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## EDITORIAL

### Shadow Educations: mapping the global discourse

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Private supplementary tutoring, also widely known as shadow education, is becoming a global phenomenon and an object of international scholarship. Private tutoring has multiple forms and positions across educational systems and levels, thus the term ‘shadow educations’. Asia is a notable location of shadow education activity. This editorial article maps the global discourse on shadow educations, using an expanded framework for analysis based on the Bray and Thomas (1995) cube. Against this backdrop, Asian research on shadow education presented in this special issue is introduced and its contribution to the global discourse is highlighted. A possible global research agenda is offered with the hope that new understandings derived from scholarly research may aid stakeholders in achieving the aims of education.

**Keywords:** private supplementary tutoring, shadow education, Asia, Bray and Thomas cube, comparative education

The phenomenon of private supplementary tutoring, also widely known as shadow education, is not only spreading globally, but is also gaining the attention of international scholarship (e.g. Bray, 2011; Bray & Lykins, 2012; Bray, Mazawi, & Sultana, 2013a). Asia has been a cradle of private tutoring, with Japan and South Korea as notable locations of activity (Mori & Baker, 2010) together with neighbouring East Asian societies as leading producers and consumers of this service (Bray & Lykins, 2012). This special issue showcases research in and from Asia in order to advance conceptual understanding of the natures, rationales, pedagogies, economics, regulatory policies, and corruption risks of private tutoring.

In this issue, private supplementary tutoring is taken to mean fee-paying tutoring in academic subjects that takes place outside standard school hours (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.1). It is widely known as shadow education because much of it shadows or mimics the mainstream regular school system (Bray, 1999; Stevenson & Baker, 1992). Primary and secondary school students may receive private supplementary tutoring on a one-on-one basis, in pairs, in small, medium, or large groups, or through the internet (Bray, 2009, 2011; Bray & Lykins, 2012).

The title of this special issue—Shadow Education in Asia: discourses and dilemmas—delimits its geographic scope to the Asian region. More concretely, articles in the special issue focus on parts of east, southeast and west Asia. By discourses, we employ the Foucauldian sense of a limited set of statements that both constrains and enables what can be said, thought, and written about a specific object or practice within a specific historical period (Foucault, 1972). In this respect, the issue presents discourses from students, parents, teachers, policy analysts, ministry officials, and academics. To some extent, some of these discourses seek to establish the conditions of truth about what shadow education is or ought to be in a specific context. Yet, these discourses are fluid as the nature, dimensions, and values of private supplementary tutoring change over time and place. Likewise, the dilemmas arising from the shadow education phenomenon relate to the way its practice is positioned vis-à-vis mainstream education and the social ecology of a population in a specific context. Of these, issues of equity, burden on students and families, and corruption are noteworthy. As the aims and outcomes of education morph, so does shadow education and the aforementioned conundrums resulting from it.

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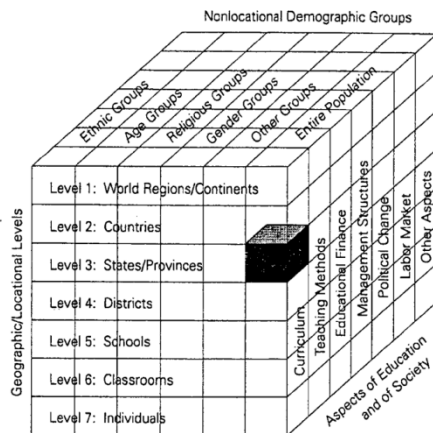
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This editorial article maps the global discourse on shadow educations, denominated in the plural to allude to its multiple forms and positions across educational systems and levels. Making use of the Bray and Thomas (1995) cube as a framework, the article offers a snapshot inventory of shadow education research worldwide. Following this, the research articles in this issue are introduced and their contributions to the global discourse are highlighted. It is hoped that the new understandings derived from this scholarly research will aid stakeholders in achieving the aims of education.

### Expanding the Bray and Thomas framework for comparative education analyses

As the international empirical research on shadow education builds up, there is a need to take systematic stock of what has been done and what remains to be done in order to obtain a comprehensive global picture of the different manifestations of shadow education and their implications for societies. This article proposes a multidimensional and multilevel analytical framework to map the literature on shadow educations worldwide. It builds on the Bray and Thomas (1995) framework for comparative education analyses presented as a cube with three dimensions: locational/geographic, non-locational demographic, and aspects of education and society (Figure 1). The authors argued that most comparative studies involve all three dimensions, and therefore can be plotted on one or more cells of the diagram (Bray & Thomas, 1995, p.474). Thus the shaded cell in Figure 1 may represent a comparative study of curricula for the entire populations of two or more states. The framework has been extensively elaborated in the influential volume edited by Bray, Adamson and Mason (2014), *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*.

Figure 1 A Framework for Comparative Education Analyses



Source: Bray & Thomas, 1995, p.475

The 1995 framework originally focused on aspects of mainstream education and society across geographic levels and nonlocational demographic groups, as displayed on the three faces of the cube in Figure 1. Since shadow education mimics mainstream education, it follows that the cube could be employed to analyse aspects of *shadow* education across multiple spatial levels and demographics. Additionally, this paper proposes to use the Bray and Thomas framework by employing all the six dimensions of the cube for a more holistic mapping of research conducted in the area. This organic

progression and translation of the framework may later serve as an inspiration for its translation and application to other types of thematic/subject analyses, even outside the field of education.

### *Transposing the cube to shadow education analyses*

The front face of the Bray and Thomas (1995) cube presents the geographic/location dimension on seven levels: world regions/continents, countries, states/provinces, districts, schools, classrooms and individuals. As noted by Manzon (2014), new spatial units for analysis have emerged in the discourse, such as virtual classrooms where classes are administered through the internet. Multilevel analyses, viewing one level as embedded in another and where the higher and lower geographic levels mutually influence each other (Manzon, 2014, p.130; see also Bronfenbrenner, 1979), are also useful for a holistic comprehension of the shadow education phenomenon.

The second dimension refers to aspects of shadow education. Modifying the elements in the original cube, we propose such aspects as: nature of provision, pedagogies, supply, demand, impact, finance, assessment, perceptions, and history. The nature of provision would include the durations, qualities, intensities and modes of delivery of private tutoring. The pedagogies would explore the teaching methods and approaches used for specific academic subjects. The supply side examines who is providing private tutoring services. They may include private businesses or educational entities, mainstream school teachers, non-governmental organisations, and students as tutors. As for demand, the question of who avails of these services and for what purposes arises. The impacts of shadow education on academic achievement and student well-being are worth exploring. Financial aspects of shadow education include the costs and who bears the financial burden. The assessment structure of mainstream education at transition points in the system vis-à-vis the incidence of shadow education is another aspect of study. Likewise, perceptions by students, teachers, parents, future employers and policymakers of the shadow education phenomenon would reveal interesting insights. Lastly, more historical studies about the evolution and development of private supplementary tutoring worldwide are much needed.

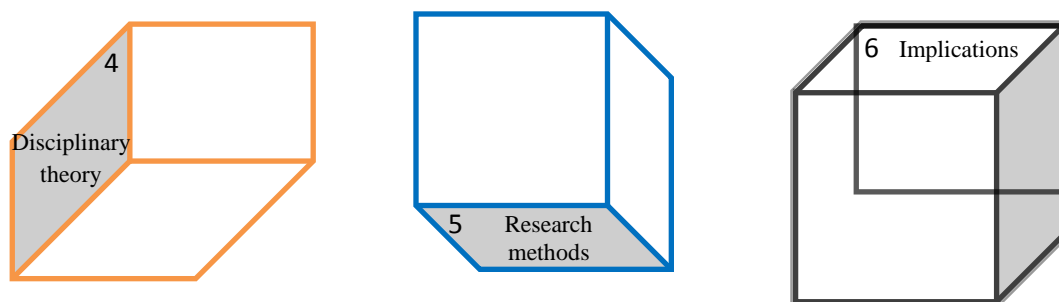
The third dimension refers to nonlocational demographic groups. Relevant categories for the study of shadow education would include: entire population, gender groups, ability bands (high achievers vs. low achievers), socio-economic status, parental background, cultural/ethnic groups, and levels of schooling.

### *Expanding the shadow education framework*

Widening the scope of the abovementioned analytical framework, this paper proposes three additional dimensions to utilise the six faces of the cube. The three new dimensions focus on disciplinary theory, research methods, and implications of shadow educations for stakeholders (Figure 2).

The fourth dimension, located on the left side of the expanded cube, refers to the theoretical lenses that are used to comprehend the shadow education phenomenon. These may be drawn from sociology, which examines the relationships between education—and shadow education—and society, and critical social theory. Psychological studies, which examine constructs such as student motivation, achievement, and self-concept, may be applied to shadow education. Likewise, historical, economic and philosophical lenses may be employed. Useful lessons may also be derived from the field of comparative and cross-cultural pedagogy. For example, the classic research of Watkins and Biggs (1996) on the ‘Chinese learner’ may throw light on the long history of private tutoring in Confucian heritage cultures.

**Figure 2 Expanding the Bray & Thomas (1995) cube**



A fifth dimension embraces research methods employed for shadow education analyses. This dimension involves the triadic relationship among research purpose, design and type. Depending on the purpose of the study, the research design may take the form of quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods research. Correspondingly, research may be of any of these types: baseline, experimental, explanatory, and exploratory. Meta-analysis of shadow education's impact on academic achievement may also fall under the quantitative category.

A final dimension pertains to the implications of shadow education research for stakeholders, who include governments, schools, teachers, students, parents, tutors and tutorial school operators. Implications may include an examination of equity issues and regulatory policy. This dimension further suggests the unexplored terrain of policy transfer research on shadow education, e.g. what are the processes and implications of 'exporting' *jukus* or *hagwons* to education systems outside Japan and Korea, respectively?<sup>1</sup>

The above has discussed the different dimensions and levels of the expanded framework for analysis of shadow educations. A major task required is to undertake multilevel and multidimensional analyses that help arrive at an integrated understanding of the phenomenon. As Mazawi, Sultana and Bray (2013, p.206) elucidated

[a] critical reading of private tutoring , as a phenomenon both *embedded* within situated contexts of practice, and as a phenomenon that reflects *embodied* forms of struggles [is required]. Private tutoring is embedded within contexts of practice in the sense that it is part of larger tensions and contradictions that underpin the meanings of education in society, indicative of the debates over what constitutes an 'educated person'. Private tutoring reflects embodied forms of struggle in the sense that it is grounded in power politics, hegemonic and counterhegemonic positions, and in social struggles more broadly. By positioning private tutoring over this wider backdrop we start to fully appreciate not only its economic aspects, but also its social and political meanings, the range of its policy impacts, and its effects on the quality and equity of educational provision.

### **Mapping the global discourse on shadow educations**

After explaining the proposed analytical framework, this section examines a number of shadow education studies and plots them on the expanded cube in order to provide a snapshot inventory of the global discourse on shadow educations. The selected studies have been culled from the Shadow Education Bibliography, a database published online by the Shadow Education Special Interest Group of the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong (CERC, 2014). The online bibliography contains publications ranging from scholarly articles and books to working papers, unpublished theses, and newspaper articles mainly in English, but also in Chinese, French, German, Portuguese, and Russian, for the period since the 1990s. Surprisingly, at the time of writing, Africa had the highest number of entries (204), followed by Europe (94), while Asia had 93

entries, with 70 entries from China alone. The second decade of the 2000s is witnessing a marked increase in scholarly publications on shadow education.

The present content analysis focuses on English-medium books and journal articles published from 2000 to 2014. This initial work illustrates the use of the expanded cube foreshadowing a more comprehensive mapping of a global research agenda on shadow educations. This exercise aims to use the proposed shadow education framework on which the position of each piece of research can be located as on a global research map. It hopes to provide stakeholders with a reliable analytical tool for understanding the phenomenon of shadow education and for further research or policy formulation. Its significance for comparative education methodology lies in sharpening the tools and lenses of comparative research as applied not only to mainstream education but also to shadow education.

### *World regional studies of shadow education*

Research published by Bray (e.g. 2009, 2010a) documents patterns across world regions covering different aspects of shadow education, including the nature of its provision, users and purposes, drivers of demand, its socio-economic and educational impacts, and the policy responses to both demand and supply. Of particular interest is the classification of patterns of private tutoring by world regional groupings and how these are embedded in an ecology of historical, cultural and government policy factors promoting or inhibiting tutoring (Bray, 2009, p.24).

Other studies have focused on specific regions including the Mediterranean (Bray, Mazawi, & Sultana, 2013b), Africa (Bray & Suso, 2008), the European Union (Bray, 2011), Eastern Europe (Silova, Būdienė, & Bray, 2006), Eurasia (Jokić, 2013), Central Asia (Silova, 2009), and Asia (Bray & Lykins, 2012). Missing from the discourse is regional analysis of North America, South America, and Australasia although the work of Aurini, Davies, & Dierkes (2013) is a step in this direction. Interestingly, these studies provide evidence of the constructedness of shadow educations as historically situated phenomena shaped by processes of state formation, political transitions, civic upheavals and wars, or local resonances of globalization (Bray, Mazawi, & Sultana, 2013a, p.4).

### *Country studies of shadow education*

Numerous studies of shadow education take the country as the unit for analysis, and some are explicitly comparative. Dawson's (2010) study of Japan, South Korea and Cambodia examined the relationship between private tutoring systems and formal education systems. Following a qualitative approach, it first established the terms of comparability among the three units before proceeding to a deeper contextual analysis of the reasons underlying the existence of private tutoring. It argued that "private tutoring systems function as parasitic systems ... [which absorb] unmet demand for schooling and feed off the insecurity of parents and students who lose faith in formal education systems" (Dawson, 2010, p.15). Other studies have taken a quantitative approach. Baker, Akiba, LeTendre and Wiseman (2001) undertook a cross-national comparison of 41 countries to examine the prevalence, purposes and drivers of demand for shadow education using data from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). Lee (2007) likewise used TIMSS data to explore the prevalence and causes of private tutoring in the US and Korea. However, some of these studies using large-scale international comparative data sets exhibit methodological problems<sup>2</sup>.

Other studies take a single country as the unit for analysis. In Asia, studies have focused on Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, South Korea, Japan, Sri Lanka, Turkey and Vietnam, to name a few (Brehm & Silova, 2014; Dang, 2008; Hamid, Sussex, & Khan, 2009; Lee, Lee, & Jang, 2010; Pallegedara, 2012; Tansel & Bircan, 2006; Yu & Ding, 2011). Roesgaard (2006) analysed extensively the functions of the *jukus* (cram schools) in Japan. Brehm and Silova's (2014) mixed-method study of 26 classrooms in Cambodia revealed the equity implications of a "seamless combination of public schooling and private tutoring" (p.94). Others examined policy responses, demand factors, expenditures, and

specific subject uses of private tutoring (e.g., English as a second language). Yu and Ding (2011) employed game theory as an economic analysis of private tutoring consumption behaviour in China, and concluded that a relative shortage of educational resources and between-school differences in quality were the underlying reasons for demand for shadow education. In Africa, issues of corruption in Egyptian secondary education and a quantitative study of demand and impact on achievement of private tutoring use in Kenya were investigated (Buchmann, 2002; Sobhy, 2012)<sup>3</sup>. Hartmann's (2013) ethnographic study analysed the relationship between private tutoring in the preuniversity education sector and social class dynamics in Egypt. In the Caribbean, Barrow & Lochan (2012) examined the participation rate and motivations of 801 secondary school students in Trinidad and Tobago using a sequential qualitative-quantitative mixed-method design. In Europe, a pair of studies in Poland and Ireland took a more quantitative approach. Safarzyńska (2003) explored the correlation between socio-economic background and the demand for private tutoring among Polish lower- and upper-level secondary students. Smythe (2008) analysed the impact of different levels of involvement in private tuition on Irish secondary school students' academic performance and concluded that even relatively high levels of involvement had no impact on achievement.

#### *From state level studies to the individual*

Fewer studies have examined the state/province, and fewer still the lower levels of districts, schools and individuals. At the level of the state and provinces is a mixed-method study in Hong Kong, a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. The study investigated Hong Kong secondary school students' perceptions on the effectiveness of private supplementary tutoring relative to mainstream schooling drawing on a representative sample from Hong Kong schools (Zhan, Bray, Wang, Lykins, & Kwo, 2013).

At the level of districts, Kwok's (2004) qualitative study investigated mass tutoring in five East Asian cities: Hong Kong, Macao, Seoul, Taipei and Tokyo. He argued that these schools foster examination-oriented knowledge and challenge values in day-time teaching and learning. The paper referred to the theoretical lenses drawn from comparative pedagogy, concretely on the cultural assumptions of 'Chinese teachers and learners' in line with Watkins and Biggs (1996) cited above.

School and classroom-level analysis in the case of shadow education pertains to the study of providers of private supplementary tutoring. In line with the rise of 'virtual' schools and classrooms where (shadow) education is administered through the internet, the study by Ventura & Jang (2010) sheds light on this phenomenon in India, Korea and Portugal.

At the level of the individual, a number of studies are worth highlighting. Popa and Acedo (2006) focused on Romanian mainstream teachers in four high schools to elucidate how their engagement in private tutoring served as a means to recover and reaffirm their professional identity. Dierkes (2010) examined the personal background of small cram school operators in Japan. De Castro and de Guzman (2014), taking a phenomenological approach, have documented the metamorphosis of private tutoring in the Philippines drawing on the insights of cram school owners and formal school administrators in three major cities. On the demand side, Chan and Bray (2014) identified the motivations of Hong Kong students enrolling in large-class tutoring to pass state examinations on Liberal Studies, a new subject that, paradoxically, aims to foster creativity and critical thinking. The study considered ability banding in their selection of student informants.

Lastly, an example of multilevel analysis is the work of Saha and Saha (2009), which proposed an econometric model to analyse and predict the demand for private tutoring as arising from poor schooling infrastructure and shirking by teachers and the role of government policy in the process. While the study is not place-specific, it exhibits multilevel features by considering consumers (households) and suppliers (teachers) at the micro-level, school infrastructure at the meso-level and government policy at the macro-level and their mutual influence and interaction.

Overall, this exercise of a preliminary mapping of the global discourse on shadow education has portrayed multiple units for analysis at multiple levels, a wide range of aspects of shadow education, and diverse theoretical underpinnings. While a good number of cells on the expanded cube-shaped framework may have been shaded, much ground still remains to be covered. More baseline studies are needed for many countries and regions. In this respect, fine-tuning of international comparative data derived from TIMSS and PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) is imperative for more meaningful and coherent conclusions to be derived. The methodological issues raised by a few scholars on large-scale studies in shadow education are worth noting (Bray, 2010b; Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014). Other types of research, such as explanatory, experimental and intervention studies are also needed. Exploration of different demographic groups (e.g. cultures of learning, ability-banding, all the levels of schooling) also remains to be done. Profiting from a wider range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary lenses, other than the dominant economic discourses, can further deepen and enrich our understanding of the shadow education phenomenon. As such, historical, sociological, psychological, and cross-cultural theories can be explored more. A few studies have started along this trajectory (e.g. Buchmann, 2002; Yamamoto & Brinton, 2010).

### **Research on Asian Shadow Educations**

The present issue succeeds an earlier special issue on shadow education published in the *Asia Pacific Education Review* guest-edited by Mark Bray and Chong-Jae Lee (Bray & Lee, 2010). That issue displayed more geographic diversity, whereas this volume solely focuses on Asia. The present issue comprises seven articles exploring three main themes: demand, supply and regulation of private supplementary tutoring. The first two articles focus on demand factors from student's voices (Kwo & Bray; de Castro & de Guzman). They are followed by a pair of articles examining how the suppliers of private tutoring, in this case especially mainstream teachers, influence demand for this service, to the point of possible corruption (Zhang; Kobakhidze). These phenomena point to the need for regulatory policies as elaborated by the last three articles (Lao; Zhan; Li & Choi). Lao sets a broad theoretical framework for policy analysis and offers empirical data from state actors' perspectives. Zhan analyses the evolution, patterns and implementation of educational policy on private tutoring in Taiwan. Finally, Li and Choi trace the historical evolution of private supplementary tutoring and its regulation in Macao. The issue also has a focused book review section that presents recent publications on shadow education in Eurasia and the Mediterranean, as well as a monograph on regulatory frameworks in Asia.

The issue focuses on seven Asian societies, namely Chongqing (China), Georgia, Hong Kong, Macao, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand. Following the front face of the expanded cube framework, the units for analysis include: countries (e.g., Georgia, Thailand, the Philippines); states such as the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions of the People's Republic of China; and Chongqing which is a municipality directly controlled by the national government. Four of the seven are in East Asia, two in Southeast Asia, and one in Eurasia. The societies vary in terms of economic prosperity, population size, political history, governance styles, and education system structure, all of which shape the prevalence, purposes and dilemmas resulting from the shadow education phenomenon.

The first article by Ora Kwo and Mark Bray examines the nexus between mainstream schooling and shadow education from the perspective of Hong Kong secondary students. The authors argue that the aims of education are distinctly perceived by governments and schools on the one hand, and by parents and students on the other. The strategies pursued by the respective sides also differ, giving rise to a shadow education system which almost parallels mainstream schooling. Listening to students' voices, Kwo and Bray tease out the mismatch between students' learning objectives and mainstream teachers' pedagogical orientations, thereby capturing the *raison d'être* for engaging in private tutoring due to the perceived benefit of tutor's pedagogic styles in addressing learning gaps at school, especially for examination purposes. In the authors' words, "reception to students' voices commonly reveals the gap



between teachers' intentions and students' readiness, thus exposing the space for critical learning" (see Kwo & Bray in this issue).

In the same vein, Belinda de Castro and Allan de Guzman also take students' perspectives, and their findings corroborate those of Kwo and Bray with respect to students' motivations to receive private supplementary tutoring, albeit using a more quantitative research paradigm. The authors test a model that depicts the mediating role of students' attitudes toward shadow education between students' demographic profile and formal school attributes, on the one hand, and satisfaction level and behavioural intentions of repeat patronage and recommendation, on the other, and the direct effect of shadow education institutions attributes. While the features of education and society differ greatly between the Philippines and Hong Kong, a common thread which binds them together is the competition for better educational opportunities and outcomes for labour and social mobility. De Castro and de Guzman state that three attitudinal typologies characterise Filipino student consumers of private tutoring. One is a success-oriented attitude which views shadow education as a means for success. Another is the compensatory-oriented attitude which sees in shadow education the means to compensate for the declining quality of schooling. Lastly, there is the efficacy-oriented attitude which seeks in private tutoring the means to make academic study easier. Among these, the authors find the efficacy-oriented attitudes as having the greatest impact on students' satisfaction and behavioural intentions to receive private tutoring in view of its unique and student-centred classroom innovations and delivery modes which address adequately students' learning needs and interests. These psychological arguments complement Kwo and Bray's pedagogical perspectives and both illuminate the tensions between mainstream and shadow education systems identified above. In this sense, the shadow metaphor may be inadequate because the private supplementary tutoring system does not intend to mimic the mainstream completely but to exercise a subsidiary as well as a supplementary role.

The above pair of papers has laid down some of the dynamics of the demand for shadow education. The next two articles examine the supply side of the private tutoring phenomenon, with particular focus on mainstream teachers as service providers. Wei Zhang looks at schoolteachers' power as a driver of students' demand for private tutoring. Drawing on French and Raven's (1959) theory of power bases, Zhang makes an illuminating analysis of the phenomenon of mainstream teachers providing tutoring services to their own or other students in the context of Chongqing, China. She recognises that some dimensions of this kind of teachers' practice may be praiseworthy, while others may be a form of corruption.

Magda Nutsa Kobakhidze advances the discussion on corruption risks for teacher-supplied private tutoring a step further. Drawing on interviews with mainstream teachers providing private tutoring in post-Soviet Georgia, she proposes a continuum model for a nuanced understanding of teacher corruption, which enriches a related model by Milovanovich (2014, as cited in Bray & Kwo, 2014, p.31). She concludes that where private supplementary tutoring becomes a 'survival strategy' for teachers, the widely normalised practice in Georgia of teachers tutoring their students is not necessarily a form of corruption, but it includes a high risk of corruption (see Kobakhidze's paper).

Given the corruption risks involved in providing private tutoring and other problems not discussed in this special issue, such as social inequalities and backwash on mainstream schooling (see Bray & Kwo, 2014), regulation of shadow education is necessary. The following trilogy of articles explores the issue of state regulatory policies. In the first place, Rattana Lao distinguishes between policy approaches and policy types relating to shadow education, and implementability as resulting from an interplay among policy, people and places (Honig, 2006). Drawing on interviews with Thai policy elites, she demonstrates the Thai state's embracive policy towards private tutoring consequent to its market-led ideology which views private tutoring as a 'commodity'.

The government of Taiwan likewise subscribes to the role of market forces in regulating private supplementary tutoring. However, its educational privatisation strategy, as Shengli Zhan's article depicts it, combines market mechanisms with strict and detailed government regulations as a counterbalance. Re-examining the dyadic relationship between private tutoring and mainstream schooling (see Kwo and Bray's paper), Zhan identifies three possible positions of private tutoring, namely: supplementary,

complementary, and/or competitive with mainstream schooling. Government stances towards such relationships may in turn influence official responses to the private tutoring industry, as the cases in this issue exemplify.

Finally, Titus Li and Ben Choi explore the historical evolution of the Macao education system and, alongside it, the shadow education system. The authors then comment on the government regulatory frameworks for private tutoring. The paper echoes observations made by authors in this issue (e.g. Kwo & Bray; de Castro & de Guzman) on pedagogical orientations (and deficiencies) of mainstream schooling giving rise to the need for supplementary tutoring.

### **Divergences and convergences in the global discourse**

The articles in this issue have presented diverging discourses. The official discourses of governments and schools contrast with those of parents and students. Marked dichotomies are also visible between industry/commercial discourses and educational discourses (see Taiwan and Thailand cases); between private and public education, and between private tutoring and mainstream schooling. The Hong Kong case explicitly showcased pedagogical differences between private tutoring and mainstream education. The discourse in Thailand also sought to distinguish between necessary and contingent private tutoring. Meanwhile, the articles on China and Georgia analysed the nuances of corrupt versus licit teacher behaviour (and Kobakhidze proposed that it be viewed as on a continuum). Several articles addressed the discourse of regulation vis-à-vis *laissez faire*.

The above may have presented simplistic dichotomies and divergences. Yet the dilemmas arising from shadow education converge on a higher level of values. Questions commonly arising from the varied discourses include: whether it is right, necessary and beneficial to engage in private tutoring? Private tutoring: for whom, by whom and for what purposes? Implications derived from the various research studies intersect on imperatives of morality and social justice, on the right to education, on persistent competition for limited opportunities for social mobility. These points of convergence raise further questions: how does shadow education relate to the *Education for All* agenda? (e.g. Bray & Kwo, 2013). Is shadow education necessary or contingent? Is it a necessary good/commodity to which everyone has a right? What are the limits? Who decides? The discourse on regulation has moved in some societies from prohibition to tolerance to acknowledgement. What then are the implications of this for the common good?

The themes raised here have enriched the global discourse on shadow education with Asian understandings and complexities. The new discourses here suggest that the shadow metaphor may not be sufficient to describe the nexus between private supplementary tutoring and mainstream education. As Zhan's article in this issue indicated, the parallel system of private tutoring may not only be supplementary, but could also be complementary, and/or even competitive with mainstream schooling. This takes place not only outside the school but also within schools, as when mainstream teachers become providers of private tuition to their students. Thus, as Bray (2010b) suggested, there is a blurring of traditional boundaries between public and private education, between mainstream schooling and private supplementary tutoring, and even between geographic boundaries as with 'transnational' private tutoring. In this respect, perhaps the notion of a *dialectic* between mainstream education and private supplementary tutoring may be a more dynamic concept to capture this dyadic relationship.

### **Conclusions**

The phenomenon of private supplementary tutoring is gaining worldwide attention of education policymakers, researchers and the general public. This article has delineated some of the contours of global scholarly research on shadow educations. Employing an expanded version of the Bray and Thomas (1995) framework for comparative analyses, the article has mapped a selection of available research on private tutoring along six dimensions. These dimensions comprise the aspects of shadow education, their

geographic and demographic coordinates, the disciplinary theory and research methods employed, and the implications of the study. Mapping of global discourses revealed substantial work done and still a lot of ground to be covered. Analyses at the level of world regions and countries have offered interesting macro-level patterns, while meso- and micro-level studies from the state down to the individual have revealed nuanced articulations of the tensions and struggles at the nexus of shadow education and mainstream education. Research on Asian shadow educations showcased in this special issue substantiates this dialectical relationship between mainstream education and private supplementary tutoring.

The global discourses on private tutoring exhibit divergences and convergences. Divergent voices arise from the different stakeholders of education: governments, schools, parents, students, and commercialised private tutoring centres. Divergent approaches to regulation of private tutoring are shaped by the divergent views as to its rightful position vis-à-vis mainstream schooling. Divergent conclusions as to shadow education's impact derive from divergent methodologies and measurements. Nevertheless, these divergent discourses somewhat converge at the higher level of values. Discourses converge towards common dilemmas such as equity, student welfare, the common good, and ultimately, what it means to be an "educated person" (Mazawi et al., 2013, p.206). This highlights the need for more systematic research to be undertaken on the impacts of private tutoring on social stratification, on student achievement (both academic and non-academic), on the backwash effect on mainstream schooling, to name a few.

A possible global research agenda should include both quantitative and qualitative methods, as well as mixed-methods research. International research collaboration is desirable for more concerted and systematic efforts to yield meaningful and conclusive findings. On the quantitative domain, developing rigorous instruments and research methods in the elaboration and use of international comparative data on private tutoring, as indicated by Bray and Kobakhidze (2014), is needed in order to arrive at an integrated vision of the phenomenon of private tutoring in different contexts worldwide. Meta-analyses may also yield powerful results, provided they are based on solid research studies. On the qualitative domain, more contextualised studies especially at the country or state level are required. Exemplary volumes include Jokić (2013) on Eurasia and Bray et al. (2013b) on the Mediterranean region. Studies may range from taking the world region as the unit for analysis down to the level of the individual. Multilevel analyses which demonstrate the embeddedness of private tutoring within contexts of culture, political history and social hierarchies are also important. In this respect, the framework for analysis proposed here may serve as a tool to advance, in a small way, the global research agenda.

## Notes

1. This question was raised by Dr. Keita Takayama in a research dialogue on November 18, 2013 at Sophia University, Tokyo.
2. For methodological concerns about these types of studies, see Bray & Kobakhidze (2014).
3. More research is available on African countries in the form of theses, but they have been excluded here since this article has surveyed only published scholarly books and journal articles.

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