

Pesquisa comparativa sobre educação na sombre

Temas e desafios metodológicos

Mark Bray

University of Hong Kong



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education
The University of Hong Kong

Nine questions about research foci

Question 1: What are we looking at?

My own work focuses on:

- **academic**
- **for financial gain**
- **additional to the provision of mainstream schooling**

**Other foci are also legitimate –
provided that they have clarity and
rationale**

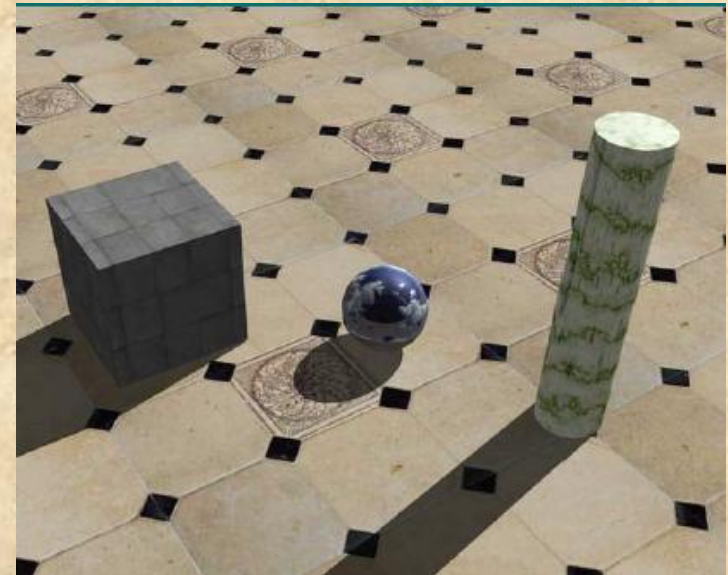
Question 2: Is it always a shadow?

Why a shadow?

- ▶ Private tutoring only exists because the mainstream exists.
- ▶ As the size and shape of the mainstream changes, so does the shadow.

But does it always follow sequentially?

And does it always mimic?



Question 3: Who provides the tutoring?

- **Teachers**, on a supplementary basis after school hours
- University and secondary school **students**
- Professional tutors, working as individuals or for **companies**

Do categories overlap? And what are the implications of each?

Question 4: Where are the best data?

- ▶ Best research is in **East Asia**
- ▶ Some research in **South Asia, Middle East and Eastern Europe**
- ▶ Less research in **Western Europe, North America, Africa**
- ▶ And **Latin America?**

**More and better
data needed!**

Question 5: How good (and how comparable) are data snapshots?

- ▶ **Argentina:** 36% of university students had received preparatory tutoring in secondary schooling
- ▶ **China:** 29% lower secondary students receiving
- ▶ **Egypt:** 52% rural primary; 64% urban primary
- ▶ **France:** 25% lower secondary, 33% upper secondary
- ▶ **Hong Kong:** 45% primary, 80% upper secondary
- ▶ **India:** West Bengal, 57% primary; Kerala, 72% secondary
- ▶ **Japan:** 16% Primary 1; 65% Secondary 3
- ▶ **Korea:** 88% elementary, 72% middle, 60% high
- ▶ **Sri Lanka:** 92% Grade 10; 98% Grade 12

Question 6: Who receives tutoring and why?

Disaggregation by

- Socio-economic group
- Gender
- Race, ethnicity, etc.
- School type

**Are there other ways
to disaggregate?**

Question 7: Does tutoring work?

Actually, that's the wrong question.

A better question is:

What types, qualities and quantities of private supplementary tutoring, with what durations, intensities and back-up support, work in what types of learning domains for what sorts of students in what sorts of circumstances?

Question 8: What is the backwash on regular schooling?

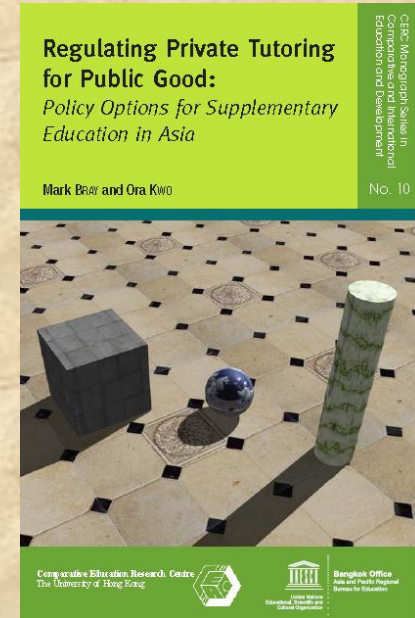
What impact on:

- the student receiving tutoring?
- classmates?
- teachers?

**Any other
dimensions of
backwash?**

Question 9: How should it be regulated?

- Should teachers be allowed to tutor
 - their own students,
 - other students?
- What regulations on companies?
- And informal tutoring e.g. by university students?
- What about the internet?



**What works:
when, where,
how and why?**

Some methodological observations

Researching shadow education: methodological challenges and directions

Mark Bray

Received: 20 June 2009 / Revised: 30 September 2009 / Accepted: 15 November 2009 / Published online: 28 January 2010
© Education Research Institute, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea 2010

Abstract Research on shadow education has considerably increased in volume and has helped to improve understanding of the scale, nature, and implications of the phenomenon. However, the field is still in its infancy. Literature on shadow education reflects confusion over terms and parameters, and data suffer from challenges in securing evidence from actors who may be unwilling or unable to respond to enquiries in a clear manner. Particular care is needed in cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons. Nevertheless, the trajectory of improvement in both conceptualisation and instrumentation gives ground for confidence that shadow education will be progressively better documented and better understood.

Keywords Shadow education · Private tutoring · Research methods · Comparative education

Shadow education has become much more visible worldwide during the last decade. This increased visibility seems to reflect two forces. First, the shadow appears to have expanded and become denser; and second, the shadow has been better documented (Lee et al. 2009). Some of this documentation has been undertaken by researchers in universities and comparable bodies, while other documentation has been provided by governments, international agencies, journalists, and others. However, the basis of evidence about shadow education has many shortcomings. Data from some parts of the world are more robust than from others, and

fundamental difficulties may arise in attempts to make cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons.

This paper to some extent reflects the author's personal experience in collecting empirical data and assembling profiles on the basis of other people's data. These efforts have involved both quantitative and qualitative work. During the 1990s, the author prepared a book on shadow education for UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). This book (Bray 1999a) sketched a global picture with the goal of identifying patterns, trends, and implications for educational planners. The experience of preparing the book was intellectually exciting since it ventured into new conceptual ground. However, because the evidence base was very sketchy, the task was somewhat like assembly of a jigsaw puzzle with most of the pieces missing. A decade later, more pieces in the puzzle are available. However, many gaps remain, not only in certain parts of the world but also in specific subthemes. A major question, therefore, is how the evidence base can be improved.

Defining the focus of investigation

The first challenge for researchers in this domain is to define the focus of investigation. Almost axiomatically a sector which is shadowy is indistinct, and the literature on this theme employs a range of definitions and therefore encounters problems of comparability.

In the research literature, the term shadow education dates from the early 1990s. An investigation of out-of-school private tutoring had been sponsored by the Singapore office of Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and generated detailed studies in Sri Lanka (de Silva et al. 1991) and Malaysia (Marimuthu et al. 1991). The latter commenced by observing (p. vi) that:

M. Bray (✉)
Comparative Education Research Centre, Faculty of Education,
The University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong,
China
e-mail: mbray@hku.hk

Asia Pacific Education Review, Vol. 11, No.1, 2010

Defining the Focus

Tutoring may be:

- one-to-one
- in small groups
- large classes
- internet

But these are very different forms;
and would everybody recognise
each as “tutoring”?

Examples of problems in research design

1. Quantitative

- Household surveys and censuses with many foci. Education gets little space, and shadow education even less
- Surveys that do focus on education but do not allocate much space to private tutoring
- Tailored surveys for shadow education

Examples of problems in research design

2. Qualitative

- Part of larger investigations and only touching on shadow education
- Focused on shadow education in single locations
- International qualitative study



**International Association
for the Evaluation of
Educational Achievement**

TIMSS



OECD

PISA

5. During the week, how much time before or after school do you usually spend...

Circle one letter, A, B, C, D, or E, for each line.

	<i>no time</i>	<i>less than 1 hour</i>	<i>1-2 hours</i>	<i>3-5 hours</i>	<i>more than 5 hours</i>
a) taking <extra lessons/cramming school> in mathematics?	A	B	C	D	E
b) taking <extra lessons/cramming school> in science?	A	B	C	D	E

TIMSS 1995

Q31 What type of <out-of-school-time lessons> do you attend currently?

These are only lessons in subjects that you are also learning at school, that you spend learning extra time outside of normal school hours. The lessons may be given at your school, at your home or somewhere else.

(Please tick only one box in each row)

- | | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a) <Enrichment lessons> in <test language> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| b) <Enrichment lessons> in <mathematics> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| c) <Enrichment lessons> in <science> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| d) <Enrichment lessons> in other school subjects | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| e) <Remedial lessons> in <test language> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| f) <Remedial lessons> in <mathematics> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| g) <Remedial lessons> in <science> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| h) <Remedial lessons> in other school subjects | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| i) Lessons to improve your <study skills> | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |

**PISA
2009**

Adaptations and translations

In English-language:

- ✧ *USA*: questions were about “Enrichment lessons in mathematics” and “Remedial lessons in mathematics”, exactly like the international version.
- ✧ *New Zealand*: “Extension lessons in mathematics” and “Remedial lessons in mathematics”.
- ✧ *Ireland*: “Enrichment lessons in mathematics” and “Learning support in mathematics”.
- ✧ *England*: “Additional Mathematics lessons which go beyond what you have learned in your Mathematics class” and “Catch-up lessons to help you with Mathematics”.

Adaptations and translations

In Chinese: Enrichment

- ✧ *Shanghai*: “strengthening class or interest class”
(强化班 或 兴趣班)
- ✧ *Taiwan*: “strengthening course” (加强 课程)
- ✧ *Macao*: “add profit [or lubricant]” (增潤)

Adaptations and translations

In Chinese: Remedial

- ✧ *Shanghai*: “tutoring class” (补习班)
- ✧ *Taiwan*: “rescue course” (補救课程)
- ✧ *Macao*: “guidance class” (輔導班)

Data collection experiences in a Hong Kong survey



Overarching question:

From an ecological perspective, what are the nature and implications of the relationship between private supplementary tutoring and the experience of secondary schooling in Hong Kong?

Sub-questions:

- **What tutoring is received by the pupils, and why?**
- **How, in the perception of pupils, has the tutoring [or absence of tutoring] shaped the pupils' secondary schooling experiences?**
- **How do the teachers view and respond [or not respond] to the existence of the different forms of tutoring?**

Focus on:

- **Students in Grades 9 and 12**
- **Teachers**

Questionnaires
Interviews

Did not include:

- **Parents or other family members**
- **Tutors**

Planned sample



- 13 schools
- 1,820 student questionnaires
- 416 student interviews (in focus groups)
- 104 teacher questionnaires
- 26 teacher interviews

Actual sample



- 16 schools
- 1,628 student questionnaires
- 105 student interviews (individual)
- 160 teacher questionnaires
- 48 teacher interviews

Findings



Scale:

- 54% of Grade 9 students
- 72% of Grade 12 students

Types of Tutoring

	<i>Grade 9</i>	<i>Grade 12</i>
One-on-one	44%	31%
Small group	53%	29%
Lecture style by tutor (live)	22%	54%
Lecture style (video recording)	8%	62%
Online tutoring	1%	2%

Motives for seeking tutoring

Improve exam score	84%
Learn school subjects better	72%
My parents chose it for me	33%
Many of my friends are doing it	19%
My teachers recommended it	8%
Attracted by advertisements	2%

Motives for not seeking tutoring

I don't have time	36%
It's not worth the money	28%
None of the tutoring suits my needs	27%
My teachers are knowledgeable enough	26%
I don't have the money	24%
I'm already doing well in school	17%
Not many friends are doing it	10%
My parents don't want me to do it	7%

A different type of study

Chan, Claudia & Bray, Mark (2014):

'Marketized Private Tutoring as a Supplement to Regular Schooling: Liberal Studies and the Shadow Sector in Hong Kong Secondary Education',

Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol.46, No.3,
pp.361-388.

Context

- Liberal Studies a *new subject* in Hong Kong senior secondary education.
- Supposed to develop *critical thinking* and independent learning
- But even Liberal Studies is *offered in large classes with didactic teaching* by the tutoring companies
- 17% of the sampled Grade 12 students received LS tutoring

Study

- 16 students in two schools
- “insider” research
- Individual and group interviews
- Aiming to learn about:
 - ✧ *push* factors, i.e. what the school did not offer that they felt they needed
 - ✧ *pull* factors, i.e. how the tutorial centers attracted them

Findings

Each student had a different story, based on:

- *Perceptions of school*: climate and teachers' personalities
- Preferred *learning styles*
- *Peer influences* and *anxieties*
- Responsiveness to *marketing techniques* of tutorial centre.

Lessons for us as *consumers* of research

- 1. The existing literature is weak.** It needs careful scrutiny before believing and citing.
- 2. Pay particular attention to:**
 - definitions
 - methods
 - implications of context

Lessons for us as *producers* of research

1. The **importance of the topic is** (gradually) **being recognised**. We have the opportunity to be in the forefront, and to shape the field.
2. This brings responsibilities as well as opportunities.
3. As in other domains, **both quantitative and qualitative** studies can play a role – and **both need each other**.

Conclusions

- **Research on shadow education has expanded and become more sophisticated**
- **Much more is needed**
 - in locations where data are thin
 - on neglected themes
- **Much care is needed in methods**
- **And the SBEC can help!**

More information:

Shadow education website of Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong

<http://cerc.edu.hku.hk>



Mark Bray mbray@hku.hk