordered data to identify key dimensions and diversity of each phenomenon (the second stage of data management).

The basic rules of interpreting qualitative data were carefully followed and adapted as suggested by Bryman (2012), such as criteria for judging or

evaluating qualitative studies through: (1) trustworthiness and (2) authenticity; triangulation for cross-checking findings of the data, and analysis of themes and sub-themes (ibid). Saunders et al (2009, p. 492) narrated about categorization of qualitative data through developing different categories and assigning meaning to them in two ways: either from devised theoretical framework or from the derived data. Thus, themes were analysed manually, whereas data analysis was done using thematic analysis framework. Validity of data was ensured through criterion-related validity and whereas the reliability using established measures, as portrayed by Babbie (2007).

4.1 Choosing Tuition with Regular Schooling:

Parents were asked why they felt the necessity of tuition with regular schooling?

“No study takes place at public schools. Teachers come, kill their time and leave.” (A government employee)

The respondent expressed no hope in public school(s).

“Tuition is not necessary; however, we are compelled to opt it! We are concerned for the future of our children. Have you seen the doctors in our country? They do not treat their patients as good as in their privately owned clinic. We are not sincere with our kids, nation, and country!” (A banker)

The respondent strongly believed that teachers deliberately leave shortfalls in classes only to make earnings in private tuition sessions.

“...because there are more children in a class. Teachers are unable to dedicate individual time to students. However, at tuition, there is a smaller number of students. Therefore, teacher’s dedication becomes significant. School teachers know that no matter how they perform, they shall get paid. A tutor is concerned about his customers and earnings, so he does well as compared to a schoolteacher.” (A semi-government employee)

The respondent pointed out two concerns: higher number of students in a classroom and wages of schoolteachers.

“(…) there is lack of testing systems at school. Besides, schoolteachers are not able to clear students’ concepts. It’s an era of competition. Merit of colleges and universities is getting higher day-by-day. So, we wish our children to contribute maximum for studies as we do not have time for them.” (Government employee)

One of another prominent reason for choosing private tuition was lack of pre-exam testing/mock examinations offered by schools. Respondents

representing public schools indicated individual attention, over-crowded classrooms; teachers being: (i) underpaid (ii) less dedicated and (iii) poorly monitored regarding their attendance & attitude as the reasons to choose private tuition for children. Moreover, they also informed that since regular schools do not offer mock tests prior to board exams, it compels them to choose tuition.

4.2 Quality of Education at School:

Probing further, the respondents were asked about quality of education at schools:

“No one teaches well at school; the reason why we have to choose private academy. The very same teachers who teach poorly in school become a completely different (good) teacher in academy.” (A Banker)

The respondent pointed that public-school teacher teach differently in different spaces. Inside school classroom, the teachers behave in a manner which is least convenient for students from an engagement and interactive point of view. However, when in a private academy, the same teacher behaves in a way that is more engaging and interactive for child.

“The quality of education is not bad. Some children do not often study themselves. So, tuition is preferred.” (A government employee)

The (only) parent expressed that his child was non-serious and had no interest in studies. Therefore, he found tuition a remedy.

“Between 50-60 children study in a class, who are to be handled by a lone teacher for around 45 minutes. To what extent would a teacher stay focused? If we do not opt for tuition, children would become zero (...). We are not excited to choose tuition as we have limited earnings.” (Self-employed)

The respondent categorized himself as head of a low-income household.

“Look, I studied in a public school and had never been satisfied. My kids too study in a public school and my impression has not changed to date. I believe that a public school does not deliver how it should!” (A housewife)

The respondent enrolled two of her children in a public school and three in a private school. She had firm expression that public schools cannot deliver, therefore, she opted private tuition for those children who studied in a public school.

Respondents of public schools indicated immense trust deficit on both the schools and teachers. A very few of parents deemed public schooling as

good. Respondents representing private schools saw schools as highly competitive and advantageous in most aspects.

4.3 Associated Costs:

Respondents were asked regarding costs (financial and time) associated with private tuition.

“It is just not easy. I am government employee in a middle scale. I barely run my household expenditures. Employees are unable to meet such expenses! I spend ten thousand a month on account of tuition expenses of both my children.” (A government employee).

The respondent informed that he spends a major portion of his salary on educational expenses.

“I am a well-paid banker and I am easily able to pay for private tuition. But those with meagre income also pay for it. Some barely meet their household expenses. Besides, I do pay a time cost too.” (A Banker)

The respondent had enrolled his child in public school.

“As a pensioner, I am able to meet tuition expenses, however, to pick-and-drop children from home to academy is an obvious time cost for me.” (A semi-government employee)

The respondent expressed that it was difficult and hectic for him to manage pick-and-drop activity.

“We are forced to bear such expenses inclusive of transportation cost. I believe we would have to do it till my child is enrolled in a college.” (A government employee)

The respondent expressed unwillingness both to pay for expenses and continuing tuition.

“...look! I can earn something in evening. I am an electrician by profession, but I am engaged in pick-and-drop activity. This begins at around 4:00 P.M. and lasts at 09:00 P.M. on daily basis. I am useless between these hours!” (Self-employed Technician)

The respondent referred to losses to his work and income as an indirect cost of tuition.

“We manage the financial cost easily since my husband earns good. However, time is an obvious cost for my child, and I observe his strain.” (A housewife)

The respondent believed children barely gets time for extracurricular activities.

“...when we privatize something, we make sure it happens! By paying for tuition, we dislocate another cost, say, leisure? Hence, we spend more on education.” (A housewife)

The respondent saw tuition as an investment.

“I regard it as an extra burden. But we have to afford such costs for their (children) brighter future.” (Self-employed)

The respondent believed that tuition burdened children more than they could endure.

“Affording costs of tuition is very difficult. Also, there’s a tug-of-war between private academies; for each proclaims to be best! And yet, they also claim schooling to be useless. Result: our costs are doubled.” (A housewife)

The respondent pointed that private tuition developed as a competitive market over time.

Respondents representing public sector schools were alarmingly reluctant, unwilling, and unsatisfied to pay for both financial (explicit) and intangible (implicit) costs associated with tuition, such as time and losses to any alternative activity/business which could be done otherwise. A few respondents representing public schools were found satisfied in terms of costs related to tuition. Almost all parents representing private schools were satisfied with managing costs associated with tuition.

4.4 Tuition as an Activity:

Parents were asked how they see tuition as an activity:

“There is a weekly testing system in academy. Moreover, teachers in academy keeps a daily check on students’ workbooks. Whereas in schools, only one or two tests are conducted and that too after a gap of three-four months. Besides, schoolteachers do not give any kind of homework.” (A housewife)

In addition to inspiration with mock examinations offered by private tuition centres, respondents were impressed with the practice of keeping regular check on students’ school workbook(s).

“From a process of learning, I believe my child wastes his time at school because no classes are scheduled properly. In last few months, teachers went on strike and thousands of children had their time wasted. Therefore, my son covered all his academic shortfalls in tuition centre. Things only get right when we pay for something.” (A banker)

A major trust deficit existed among respondents regarding how public schools imparted education.

“Basically, it’s a perception that unless a child is enrolled in a private academy, he/she shall get no marks. This has been injected into tiny brains of children! We are helpless! When they (children) sit together, they talk about going to tuition centres. When I talk to school authorities, I am being suggested not to admit my child in any tuition centre. That one public school shows utmost responsibility.” (Private employee)

Only one respondent informed that authorities in public school discouraged him to choose tuition for his child.

“Even at a tuition centre, a child learning is dependent on teacher. The advantage at tuition is individual attention. Teachers in academy intentionally helps improving a child, for instance, their writing and grammatical skills. This cannot be done by a schoolteacher. In fact, it is not humanly possible for schoolteacher to maintain an inclusive environment for all and manage fifty children. To what extent a schoolteacher can be burdened?” (A housewife)

The respondent categorically referred to subject of English.

“Private schools do not have qualified, well-trained and experienced teachers; thus, children face troubles in some subjects. Tuition fulfils this gap.” (Self-employed)

Some parents were concerned about qualification and recruitment process of teachers of private schools. Recruitment in private schools follow flexible and informal process; wherein teachers’ qualification and experience are often not considered a benchmark for hiring. Whereas public sector schoolteachers are recruited only after fulfilling explicitly stated mandatory qualification(s). As a result of that, parents who enrolled children in private schools still preferred private tuition for them.

Several respondents believed that the supply side of tuition (teachers at academy) were some deliberately unfair and underpaid teachers who in morning, taught at school(s). Also, there was yet one more time, trust deficit among parents representing the public-sector schools.

4.5 Trend of Tuition

Parents were asked to share their views regarding the trend of tuition.

“Tuition has evolved as a business. Oftentimes, schoolteachers call students at their homes. Those children who do not take tuition develop with inferiority complex.” (A government employee)

The respondent enrolled his children in a public school.

“This phenomenon (giggles) has dwelled into our psychology. We have entered a race! I tell you; what race is it! It is a race of getting admissions into colleges. Therefore, unless a child takes tuition, he cannot compete. And we perceive that without tuition, nothing good can happen. Off course tuition is good but if there was quality education at schools, you and I would not be seeing these academies.” (A banker)

The respondent regarded private tuition as a psychological phenomenon.

“We do not have time, or maybe we are not unaware of modern day’s innovations in academics. Obviously, what we knew twenty years ago is irrelevant today. I hold an undergraduate degree; however, I cannot teach my child who is in matric.” (A housewife)

The respondent referred parental qualification and cultural lag as push factors of private tuition.

“Private sector also plays a role in boosting the trend of tuition. During regular school hours, teachers deliberately leave certain loopholes. The school buildings become useless, so they (administration) turn those buildings into tuition centres and expects the same students to enrol. That’s how they earn profit. Education is merely a ‘business’ for private sector.” (Self-employed)

The respondent specified private schools’ strategy to use their business spaces for school to impart private tuition lessons in evening.

A mixed pattern composed of differentiating and enriched responses was decoded. Respondents strongly believed that tuition is driven a lot by perceptions, and also possess psychological implications. After probing further, respondents also pointed out serious loopholes in the formal education system which pushed them to opt for private tuition. Some respondents narrated that although they were able to assist children in after school hours, the ever-evolving curriculum became alien to them. Thus, they were able to extend learning support to their children only up to certain grades. Therefore, private tuition offered them a substitute.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

For students, peer pressure and less individual attention in classroom are one of popular reasons of taking private tuition (Foondun, 2002) while others take it because of school teachers who teach lesser than the required syllabus (Bray, 2003). Parents representing public schools revealed an enormous trust deficit regarding quality of public sector schooling. A recent study in Myanmar

concluded that some parents feel that shadow education exists chiefly owing to weakness in school systems, and it shall wane with stronger school systems (Liu & Bray, 2020). However, once it entrenched in the culture, then it is very unlikely to be removed (ibid). The perceptions were so serious in nature that even if a child attained better grades at school, they believed that public schools do not deliver at all. Rare exceptions existed where parents acknowledged and pointed out dedicated teachers and better governed schools. Teachers' ability to extend individual attention, their attendance, shutting down of schools spanning over weeks, strikes by teachers and teachers' deliberate behaviour to avoid clearing concepts inside classroom emerged as prominent indicators of trust deficit. Shadow education offers motivation and an individualized learning opportunity (as compared to mainstream schooling) to students, however, it also upset the complex dynamics of teaching and learning in mainstream schools, disrupt school curricula, exacerbate social inequalities, and invite corruption (Silova & Bray, 2006). Thus, trust deficit arose as a key theme that inclined parents to choose private tuition. In addition to that, parents portrayed immense displeasure for the costs incurred by them in terms of time and money, such as the financial cost and cost of transportation. Since shadow education has become more popular, middle-income and low-income families have found themselves forced to invest in private tutoring alongside public provision (Bray & Kwo, 2013). One of parents expressed that he could work and earn during the time dedicated for child's transportation.

Most of the parents who enrolled their children in private schools were self-employed and entrepreneurs. A Canadian-based study about private tuition concluded that generalized culture of competition fuels it despite its uncertain dividends; also becoming a competitive strategy for families (Aurini & Davies, 2004). Parents consider private tuition as an investment through which children reap excellent scores (Kenayathulla, 2013). More than half of those expressed no financial constraint after paying for private tuition, as Azam (2016), also found that students of richer families attended more private tutoring in India. Authorities should pay particular attention to matters of social equity because shadow education is not just a matter of who can or cannot afford it (Liu & Bray, 2020).

It is evident from the research findings that shadow education is a definite cost in terms of time and money. The determinants of private tuition pointed to institutional lags which not only contributed to a poor output of education, but also affected children in several ways. Furthermore, it also became evident that shadow education curtails social inequality. Prosperous parents were convenient to invest in children education as compared to unprosperous parents,

most of whom represented public schools. Parents representing public sector schools chose tuition as a supplementary tool for “individualized attention” due to overcrowded classrooms. Whereas most of parents who represented private schools chose tuition for their children to “attain better grades” and “improve understanding of certain subjects”. “Competition” or “enrolment into higher education” and “parental education” also emerged as one of the determinants constituting private tuition. Some parents narrated that they did support their child’s education up to certain level, however, they failed to do so at higher grades (i.e. Matric).

6. Recommendations

Based on findings of the study, following policy recommendations are suggested:

1. Private schools have higher fee structure as compared with public. Therefore, parents who enrol children in private schools paying a higher fee should hold accountable the private school’s administration/faculty for children learning outcomes, rather than enrolling them in additional/supplementary lessons.
2. Aside from their legitimate concerns regarding future prospect of children, parents should also keep a check-and-balance on children physical and mental well-being. A child who remains engaged in both regular schooling and private tuition in the evening hours has lesser time for rest, extracurricular activity, and vice versa. In other words, it may be said that a school-going child who also takes private supplementary tuition can be compared to a bank staffer who works a nine-to-five job.
3. The Government should plan to address trust deficit regarding public schooling through research-oriented approach(es).
4. Cost(s) of private tuition should be assessed by the policy, so a preliminary narrative for shadow education may be devised.

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