Whose visions for what learning?

Perspectives, policies and practices in private supplementary tutoring

Education 2030

UNESCO – a global leader in education

Education is UNESCO's top priority because it is a basic human right and the foundation for peace and sustainable development. UNESCO is the United Nations' specialized agency for education, providing global and regional leadership to drive progress, strengthening the resilience and capacity of national systems to serve all learners. UNESCO also leads efforts to respond to contemporary global challenges through transformative learning, with special focus on gender equality and Africa across all actions.

The Global Education 2030 Agenda

UNESCO, as the United Nations' specialized agency for education, is entrusted to lead and coordinate the Education 2030 Agenda, which is part of a global movement to eradicate poverty through 17 Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Education, essential to achieve all of these goals, has its own dedicated Goal 4, which aims to ***"ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all."*** The Education 2030 Framework for Action provides guidance for the implementation of this ambitious goal and commitments.

unesco

United Nations
Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization

Education 2030

Published in 2025 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France

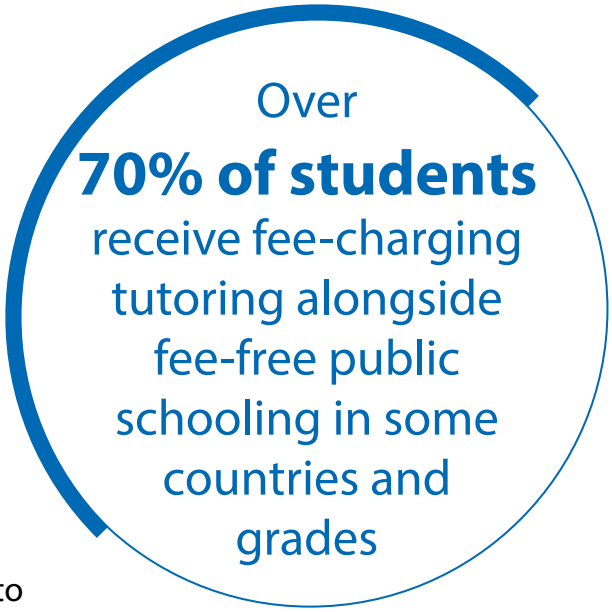
ISBN 978-92-3-100772-9
DOI https://doi.org/10.54675/XTAZ4435

Author: Mark Bray
Cover credit: fizkes/Shutterstock.com*
Designed by UNESCO

SHORT SUMMARY

Private supplementary tutoring needs more attention.

Private supplementary tutoring has become a global phenomenon, with significant uptake across a wide range of countries. In Egypt, Greece, Mauritius and Myanmar, for example, over 70% of students engage in private tutoring alongside their regular schooling. While enrolment rates are especially high in senior grades, tutoring is also widespread in junior grades and spans all income groups. This tutoring is provided by private companies, teachers securing extra incomes, and informal suppliers such as university students. In 2023, the size of the private tutoring sector was estimated at US$159 billion and projected to reach US$288 billion by 2030. For context, the 2023 annual financing gap for the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) on education was estimated at US$97 billion. While private tutoring offers an avenue for families to supplement their children's education, this phenomenon brings about challenges, including exacerbating social inequalities and creating disparities in access to quality education.



This paper examines the global prevalence and implications of private supplementary tutoring. It provides an in-depth analysis of diverse perspectives on the phenomenon, in particular those of families aiming to secure academic success for their children, and points to the need for improved regulation and policy interventions.

By showing how the private tutoring landscape has evolved globally and highlighting important lessons from international experiences, the paper provides insights to guide effective policymaking. Core elements include the factors driving the growth of the tutoring sector, its impact, and implications for policy-makers, schools, tutoring providers parents and other stakeholders.

unesco

"Since wars begin in the minds of men and women it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace must be constructed"

Foreword

As we reshape the future of education, it is essential to consider learning outside as well as inside the classroom. We must also recognize the growing and increasingly complex involvement of public, private and other non-state actors in the design, delivery, and monitoring of education.

This report addresses private supplementary tutoring, a phenomenon that has gained extra prominence across countries due to concerns about student learning losses and the rise of online tutoring platforms during and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

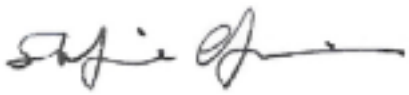
Private tutoring has complex implications. It can benefit slower learners and challenge faster ones, while also providing employment opportunities for tutors. However, its high costs can burden low-income families, exacerbate learning disparities and social inequalities, and undermine the social contract for education.

In 2023, the global tutoring market was estimated to be worth US$159 billion per year and expected to reach US$288 billion globally by 2030. By contrast, the annual financing gap for achieving education targets in low- and lower-middle-income countries was estimated at US$97 billion.

Despite its size, few governments have given adequate attention to private supplementary tutoring. While regulation of formal schooling has improved, private tutoring remains largely unregulated. Educational quality assurance is needed, as well as distinct regulations for teachers who offer tutorial services alongside their main duties.

The report explores diverse perspectives on tutoring, acknowledging that parents, teachers, and school administrators may have different views on the phenomenon. Although tutoring can provide support in competitive environments, it can also create pressure and reduce time for holistic development of children and young people. When tutoring becomes a social norm, some families feel compelled to invest just to keep up.

With these perspectives in mind, the report calls for greater attention to the scale, nature, and impact of private supplementary tutoring. It also reflects on the regulatory and legal frameworks necessary to align diverse motivations with the common good of education.



Stefania Giannini
Assistant Director-General for Education, UNESCO

Acknowledgements

This report was written by Mark Bray, holder of the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong. It was prepared under the leadership of Borhene Chakroun, Director of the Division for Policies and Lifelong Learning Systems, and the overall guidance of Gwang-Chol Chang, Chief of the Section of Education Policy at UNESCO Headquarters. The report was developed under the direct supervision and coordination of Thu Huong Le.

A group of experts reviewed the draft and provided valuable comments. We extend our sincere gratitude to Søren Christensen, Mohan Dhall, Ignasi Grau, Ora Kwo, Maria Smirnova, and Alexandre Ventura for their insightful contributions.

We also appreciate the valuable feedback from our colleagues at UNESCO including Sonia Guerriero, Rolla Moumné, Muriel Poisson, Nyi Nyi Thaung, and Shutong Wang. Special thanks to Euiryeong Jeong, Eleni Koutsouri, and the intern Mengmeng Yu, who provided proofreading support throughout the publication process.

Finally, we also would like to express our appreciation to Wei Zhang, Director of the Centre for International Research in Supplementary Tutoring (CIRIST) at East China Normal University (ECNU) for collaboration throughout the process.

Table of contents

List of abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report (India and Pakistan)
ATA	Australian Tutoring Association
CONFEMEN	Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking States and Governments
EFA	Education for All
HSC	Higher School Certificate
IATA	International Air Transport Association
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IIEP	UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning
KOSIS	Korean Statistical Information Service
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SACMEQ	Southern (and Eastern) Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SSK	Sishu Siksha Kendra
PASEC	Programme for the analysis of educational systems of the CONFEMEN countries
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All (held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990)
WEF	World Education Forum (held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000)

List of figures

List of tables

List of boxes

Executive summary

Initially gaining particular prominence in Asia, private tutoring beyond the domain of schooling has become a huge phenomenon across the world. In 2023 the global market size of tutorial provision was estimated at US$159 billion, with a forecast to reach US$288 billion by 2030 after a compound annual growth rate of 8.8%. These numbers may be compared with the estimated US$97 billion needed per year to bridge the financing gap for the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) on education. The authors of these estimates about the size of the tutorial sector were especially interested in commercial providers; yet many teachers in both public and private schools offer tutoring outside school hours in order to gain extra incomes, and tutoring is also provided by university students and other informal suppliers. Thus, while schooling remains the main vehicle for instruction in academic subjects, in parallel there exists a shadow system of considerable scale and far-reaching significance.

Despite its scale, attention to private tutoring is insufficient. While some governments, such as those of China and Egypt, have implemented targeted policy measures, others have had more laissez-faire approaches. Lack of reliable data has been among the reasons for inadequate policy attention.

> Private tutoring is a global phenomenon yet receives inadequate attention.

Nature and scale

Private supplementary tutoring may be delivered in many forms. The most expensive is generally one-to-one or small-group tutoring, while less expensive variations are in full classes or even large lecture theatres. Technological advances have brought additional forms, particularly through the internet and increasingly with Artificial Intelligence (AI).

Yet although parents and the general public are aware of the different forms of tutoring and have to decide whether to invest in them, overall data on private supplementary tutoring are seriously inadequate. In 2021, UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report requested data from 205 countries and self-governing jurisdictions. No quantitative data at all were provided by 143 (69.8%) of these countries and jurisdictions. The remaining 62 responses (30.2%) had some statistics, but in most cases outdated ones with very limited coverage. Improved data on private supplementary tutoring must be a major policy objective across the world.

> Governments in nearly 70% of countries were unable to provide statistical data on private tutoring.

Despite the data shortcomings, a few snapshots do reveal the scale of the phenomenon. For example:

- *Chile*. Among Grade 8 students surveyed in 2019, 23% were receiving tutoring in mathematics and 9% in science.
- *Egypt*. Among Grade 12 students surveyed in 2014, 72% were receiving private one-to-one tutoring and 18% private group tutoring (and some presumably receiving both, while a few received neither).
- *Greece*. A 2017/18 national sample of Grade 12 students found that 70.0% attended tutorial institutions, 60.0% received separate personal tutoring (with 39.7% receiving both), and 9.8% received neither.
- *India*. National survey data in rural areas found in 2022 that 26.9% of Grade 1 students were receiving private tutoring, with the proportion reaching 31.8% in Grade 8. West Bengal had the highest rates, with respective proportions being 63.1% and 76.2%. Had comparable data been collected in urban areas, it would have shown even higher enrolment rates.
- *Republic of Korea*. Enrolment rates in 2023 were 64.6% among elementary students, 66.3% among middle school students, 56.1% among high school students, and 63.1% among general high school students.
- *Mauritius*. In 2013, 81.4% of Grade 6 students were receiving private tutoring.
- *Qatar*. A 2018 survey found enrolment rates of 38% in Grade 8, 40% in Grade 9, 35% in Grade 11, and 56% in Grade 12.
- *Senegal*. In 2019, 22% of Grade 6 students were reported to be receiving private tutoring.

These snapshots include countries across income groups; and across the globe, enrolment rates are generally rising.

In some countries, private tutoring enrolment rates exceed 70%.

Drivers of demand

Increasingly, families feel that 'schooling is not enough'. Demand for private tutoring is commonly driven by concerns about the quality of schooling; and even when schools are good, families in an increasingly competitive world invest in extra channels to secure social mobility.

Demand for tutoring is also driven by supply. Commercial enterprises market their services and stoke anxieties; and supplementary tutoring may be recommended by teachers – including those who themselves offer tutoring. Societies increasingly operate within neoliberal frameworks that have introduced market features in their education systems.

To some extent, the expansion of private tutoring reflects unanticipated consequences of the Education for All (EFA) movement. This movement was launched by UNESCO and partners in 1990, reinforced in 2000, and in 2015 incorporated into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Particularly in lower-income countries, the EFA agenda has significantly raised school enrolment rates. The initial target was universal primary education, followed by universal lower secondary education. In turn, successes in these domains greatly expanded demand for higher levels. Families that in previous generations had not considered sending their children even to upper secondary education found that that level, and perhaps then university education, was within reach. But many of those families also found that private supplementary tutoring was necessary to ensure a competitive edge; and many middle- and upper-class families felt that they should invest in tutoring in order to keep ahead.

Demand for tutoring is driven by social competition; and to some extent it is an unanticipated consequence of the EFA agenda.

A further consequence of the EFA movement relates to quality. Expanded primary education increased pressures on budgets, and exponentially greater pressure was brought by expanded junior-secondary education, senior-secondary education, and higher education – each having substantially greater unit costs. To meet the growing demands of schooling at all levels, governments had to employ more teachers and face consequent strains on their budgets. To manage these financial pressures, some governments reduced teachers' salaries. However, this measure made the teaching profession less attractive and thus impacted on the quality of education. For teachers not being paid enough to meet their family needs, private tutoring was among the most obvious ways to secure extra income.

Particularly problematic are situations in which teachers provide tutoring to their own students. In these settings, teachers may deliberately cut content during regular lessons in order to stimulate demand for the supplements. On such occasions, families may in effect be forced to pay for tutoring in order to secure the full curriculum and avoid discrimination during schooling.

Quality and impact

In positive circumstances, tutoring supports learning across the spectrum. It enables slower learners to keep up with their peers and stretches faster learners to greater achievement. Support for slower learners helps not only the students themselves but also the teachers, who have less diversity in their classes and are therefore less pressed to provide special support. External support for higher achievers may also help teachers, enabling them to concentrate on the other students needing attention.

However, tutoring is not always of high quality – especially when delivered by untrained persons – and commercial enterprises may be more interested in retaining customers than in enabling students to be self-sufficient and therefore no longer needing their services. Sometimes the curriculum in the parallel sector conflicts with that delivered in schooling, and students who have learned in advance during tutoring may be both bored and tired during schooling. Additionally, students' ability to choose and pay for tutors' services sometimes results in greater respect for the tutors than for their school teachers, and some students even skip schooling to avoid 'wasting' time.

At a wider level, private tutoring maintains and exacerbates social inequalities. Low-income families cannot afford either the qualities or the quantities of tutoring that can be afforded by high-income families. When tutoring becomes the norm for everyone who can possibly afford it, even in primary schooling, the poorest families in effect lose at the starting line. Even the low-income families that somehow do manage to pay for tutoring cannot match that secured by more prosperous families.

> Private tutoring maintains and exacerbates social inequalities.

Policy implications

These remarks raise complex issues that are commonly controversial. Even on the evidence that currently exists (i.e. while awaiting more and better data), a starting point should be with regulations concerning (a) companies and (b) teachers that provide tutoring. Regulations for companies should start with generic attention to premises, contracts, advertising, etc. which may be controlled by the Ministry of Commerce or equivalent. Then the regulations may focus on educational matters including curriculum, class size, and hours of operation. Concerning teachers, one approach is to prohibit serving teachers from providing tutoring, at least to their own students and perhaps to other students in their schools. Some authorities wish to prohibit serving teachers, at least in public schools, from undertaking any private tutoring. In these domains, much can be learned from international experiences on what can work and how.

At present, however, many governments have *laissez faire* approaches. Among the 205 countries and self-governing jurisdictions contacted by UNESCO in 2021, only 49 (23.9%) mentioned educational regulations for tutorial enterprises and only 54 (26.3%) mentioned regulations on tutoring by serving teachers. Thus, the vast majority of governments simply ignored the phenomenon. Patterns in countries where tutoring has become deeply embedded in the culture show the danger of this approach. Governments would be wise to introduce regulations in time to steer the tutorial sector rather than neglecting the matter until it is too late.

> Governments in countries where private tutoring is not yet widespread would be wise to steer the phenomenon before it is too late.

The expansion of private supplementary tutoring also raises questions about the right to education. Governments that are concerned about social inequalities, the study burden on students, and the threats posed to public schooling might envisage banning private tutoring. Yet parents might assert that they have the right to invest in tutoring if they desire. This matter was taken to the law courts in the Republic of Korea, for example, where the government tried to ban tutoring in 1980 but found that it simply went underground at higher prices and with even less monitoring and supervision. By stages, tutoring in the Republic of Korea emerged from underground, and in 2000 the Constitutional Court declared that indeed parents had the right to send their children for tutoring. Since that time the Korean authorities have sought to make private tutoring unnecessary by improving the quality and availability of public schooling and supplementary support. In a competitive society, however, private tutoring remains a major phenomenon.

Thus, the Korean experience, echoed elsewhere, shows that private tutoring will not disappear. Rather to the contrary, it seems set to remain strong in the countries that currently have high enrolment rates and to expand in others. Significantly, private tutoring has emerged even in those Scandinavian countries that are famed for the quality and egalitarian nature of their school systems. With such matters in mind, the topic should be taken more firmly out of the shadows for discussion by the various stakeholders to find appropriate ways forward for educational and social development.

Introduction

Private supplementary tutoring has become a huge phenomenon across the world. A 2024 report about the global market estimated the 2023 size of the tutoring sector at US$159 billion, and forecasted expansion to reach US$288 billion by 2030 after a compound annual growth rate of 8.8%.[1] The authors of this report were especially concerned with commercial providers, but alongside is much tutoring delivered by teachers after school hours and by informal providers ranging from university students to retirees. The numbers may be compared with the estimated US$97 billion needed annually to bridge the financing gap to achieve SDG4, i.e. the fourth component, about education, in the United Nations' SDGs (UNESCO, Global Education Monitoring Report Team, 2023, p.1).

This tutoring is controversial. On the one hand it supports learning and provides employment, but on the other hand it has far-reaching implications for social equity and study burdens, and has a backwash on schooling. Yet despite its scale and controversial dimensions, private supplementary tutoring has not received adequate attention by policy-makers and other actors.

In some respects, this report builds on work by UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). In 1999 the IIEP published the first global study of the phenomenon, entitled *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners* (Bray, 1999). The shadow metaphor employed by the book is now widely used in academic literature (see e.g. Hajar & Karakus, 2024a). The principal rationale presented in the book (p.17) was that much supplementary tutoring mimics schooling – 'as the size and shape of the mainstream change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring'. The book added that much private tutoring was hidden in the shadows, with inadequate scrutiny. A sequel published by the IIEP a decade later was entitled *Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring?* (Bray, 2009). The present report can be viewed as a further update, noting developments brought by social, economic and educational forces, and identifying lessons not only for policy-makers but also for practitioners, families and other actors in educational ecosystems.

Vocabularies and parameters

Different vocabularies, even in the English language, are employed to describe the phenomenon on which this report focuses. The title refers to *tutoring*, but in India, for example, the phenomenon is usually called 'tuition' (especially for one-to-one and small-group provision) or 'coaching' (especially for larger classes). In the Anglophone Caribbean a common term is 'extra lessons'; in Ireland such tutoring is called 'grinds'; and in the United States of America the common term is 'supplemental education'.

Further variations are evident in other languages. In French, common terms are tutorat privé, soutien scolaire and accompagnement; while in Spanish they are clases particulares, refuerzo escolar, apoyo escolar, and enseñanza suplementaria. Turning to Arabic, in Egypt, for example, distinctions are commonly made between private lessons (durus khususiyya دروس خصوصية) taught on a one-to-one basis or in small groups, and study groups (magmu'at dirasiya مجموعات دراسية) or reinforcement classes (fusul taqwiyya فصول تقوية) provided in tutorial centres and elsewhere; and at the end of the Egyptian school year, shortly before the examinations, many teachers provide fee-charging 'final revisions' (muraga'at niha'iyya مراجعات نهائية) in venues able to accommodate several hundred students together. In Chinese the dominant term is kewai buxi (课外补习), while in Russian the usual vocabulary is repetitorstvo (репетиторство).

The next question concerns definitions of each word in the phrase 'private supplementary tutoring' as used in the title of this report. The commentary broadly adheres to the definitions set out in the 1999 IIEP book (Bray, 1999, p.20). Thus:

- *Private* is taken to mean provision in exchange for a fee and delivered by entrepreneurs, teachers, and/or informal suppliers.
- *Supplementation* implies that the tutoring is in subjects already covered in school.
- The main focus is on *academic* studies, particularly mathematics, languages, and other examinable subjects.

1 https://www.researchandmarkets.com/reports/4721443/private-tutoring-global-strategic-business?srsltid=AfmBOooyYcJ7xykadlZO_eEe5Wq7cjcnZAmaI6r8q00W-jNyoaJvlxni, accessed 20 August 2024.

Yet each of these domains may have blurred boundaries. Tutors who normally charge fees may sometimes provide fee-free tutoring for low-income students as a social service; and while fee-charging usually implies a financial transaction, payments may sometimes be in goods or services. Supplementation (and the shadow metaphor) implies that the schooling comes first and that the tutoring is added, when in practice tutoring may be delivered ahead of schooling; and music, art and sports can be examinable subjects as well as for more rounded personal development.

Finally, the focus here is on patterns at the levels of primary and secondary education. Tutoring certainly exists at pre-primary and post-secondary levels, but may have different dynamics and implications. Limiting the scope to the primary and secondary levels permits greater depth for analysis.

Diversity of perspectives

The title of this report notes diversity of perspectives. The main concern is with policy implications for governments, and therefore on the visions of different stakeholders in this category. Yet educational ecosystems, as already observed, embrace many other actors. Further, the perspectives of these other actors are not always compatible with each other or with those of government personnel. Such awareness is crucial, because competing agendas create dissonance and may lead to unanticipated consequences from policy initiatives.

The first set of non-government actors includes the *suppliers of tutoring*, among whom are three main sub-categories:

- **Entrepreneurs, including professional tutors**, provide tutoring for profit, usually through registered companies that may operate in local, regional, national, or international arenas.
- **Teachers** commonly provide tutoring to supplement their regular incomes. These teachers may be from public or private schools, and their tutoring is provided outside official school hours.
- **Informal suppliers** include self-employed tutors, commonly on a part-time basis. At one end of the age spectrum are university and even secondary students who gain pocket money and life experience. At the other end of the age spectrum are retirees who supplement their incomes and make ongoing contributions to society; and in between are individuals who, for example, combine tutoring with child-rearing or decide to tutor on a temporary basis while seeking other income-earning paths.

Second, related to the above category of entrepreneurs, are *businesses that support the tutorial industry*. Among domains are advertising, textbooks, assessments, computer equipment, transportation, management of premises, and perhaps even food for tutees and supporting personnel.

Third are the *parents* and perhaps other family members of the students who receive tutoring. Parents are the main decision-makers on whether young children will receive tutoring and, if so, where, when and of what type and price. The parents may seek tutoring to help their children to keep up in class, or they may seek enrichment to help their children excel in the competitive world. The agendas of competitive parents may differ from those of governments seeking to reduce social inequalities. On a rather different orientation, some parents view private tutoring as a sort of child-minding activity for out-of-school hours.

Next, the interests of *students* must be considered. Especially when students reach their teenage years, their perspectives on life may differ from those of their parents. Students are likely to be influenced by their peers, which creates group dynamics for certain types and quantities of tutoring.

Finally, personnel within *schools* have their own perspectives. Some administrators and teachers are offended by supplementary tutoring, considering it a critique of their school operations. They may also view tutoring as an interference, especially when the students are tired as a result and/or when the students gain knowledge and perspectives in the tutoring that conflict with the school curriculum. Other administrators and teachers either overtly or covertly approve of tutoring. They may argue that all forms of constructive learning are valuable, whatever the source, and they may claim the credit for students' successes even when part of the credit should be attributed to the tutoring rather than the schooling.

> Diverse stakeholders have diverse perspectives, which may not always be compatible.

Themes for consideration

The chapters that follow commence with the contexts in which private supplementary tutoring has developed. One major factor concerns changing roles of the state. During the second half of the twentieth century, formal education was generally viewed as a state responsibility. The present century has brought increased privatization of schooling and, associated with it, greater acceptability of the notion that education may be a marketised service. These trends affect shadow education as well as schooling. Other contextual factors include the EFA agenda set by UNESCO and partners in 1990 and updated in 2000, and the SDGs, particularly SDG4 set by the United Nations and partners in 2015. To some extent related to these matters, the opening chapter mentions teachers' salaries, which have particular importance when teachers feel they need to offer private tutoring in order to secure adequate incomes for their families.

From these broad contextual remarks, this report turns more specifically to the scale and nature of private supplementary tutoring. It provides some statistics on enrolment rates around the world, remarks on demography and gender, and sketches variations in modes, locations, and costs of tutoring. Underlying these variations are drivers of demand which contribute to diversity of supply.

With this foundation, the next question concerns the impact of private tutoring. For analysis of an educational phenomenon, the starting point is academic achievement and the extent to which tutoring raises (or does not raise) educational outcomes. The answer to this question is not straightforward, because much depends on the nature and quality of the tutoring and on the motivations of the students. Then, with a broader focus, the report considers well-being and mental health, social ethics, and the backwash of tutoring on schooling.

Having addressed these issues, the report considers implications for the four main groups of actors in education systems, namely government personnel, schools including teachers, tutoring providers, and families including students. For all these groups, and particularly the first, one glaring issue concerns the paucity of data. As such, the report stresses the need for much more and better data.

Yet despite current shortcomings in data availability, much can already be said. The report will show that governments can consider the factors within public education and broader domains that seem to push so many families towards tutoring, and, concerning supply, they can devise regulations to reduce some of the problematic dimensions of tutoring by both commercial enterprises and teachers. On their side, commercial providers may engage in self-regulation to enhance social trust and reduce the need for government intervention. Families and students need to find their own ways to navigate undercurrents and manage uncertainties, and understanding these tensions can assist not only families and students themselves but also governments and other actors. Indeed, schools can and should themselves pay more attention to the phenomenon, rather than considering it beyond their remit. Experience shows that schools can play constructive roles to ameliorate challenges within their own domains even if other actors are less proactive.

The concluding chapter returns to the big picture on core concerns to UNESCO, its Member States, and its partners. These relate to such matters as human rights, finance, and well-being in a more equitable world. The issues raised by this report are not simple to resolve, which is why they need more attention and debate. Through this process, the possibilities are enhanced to understand the different visions for different types of learning among the multiple actors in the ecosystems, and then for strengthening partnerships.

1. Contexts and agendas

Although private supplementary tutoring has a long history – perhaps as long as the history of schooling itself – it only became prominent during the second half of the twentieth century in such countries as Egypt, Japan, Mauritius, the Republic of Korea, and Türkiye. The present century has brought spread and expansion, and tutoring is now a significant phenomenon around the world. Underlying forces include globalization and social competition, together with shifts in the roles of the state and private sectors in education systems. Also significant have been the impact of the Education for All movement and the Sustainable Development Goals. Expansion of educational provision at all levels has had implications for the quality of schooling, and has contributed to 'educational inflation' with higher qualifications being needed for jobs that could previously be accessed with lower qualifications. Expansion has also stretched government budgets and impacted on teachers' salaries.

Two further contextual factors are technological developments and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Technology has permitted new delivery mechanisms for private tutoring, extending its reach and in some respects changing its form. The COVID-19 pandemic that hit in 2020 accelerated shifts when schools and many in-person tutorial centres were closed. Technologies helped to bridge learning gaps through online teaching, and some of those changes have been maintained and extended in the post-pandemic era. In addition, some families and broader societies turned to tutoring in the immediate post-pandemic era in order to compensate for learning loss. These shifts to some extent had a ratchet effect with implications for the longer term. Other challenges relate to privacy and to inequalities in access to the internet.

Marketization and changing roles of the state

Among the major watersheds of the twentieth century in the domain of education was the passing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). Article 26.1 stated that:

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

The Declaration did not preclude provision of education by non-state actors, but it was the basis for much expansion of government-provided schooling. The Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960) reinforced the principles of the 1948 Declaration. In the contemporary era, education is commonly the largest item in government budgets. It typically consumes 10-20% of those budgets (UNESCO, 2023a, pp.353-360), and the citizens of most countries have long taken for granted the notion that governments should be the dominant providers of education at all levels.

However, recent decades have brought shifts in this thinking. These shifts partly arise from neoliberal approaches that advocate at least some privatization for more efficient utilization of resources (Edwards et al., 2023; Santalova & Põder, 2024). Yet while some types of privatization have resulted from deliberate strategy, other types have occurred in unplanned ways. Shadow education is among the latter domains and can be described as privatization by default (Zhang & Bray, 2024). Ball and Youdell (2008) commented on what they called hidden privatization within education systems. They only mentioned shadow education in passing (p.25), instead focusing on the adoption of market-oriented principles in management of public schools and in contracting of various school services to private providers. They also included the notion of 'unintentional drift' (p.42), which is applicable to shadow education as much as other domains.

The increasing role of the private sector has attracted much critique, for example by the signatories to the Abidjan Principles adopted in 2019. The Introduction to the document (Abidjan Principles, 2019) explains that deliberations among various education stakeholders began in 2015. The interchanges led to a series of regional, national and thematic consultations, and to 'inputs from all interested stakeholders … including human rights lawyers, education specialists and practitioners, and affected communities' (see also Adamson et al., 2023). Among the 10 Overarching Principles, the second is that:

> States must provide free, public education of the highest attainable quality to everyone within their jurisdiction as effectively and expeditiously as possible, to the maximum of their available resources.

Yet this is set alongside the third Overarching Principle that:

> States must respect the liberty of parents or legal guardians to choose for their children an educational institution other than a public educational institution, and the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct private educational institutions, subject always to the requirement that such private educational institutions conform to standards established by the State in accordance with its obligations under international human rights law.

Insofar as the Principles related to the private sector, they were oriented towards schooling rather than supplementary tutoring. This observation again underlines the need to bring private tutoring out of the shadows and to consider the complexities that it presents. Among the challenging circumstances are ones in which private tutoring has in effect become quasi-compulsory in circumstances of high enrolment rates. In these situations, schools and teachers may assume that all children in need of tutoring are receiving it, and parents may feel that they cannot afford to be left behind when everybody else seems to be investing in tutoring. Box 1 presents a pertinent example from India during the 2010s. More recently, instructive remarks were made by respondents to a survey of 205 countries and self-governing jurisdictions for UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report on non-state actors in education (UNESCO, 2021a).[2] Among these responses are:

- *Cyprus*: 'Shadow education … has been a 'normal fact of family life' for several decades…'
- *Malaysia*: 'Private tutoring is perceived as a household necessity…'
- *Malta*: 'Private tutoring is strongly evident and has become the norm rather than the exception .'
- *Sri Lanka*: The private tuition industry is often perceived as a 'second education system'[and is] often referred to as an 'essential service'.

> In some countries, private tutoring has become a normal feature of daily life.

Such perceptions raise complex issues that were not addressed by the Abidjan Principles. Thus, since private tutoring maintains and exacerbates social inequalities, and in some settings has become quasi compulsory behind the façade of free education, do policy-makers have the right and responsibility to discourage and even prohibit it? Or, alternatively, can parents claim that they have the right to send their children to private tutoring regardless of wider social issues? The report returns to this theme in its final chapter.

Box 1. Alarm about the expansion of private tutoring in India

The Pratichi Trust was established in India by Amartya Sen using the resources from his 1998 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences. The Trust prepared a survey of primary education in India's West Bengal in 2001/02 and repeated the survey seven years later. The initial report showed many shortcomings in the education system. The later report showed significant progress in many domains, but also documented growing dependence on private tutoring. The study sampled both primary schools and Sishu Siksha Kendras (SSKs), which are rural and community-based alternatives to primary schools. Sen wrote (2010, pp.315-316):

> There has been a real regression, as opposed to progress, on the dependence on private tuition. The proportion of children relying on private tuition has gone up quite a bit (64% from 57% for the students of standard primary schools, and 58% from 24% for SSK children). Underlying this rise is not only some increase in incomes and the affordability of having private tuition, but also an intensification of the general conviction among the parents that private tuition is 'unavoidable' if it can be at all afforded (78% of the parents now believe it is indeed 'unavoidable' – up from 62%). Of those who do not have arrangements for private tuition, 54% indicate that they do not go for it mainly – or only – because they cannot afford the costs.

Sen noted that most of the content in the private tutorial classes could and should have been taught in the regular classes of the primary schools. He added (p.317) that private tutoring:

> …divides the student population into haves and have-nots; it makes teachers less responsible and it diminishes their central role in education; it makes improvements in schooling arrangements more difficult since the more influential and better placed families have less at stake in the quality of what is done in the schools (thanks to the supplementation outside school hours); [and] it effectively negates the basic right of all children to receive elementary education.

Source: Adapted from Bray & Lykins, 2012, p.11

2 These responses are in the Profiles Enhancing Education Reviews (PEER) database. https://education-profiles.org/themes/~non-state-actors-in-education

Education for All and the Sustainable Development Goal

The EFA agenda was launched in 1990 at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) convened by UNESCO and partners in Jomtien, Thailand. It set targets for 2000, among which was 'universal access to, and completion of, primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as 'basic')', together with other objectives including expanded early childhood care, improvement of learning achievement, and reduction of adult illiteracy (Inter-Agency Commission, 1990, p.53). Evaluation in 2000 at the World Education Forum (WEF) in Dakar, Senegal, showed progress but still unmet targets. Accordingly, delegates set six new goals for equity and access across all levels (UNESCO, 2000, p.7). Later in the year, parts of this agenda – most notably the goal of Universal Primary Education by 2015 – were incorporated into the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2000).

Evaluation in 2015 again recognized both progress and shortcomings (UNESCO, 2015). In contrast to 2000 when the WEF had set goals for education independently of the MDGs, in 2015 the revised set of education goals was incorporated into the SDGs. Education can and should play a role in each of the 17 SDGs but is most obvious in Goal 4: 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (United Nations, 2015). Within the Goal are 10 targets, addressing specific levels and components of education.

The goals set in 1990, 2000 and 2015 have far-reaching significance for the present report. None of the core documents underpinning preparation of the goals made any mention of shadow education. This was arguably a major oversight in view of its implications for learning, household expenditures, and social stratification. Further, three major factors caused the EFA and SDG agendas to have unanticipated consequences in stimulating shadow education. First, in many countries the expansion of public schooling to meet the quantitative targets had a qualitative cost. Many households then felt the need to invest in tutoring to supplement public schooling and bridge the gaps, especially those unable to access the higher quality education offered by private schools. Second, the expansion of pre-primary, primary, secondary, and higher education placed considerable strain on government budgets. One mechanism for stretching resources was the reduction of teachers' salaries (UNESCO, 2024a, pp.53-58); and one follow-up consequence was that many teachers felt forced to secure extra incomes for which tutoring was among the most obvious sources. Third, insofar as the EFA and SDG agendas succeeded in opening paths for individuals and families in social strata that otherwise would have limited prospects, those successes increased aspirations and competition. Many students from these social strata found that supplementation was needed to thrive in a more competitive world; and families from higher social strata that had previously been relatively protected from competition found that they needed supplementation to stay ahead.

> To some extent, shadow education is an unanticipated by-product of the EFA agenda.

Technology

As noted by the 2023 edition of UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report, major advances in technology, especially digital technology, are rapidly transforming the world (UNESCO, 2023a, p.5). These advances impact strongly not only on schooling but also on shadow education. One obvious component has been the rise of online distance teaching and learning. Advocates point out that technology reduces geographic barriers. Whereas traditional in-person tutoring required tutors and tutees to be within commuting distance of each other, and in that respect favoured urban over rural and remote areas, now technology can link tutors and tutees with computers and internet access wherever they are.

Going further, geographic barriers are removed not only within but also across countries. Students in China, Japan or the Republic of Korea desiring language tutoring by native speakers of English can access online live support from tutors in Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland or the United States; and similar remarks could be made about students around the world wanting native speakers of most other languages. Students can also access websites prepared in any part of the world for written texts and audio-visual content. Moreover, while content is most conveniently accessed through computers and the internet, some forms of support can be reached through telephones. In Kenya, for example, since 2011 an enterprise called Eneza has provided tutoring via SMS (Short Message System) texts on mobile telephones. The enterprise partnered with telephone companies to deduct fees from mobile airtime rather than requiring separate procedures, and later expanded operations to Ghana and

Côte d'Ivoire. The SMS messages are necessarily short, but the enterprise has tailored content to the national curricula of the three countries and includes basic content, quizzes, and examination preparation. The 'Ask a Teacher' function promises that learners can message live teachers and receive responses to academic questions within five minutes.[3]

Technology has also changed curriculum content and price structures. It not only allows students to access offline and online materials in place of paper books, but can also include simulated laboratory experiments to replace actual experiments while still achieving comparable learning outcomes. AI takes developments further with possibilities to adapt materials to the questions and stages of learning of individual students (Jangra et al., 2024). The industry promises to save tutors' labour, and to make tutoring more sophisticated and therefore more attractive to clients.[4] The economies of scale permitted by technologies can reduce costs of delivery in many settings.

> Technology provides new tools and greater access to private tutoring.

Nevertheless, inequalities remain and are exacerbated by differences in access to digital devices and to the internet across locations and income groups. Further, in the domain of shadow education, as much as in schooling and other levels of education, analysts should also heed other messages from UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2023a, p.7). One is that 'the short- and long-term [learning and social] costs of using digital technology appear to be significantly underestimated'; and another is that 'the negative and harmful aspects of the use of digital technology in education and society include risk of distraction and lack of human contact'. Analysts are also concerned about privacy issues, manipulative algorithms, and hidden costs in allegedly free-of-charge systems (see e.g. Zayed, 2024).

The COVID-19 pandemic

The pandemic that hit the world in 2020 had implications for shadow education as well as for schooling. One component arose from closure of schools during the height of the pandemic in order to limit the spread of the virus. Viewing in-person tutoring as a parallel risk to in-person schooling, many governments prohibited such tutoring. However, the prohibition of tutoring was more difficult to enforce, and in some societies demand for in-person tutoring surged, even if underground, to serve parents and/or students who were concerned about loss of learning in schools (see e.g. Hajar & Karakus, 2024b). In addition, the fact that schools were closed made teachers more readily available. This remark applied especially to teachers from private schools whose contracts had been terminated during the height of the pandemic, but also to some teachers in public schools who had time on their hands and identified opportunities to supplement their incomes. Such patterns were evident for example in Kenya (Bray, 2021b, p.63) and Zimbabwe (Kafe, 2020).

Research in rural India has provided quantitative data of patterns. The national survey conducted by Pratham (2023, p.49) found that the proportions of children in Grades 1-8 receiving private tutoring increased from 26.4% in 2018 to 30.5% in 2022, in part because of household demand during the school closures. In Bihar State, the reported enrolment rate in private tutoring jumped from 61.6% to 71.5%, and in Jharkhand the jump was from 36.9% to 45.2%. The Pratham analysts (2023, p.20) considered it 'entirely possible' that the supplementary help from tutoring restricted the learning loss in these states, particularly in mathematics.

Linking back to technology, the pandemic contributed to a global surge in online tutorial provision. Again, much of this tutoring was likely beneficial, helping students to keep up with their studies and perhaps stretching them to new heights. In Sri Lanka, for example, tutorial companies adapted rapidly, and some reduced their fees to assist students who were struggling (Abayasekara et al., 2023). However, some dimensions both in Sri Lanka and elsewhere were problematic, for example in the domain of advertising. In China, the large tutorial companies embarked on advertising wars that raised unnecessary social anxieties and in some respects presented misleading information (Zhang, 2023, p.68). These developments were a major factor behind subsequent government tightening of regulation and supervision (China, 2021). Parallel developments were evident in India where a major technology company turned to online tutoring on a massive scale, but over-reached and found itself in crisis (Sebastian, 2024).

3 https://www.enezaeducation.com/products/ accessed 9 September 2024.

4 See for example Tutoring centres | Constructor Technology accessed 9 September 2024.

Further blurring of boundaries between schooling and tutoring was added by government schemes to compensate for learning loss through partnerships with tutors in the private sector. In England, a National Tutoring Programme (NTP) was launched in 2020 and maintained for several years with adjustments (Ellis-Thompson et al., 2021; Lynch et al., 2023); and comparable programmes were launched in the US (White House, 2022) and Australia (CESE, 2023). A major question for the long term will be whether these initiatives will have had a ratchet effect by habituating families to tutoring and by supporting enterprises that will then have had vested interests to maintain their existence.

Table 1: Selected cross-national indicators of private supplementary tutoring

Country	Patterns
Brazil	Galvão (2022, p.55) analysed 2014 national data from 5.4 million candidates for the High School National Examination who had been asked to fill in a questionnaire about supplementary support and other matters. He found that 19% of students had received pre-vestibular (selection examination) support at some stage in their school careers, 17% had received support in foreign languages, 62% in computer science, and 34.2% in other subjects – and probably some students were in several categories. Most of the support was fee-charging, though some may have been fee-free.
Chile	Among Grade 8 students surveyed by the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study in 2019, 23% were receiving tutoring in mathematics and 9% in science (https://timssandpirls.bc.edu). Most of the support was fee-charging, though some may have been fee-free.
Egypt	Assaad & Krafft (2015, p.23), using data from the 2012 Egypt Labor Market Panel Survey, reported extensive private tutoring in all grades. Even in Grade 1, 33% of surveyed students were receiving private lessons, and a further 9% were in fee-paying help groups; and for Grade 6, these numbers were 61% and 12%. A 2014 survey (Sieverding et al., 2019, p.572) found that 72% of sampled Grade 12 student were receiving private one-to-one tutoring and 18% private group tutoring (and some presumably receiving both, while a few received neither).
Greece	A 2017/18 national sample of Grade 12 students found that 70.0% attended tutorial institutions, 60.0% received separate personal tutoring (with 39.7% receiving both), and 9.8% received neither (Katsillis, 2020, p.146).
England	Data collected in 2022 by the Sutton Trust indicated that 11% of surveyed students aged 11-16 were receiving shadow education, and 30% (46% in London) had done so at some time (Cullinane & Montacute, 2023, p.16).
India	National survey data in rural areas found in 2022 that 26.9% of Grade 1 students were receiving private tutoring, with the proportion reaching 31.8% in Grade 8. West Bengal had the highest rates, with respective proportions being 63.1% and 76.2% (Pratham, 2023, pp.66, 250)
Mauritius	A 1986 national survey indicated shadow education enrolment rates of 11.2% in Grade 1, 72.7% in Grade 6, 37.3% in Grade 7, and 87.2% in Grade 12 (Joynathsing et al., 1988, p.31). Data for Grade 6 in 2013 indicated an 81.4% enrolment rate (Dwarkan, 2017, p.37).
Myanmar	A 2017 survey in Yangon found that 83.4% of sampled Grade 9 students and 86.2% of sampled Grade 11 students were receiving private tutoring (Bray et al., 2020, p.41).
Mozambique	National survey data indicated that 20.8% of Grade 6 students in 2013 were receiving private tutoring (Moreno et al., 2017, p.48).
Pakistan	A national survey indicated private tutoring enrolment rates in 2023 ranging from 24.7% in Grade 1 to 27.1% in Grade 10 for pupils in private schools. Respective proportions for pupils in government schools were 5.5% and 15.9% (ASER Pakistan Secretariat, 2024, p.8).
Qatar	A 2018 survey collected data from 1,639 students in 34 schools (Sellami, 2019, p.12). Proportions of students receiving tutoring were 38% in Grade 8, 40% in Grade 9, 35% in Grade 11, and 56% in Grade 12.
Republic of Korea	In 2023, private-tutoring enrolment rates were 64.6% among elementary students, 66.3% among middle school students, 56.1% among high school students, and 63.1% among general high school students (KOSIS, 2024).
Spain	Household survey data in 2019/20 indicated that 48% of children in public primary schooling and 56% in public upper secondary schooling were receiving private tutoring. Among students in private schools, respective proportions were 45% and 74% (Moreno & Martínez, 2023, p.10).
South Africa	National survey data indicated that 29.1% of Grade 6 students in 2013 were receiving private tutoring (Chetty et al. 2017, p.16).

Source: Author

2. Mapping the landscape

This chapter begins with statistics on private tutoring enrolment rates in a range of countries and across world regions. It then turns to demographic variations within countries, and to remarks on subjects, modes of tutoring, and costs.

Private tutoring enrolment rates

Global data on enrolment rates in private supplementary tutoring are seriously inadequate. This observation will be elaborated upon in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, however, an overall historical picture of shadow education across world regions may be sketched as follows.

- *Asia* is best viewed in five sub-regions:
  - In parts of **East Asia**, particularly Japan and the Republic of Korea, shadow education emerged as a significant phenomenon in the decades following World War II (Sato, 2012; Seth, 2002). China 'caught up' when the market economy developed in the 1990s and after (Zhang & Yamato, 2018).
  - **Southeast Asia** includes Singapore where shadow education has long been very evident in a prosperous environment among families seeking a competitive edge (Tan, 2009; Christensen, 2022), but also in Myanmar where it has been a way to compensate for shortcomings in the public system and for teachers' inadequate salaries (Bray, Kobakhidze & Kwo, 2020). Shadow education has also been very visible in Cambodia, Malaysia and Viet Nam, and has expanded in Indonesia and elsewhere (Bray, 2023).
  - In **South Asia**, official remarks about private tutoring go back to the 1940s (Ceylon, 1943). Academic literature in India and perhaps elsewhere includes reference to the phenomenon during the 1960s (Kale, 1970). Since that era, shadow education has greatly expanded throughout the region (see e.g. Alam 2024; Batatota, 2023; Pratham, 2023).
  - In the former Soviet countries of **Central and Northern Asia**, private tutoring was modest in scale until the early 1990s. The transition to the market economy brought disruption to established modes of operation and teachers, who in the short run had ceased to receive adequate salaries from their governments, were forced to earn extra incomes through tutoring or other means (Silova et al., 2006; Silova, 2009). Subsequently, entrepreneurs established companies to exploit market opportunities. Contemporary patterns show significant enrolment rates in some countries (see e.g. Khaydarov, 2020; Mikhaylova, 2022).
  - **Western Asia** includes the former Soviet countries of the Caucasus plus Türkiye. Patterns in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to some extent resemble those in other former Soviet countries (Kobakhidze, 2018a). Türkiye saw significant growth in private tutoring in the 1960s, with tutorial centres known as *dershane* legalised in 1965 (Tansel & Bircan, 2008, pp.13-14). Political turbulence during the 1980s and again during the 2010s brought shifts with government attempts to scale back the sector, but those attempts had limited success (Özdere, 2021).
- Patterns in *Europe* may be divided into four sub-regions:
  - In **Southern Europe**, Greece stands out for its long history of shadow education. Kassotakis and Verdis (2013, p.94) highlighted the forces of migration and politics leading to expansion since the 1920s, and a 1940 law set legal frameworks for tutorial institutions known as *frontistiria*. Greece has maintained high rates of shadow education, and has influenced neighbouring Cyprus (Lamprianou & Lamprianou, 2013). Significant enrolment rates have also been evident in Malta (Buhagiar & Chetcuti, 2013).
  - In **Western Europe**, recent decades have brought stronger marketization of education, including in private tutoring (Bisson-Vaivre et al., 2023). Enrolment rates are lower than in Southern Europe, but are expanding (see e.g. Cullinane & Montacute, 2023; Hawrot, 2024; Moreno & Martínez, 2023).
  - Countries in **Eastern Europe**, resembling those in Central and Northern Asia, were much affected by the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union. However, shadow education was already evident before that event, for example in Hungary (Inkei et al., 1988, p.50). Since that era, the shadow system has considerably expanded throughout the region (see e.g. Kotarski, 2020; Št'astný, 2021).
  - **Northern Europe** has long been considered a sub-region with egalitarian and high-quality schooling that does not need supplementation. Nevertheless,

in recent years shadow education has also emerged there, albeit not yet at the scale of other parts of Europe (see e.g. Bray, 2021a; Christensen & Zhang, 2021; Laaksonen & Kosunen, 2024).

- Tutoring has also become more visible in **sub-Saharan Africa**. Data collected in 2013 by SACMEQ teams in Anglophone and Lusophone countries indicated Grade 6 tutoring enrolment rates ranging from 5.8% in Namibia to 81.4% in Mauritius; and parallel 2019 data collected by PASEC teams in Francophone countries ranged from 1% in Madagascar to 22% in Benin and Senegal (Bray, 2021b, p.17; Bray & Baba-Moussa, 2023, p.9).[5]
- In the **Middle East and North Africa**, Egypt stands out as a country in which the phenomenon is long-entrenched (Abdel-Moneim, 2021; Moreno, 2022), and to some extent Egyptian teachers have taken this practice with them when working as expatriates in the higher-income countries of the region such as the United Arab Emirates (Bray & Ventura, 2022). In these higher-income countries, much tutoring is received by students who are already performing at adequate levels but whose families seek further enrichment. In lower-income countries such as the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen, parents with adequate means seek tutoring to compensate for shortcomings in public schooling (Bray & Hajar, 2023).
- The final category concerns the *Americas*. In **North America**, tutoring remains modest in scale compared with other world regions, though it has expanded in both Canada and the the United States (Aurini et al., 2020; Burch, 2021). Similar remarks apply in **South America**, where the phenomenon is relatively visible in Brazil and Colombia but less evident elsewhere (Bray & Ventura, 2024).

Elaborating on this broad picture, Table 1 presents specific statistics from a range of countries. They show significant enrolment rates not only in high-income countries such as Qatar and England but also in low-income countries such as Pakistan and Senegal.

Demographic variations and intensities

The statistics in Table 1 mainly show enrolment rates at the national level, but within countries there may be major geographic variations. One variable is urban/rural (see e.g. Mahmud & Bray, 2017; Pallegedara, 2018; Zhang & Bray, 2021). In general, urban areas have higher rates of private tutoring because of both supply and demand. Companies that supply tutoring are more likely to target urban than rural areas because they desire sufficient population density. The companies also target relatively wealthy locations within those urban areas, since families in those locations can more easily afford the tutoring and may have higher aspirations for their children. Also, universities are more commonly located in cities and, insofar as university students decide to earn informal incomes from tutoring, the supply is again weighted towards urban areas. On the demand side, urban families commonly have higher incomes than rural ones, and may be more competitive. Also, because children in rural areas commonly assist with farming, they may have less available time for tutoring.

Another geographic variation is by province/state. For example, Table 2 shows the regional distribution of tutoring enrolment rates of Grade 6 students in South Africa. The range was from 61.5% in Free State to 10.5% in Limpopo. Regional variations are shaped by economic factors, policies of sub-national governments, and cultural variations.

Table 2: Enrolment rates in private tutoring by province, Grade 6, South Africa, 2013

Province	%	Province	%
Free State	61.5	Eastern Cape	26.8
Mpumalanga	43.3	Northern Cape	23.5
Gauteng	37.8	Kwazulu-Natal	18.8
North West	37.8	Limpopo	10.5
Western Cape	30.1	South Africa	29.1

Source: Adapted from Chetty et al., 2017, p.16

As might be expected, enrolment rates within specific locations vary considerably by social class. Higher-income families have both the resources and the aspirations for enhanced educational levels. Gender may be another factor. In Qatar, a 2018 survey of students in Grades 8, 9, 11 and 12 found female enrolment rates of 38% compared with male ones of 42% (Sellami, 2019, p.12). Further, females were more likely to receive tutoring only during the examination season, while males were more likely to receive daily tutoring. Gender disparities in favour of males have also been reported in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan (UNESCO, 2022a, p.53). However, Egyptian research has shown females receiving more tutoring, and at higher expenditures, than males (Krafft, 2015, p.167).

5 SACMEQ was created as the Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality. Subsequently it added Eastern Africa, but for some years retained the SACMEQ label. It now uses the acronym SEACMEQ for the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (http://www.seacmeq.org/). PASEC is the Program for the Analysis of Educational Systems of CONFEMEN (PASEC) (https://pasec.confemen.org/).

> Private tutoring enrolment rates vary by location, gender, social class, and grade.

Finally, enrolment rates in private tutoring typically progress across the grades. Table 3 illustrates this point with reference to Pakistan. Around the world, the highest rates are usually immediately prior to high-stakes examinations at the end of secondary schooling (Zwier et al., 2021). Systems that also have high-stakes examinations at earlier levels, exemplified by Singapore's examination at the end of primary schooling that sorts post-primary students into different tracks, also have a surge of tutoring prior to those examinations (Tan, 2019).

Table 3: Private tutoring enrolment rates by grade, Pakistan, 2023 (%)

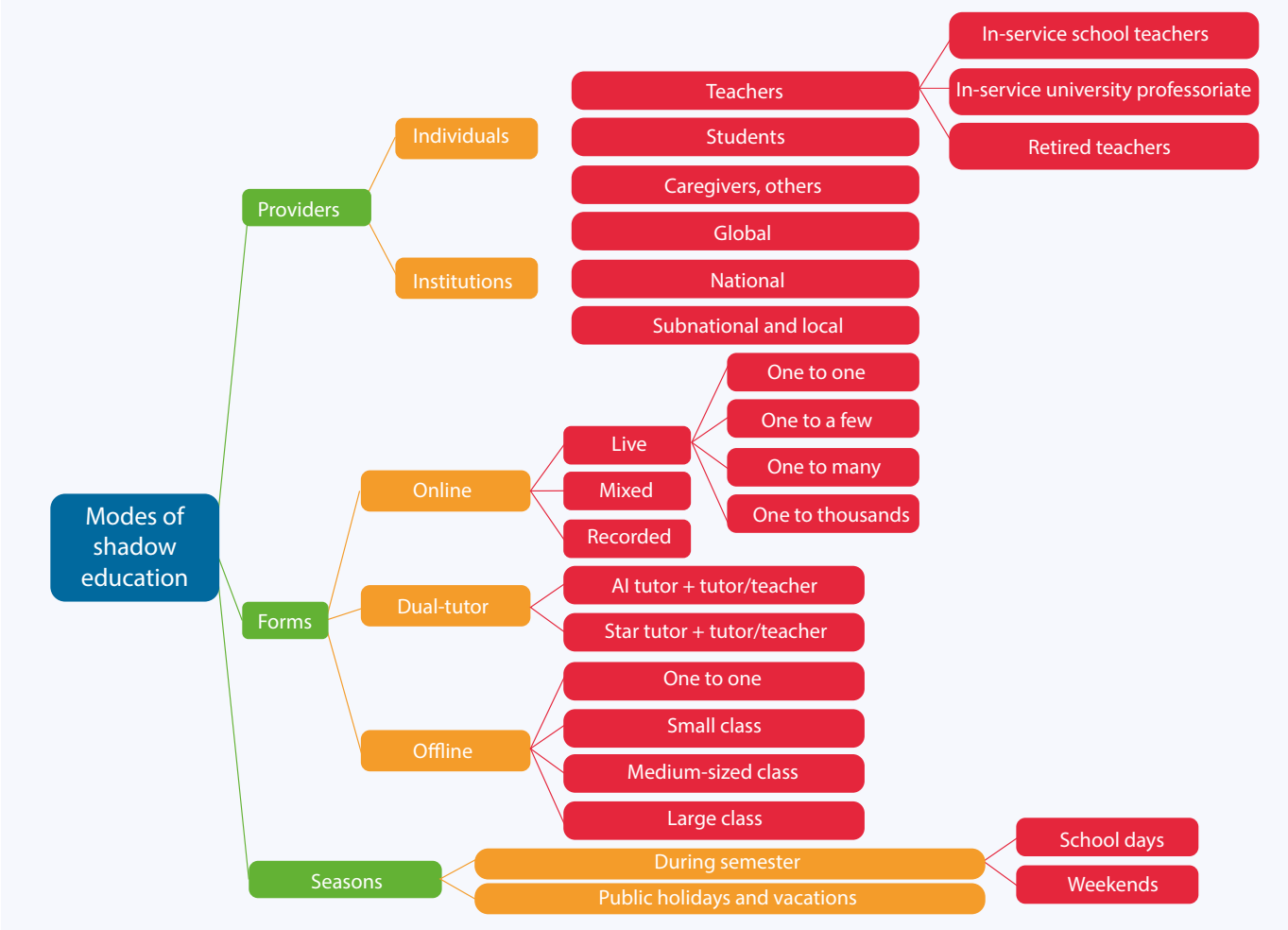
Grade	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Government schools	5.5	6.4	6.5	8.0	8.4	10.1	12.1	11.8	14.7	15.9
Private schools	24.7	26.5	27.2	26.8	27.4	26.4	27.6	25.9	29.3	27.1

Source: Adapted from ASER Pakistan Secretariat, 2024, p.8.

Modes, locations, and costs

As noted in the Introduction, private tutoring may be delivered through multiple modes. Indeed the modes of tutoring are far more diverse than those of schooling. Figure 1 presents a generic classification of providers, forms and seasons.

Figure 1: Diversity of modes of private tutoring delivery



Source: Zhang & Bray, 2020, p.328. Available under CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. Reproduced with permission.

Concerning location, commercial companies usually have their own facilities for individual, small-group and/or large-class instruction, but some organize tutoring in the homes of the students. This is the basic model of MentorDanmark, for example, which is the largest company in Denmark and recruits post-secondary and secondary students to work as mentors on a one-to-one basis (Kany, 2021). Other tutors may offer tutoring in their own homes, or in public spaces such as libraries and cafés. In some countries, private tutoring is even permitted in schools. The Mauritian government at one time prohibited the use of school premises for such tutoring but then relented in view of the 'appalling physical conditions' in which tutoring was being provided, including in teachers' garages and similar locations (Bray, 2009, p.57).

Locations and group sizes have implications for costs. In Mauritius, a further reason for permitting tutoring on school premises was that low-income families were being penalized by the costs of premises constructed by the tutors. Clearly there was much variation in this matter, but it sent a pertinent signal. The school classrooms could also cater for larger groups. For consumers, the prices of tutoring usually go down as class size increases, while providers may find large classes attractive since their total revenues are usually greater. The question then is whether the quality of tutoring diminishes with class size. The answer is that much depends on the styles of tutoring and learning. Small-group tutoring may have benefits from providing peers; and although large classes cannot permit individual attention, the charisma of 'star' tutors in such countries as Sri Lanka, Egypt, and the Republic of Korea (Cole, 2017, p.144; Herrera, 2022, p.75; Jung et al., 2022, p.3) can stimulate learning even in lecture theatres containing hundreds of students.

Elaborating on patterns in Sri Lanka, shadow education has become normalized across income groups, with 2016/17 enrolment rates of 68% among the richest households and 60% among the poorest (UNESCO, 2022a, p.53). However, the types and quantities of tutoring are differentiated by ability to pay. In 2016/17, monthly expenditures on private tutoring in the richest quintile were nearly three times those in the poorest quintile. Nevertheless, for the richest households the percentages of total household expenditure allocated to tutoring were lower than those for the poorest households. Richer households were more likely to invest in individual or small-group tutoring while poorer households had to be content with large classes.

3. The impact of private tutoring

Addressing several dimensions of impact, this chapter commences with the most obvious objective of tutoring, i.e. to raise academic achievement. It then turns to students' well-being and mental health, and to broader issues of equity and social justice. These themes demonstrate multiple complexities.

Academic achievement

A general assumption about private tutoring, particularly among parents, is that it 'works' in the sense of raising academic achievement. Tutoring providers generally have complementary assertions, not least because they want to ensure ongoing demand for their services. Indeed tutoring of the right kind for students who are receptive and in amenable circumstances can deliver such outcomes. However, circumstances do not always fit this picture.

The large-scale quantitative research on this theme shows mixed findings. In part, this reflects difficulties in devising instruments that are sufficiently precise and comprehensive. One challenge is to identify changes that clearly reflect the tutoring inputs and to separate them from those that might have occurred without those inputs. A second challenge is to proceed beyond simple yes/no questions to variations in durations and seasons for tutoring, as well as factors such as class size, online/offline, age groups, curricular focus, and other social, economic and cultural factors.

Another necessity in this research is recognition that tutoring is not a simple supplement but rather that it dovetails with schooling and in some circumstances may even have a negative backwash. One factor in the backwash may be that students are tired from the combined load of both schooling and tutoring. Another factor can be that students who learn in advance of schooling may be bored by repetition in school. Further, students who pay for their tutors and who have a choice may respect those tutors more than the teachers who are imposed upon them. Tutoring can have an additional backwash on schooling when it increases diversity in the classroom and when the approaches of the tutors have dissonance with those of the teachers. Finally, when teachers are themselves tutors, they may devote more effort to their private activities than to their regular classes; and if some of their tutees are already

students in the school classes, the teachers may display elements of favouritism (see e.g. Jayachandran, 2014).

To give a few specifics, Cole (2017) focused on tutoring for Grade 5 students in Sri Lanka. She did note some subtractory elements relating both to teachers' behaviour and also to students' fatigue. Having analysed a rich dataset with student performance measures at two points in time, Cole found (p.154) an 'overall null impact and… moderate magnitude of differences in impact estimates by socioeconomic status'. Yet she stressed (2017, p.146) that her findings were only suggestive. Her focus only on five months of tutoring when many students had already received much longer blocks was among constraints and indeed created some divergence from a related study by Aturupane et al. (2013). Those authors had utilized the same core dataset but had considered the impact of longer periods of tutoring and had more positive findings. Moreover, as Cole also recognized (p.155), her study focused only on Grade 5 while students in other grades might have different developmental characteristics and need different kinds of skills.

In a context that can be contrasted, Guo et al. (2020) analysed data from a nationally representative survey of Grade 8 students in China. Again the researchers did note some subtractory elements, but overall found three positive findings. First, tutoring in Chinese and mathematics had a statistically significant impact on students' test performance, though only modestly (p.338). Second, tutoring was reported to improve academic performance mainly through enhancing students' test-taking skills or through helping to accumulate subject-specific knowledge rather than through improving general cognitive skills. Third, effects were larger for girls, low-performers, and students with better-educated and wealthier parents. Nevertheless, the authors noted data limitations, including that the researchers were 'unable to pin down the exact ultimate channels (i.e. through improving students' test-taking skills versus the accumulation in subject-specific knowledge) due to the lack of direct information on these channels' (p.338).

> The links between tutoring and academic achievement are not always straightforward.

Thus, answers to the question whether (and how much) tutoring can improve academic performance have multiple dimensions. Much depends on the skills and orientations of the tutors and the match with the receptiveness and capacity of the students. Other factors include the curriculum, the timing (during the day, week and year), the group/class size, the method, and the extent to which the location is conducive. Ironically, however, such factors do not seem greatly to impede demand. Families are not well placed to make numerical evaluations and, in the context of possible ambiguities, they may feel that investment in tutoring is still worthwhile as a sort of insurance policy, especially when most of their peers seem to be investing in it.

Well-being and mental health

The above factors are also pertinent to students' well-being and mental health. Tutoring that helps lower achievers to keep up with their peers may be very positive. One-to-one and small-group tutoring, in particular, can support students who might feel shy to raise questions in large classes. At the other end of the ability spectrum, higher achievers may gain satisfaction from stimulus in private tutoring. Since they desire to attract and retain clients, tutoring companies and individual tutors have strong incentives to make their sessions attractive.

Again, however, many complexities are exposed by the research. For example, Krylova et al. (2024) investigated the extent to which tutoring helped Russian students to become psychologically ready for their examinations. On the one hand, the researchers found that tutors assisted students to understand the examination processes and therefore reduced anxieties. On the other hand, the students had weaker self-organization and motivation because they had shared or transferred responsibility for the results. Thus, students trained by tutors had stronger awareness of the examination procedures but weaker self-esteem.

Moreover, other types of tutoring can again have a backwash on schooling, especially when the tutors are already teachers of those students (Box 2); and tutorial enterprises that wish to gain fame for examination results may themselves impose much stress. Glaring consequences in India include student suicides in the high-pressure coaching centres of Kota, Rajasthan, which has become famous as a 'tutoring city' (Mishra, 2024; Singh, 2023). The forces operating in these two very different contexts again underline the complexities.

Equity and social justice

Since private supplementary tutoring is fee-charging, lower-income households are self-evidently disadvantaged compared with higher-income counterparts in access to both quantities and qualities of private tutoring. This point links back to the earlier remarks on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). Especially problematic are settings in which enrolment rates in shadow education have become so high that in effect lower-income families find themselves forced to invest in shadow education if they possibly can, in order not to 'lose at the starting line' (Box 1).

Ameliorating this situation are circumstances in which tutors themselves are willing to offer their services free of charge. For example, this was highlighted in Georgia by Kobakhidze (2018b, p.186). Among 68 teachers that she interviewed, 58 (85.3%) indicated that they had tutored students free of charge at some point in their careers. Kobakhidze added that comparison between fee-charging and fee-free tutoring showed no difference except for the payment options. Teachers often held mixed-group lessons in which fee-paying and fee-free students sat together and received tutoring lessons at the same time.

Nevertheless, while these practices in Georgia might have softened the forces of differentiation, those underlying forces remained. For this reason, other authorities – most notably in China since 2021 – have sought to prohibit private tutoring outside tightly-controlled circumstances. The problem in these cases is that much tutoring has moved underground at higher prices, and favour even more strongly the families with economic and social capital. This matter is considered further in Chapters 4 and 6.

Box 2. The atmosphere of tutorial sessions in Uzbekistan

A mixed-methods study collected information on the tutoring experiences of children in Grades 5 and 6. First the researchers surveyed 1,024 children in 10 schools. They found that 574 (56.1%) had received private tutoring during the previous 12 months; and among those 574, 50.0% had received the tutoring from their own teachers.

Next the researchers interviewed 50 of the children who had received private tutoring. They asked the children to draw pictures to reflect their experiences. One question when asking about the pictures was what the children felt about tutoring compared with schooling. Among the 50 interviewees, 48 (96%) considered private tutoring better suited than regular classrooms for improving their knowledge and self-esteem. The remaining two had no preference.

Among the 50 interviewees, 17 (34%) stated that their decision to receive tutoring reflected their class teachers' recommendations, and a large number were receiving tutoring from those teachers. This fact underlay some of the dynamics, reflected in the following quotations from two students.

Extract 1:

Many schoolteachers don't teach seriously. My tutor is my class teacher. He explained much better in the tutorial sessions because I and some colleagues paid him.

Extract 2:

Student: We were here in an English tutorial session. The topic was about spring. The teacher was explaining the topic to us very well.

Interviewer: How did you feel in your picture?

Student: I was happy because the teacher explained much better than in the classroom. He gave us many examples. He's also patient here. I learnt more vocabulary.

Interviewer: Did this teacher teach you at school?

Student: Yes. He's my class teacher.

Source (Extract 1 and Extract 2): Hajar & Tabaeva, 2024, p.10.

4. Implications for government policy-makers

Having identified the contexts, mapped the landscape, and noted the dimensions of impact, this chapter turns to the implications for government policy-makers. It addresses data considerations, ways to address the drivers of tutoring, and regulations.

Securing data and monitoring trends

Chapter 2 presented quantitative snapshots of private supplementary tutoring from a range of countries. However, they were only snapshots. They were shaped by the perspectives of the observers, based on restricted samples, had methodological limitations, and to some extent were dated. Private tutoring lacks the type of regular and reasonably accurate data available on schooling (and some commentators would even critique the quality and availability of that data).

Chapter 1 mentioned the questionnaire administered by UNESCO in 205 countries and self-governing jurisdictions during preparation of the Global Education Monitoring Report on non-state actors in education (UNESCO, 2021a).[6] No quantitative data at all were reported from 143 (69.8%) of these countries and jurisdictions. The remaining 62 entries (30.2%) had some data, but in most cases the statistics were outdated and with very limited coverage. Among these 62 entries, 16 (25.8%) only cited publications that were over a decade old; and although the other publications were more recent, the data on which some of them focused were also old. The complete absences of data were most striking in Oceania and in Latin America & the Caribbean.

> When asked about the scale of private tutoring, governments in nearly 70% of countries were unable to provide data. And among the remainder, the statistics were mostly inadequate.

Within this picture, the Republic of Korea stands out positively for its data collection through the Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS).[7] No other government has regularly and consistently collected national data that can be matched with the Korean dataset. Cross-national surveys such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) have generated some information on outside-school-time studies, but have not indicated whether those studies were fee-charging and have had other limitations (Bray & Kobakhidze, 2014; Bray et al., 2020).[8] Regular data have also been collected in England by the Sutton Trust, in India by Pratham, and in Pakistan by ASER-Pakistan; but these are all non-government organizations and again stand out as rare bodies of their type.[9] In Africa, the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ), mentioned in Chapter 2, did collect some data in 2007 and 2013, but then lapsed. Its counterpart body in Francophone Africa, the Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Éducatifs de la CONFEMEN (PASEC), collected some data in 2014 and 2019, but again with methodological limitations (Bray & Baba-Moussa, 2023). Further, all of these surveys are limited in the grades or age-groups covered.[10]

The above remarks about quantitative data also apply to qualitative studies. Most qualitative research is produced in universities by academic staff and by students at Masters and Doctoral levels. Researchers are keen for their work to be utilized by policy-makers; but private tutoring has only recently reached agendas in universities. Policy-makers could help to reduce gaps by signalling to researchers the importance of the theme.

6 Responses to the questionnaire are in the Profiles Enhancing Education Reviews (PEER) database. https://education-profiles.org/themes/~non-state-actors-in-education

7 See https://kosis.kr/eng/aboutKosis/Introduction.do

8 PISA is managed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); TIMSS is managed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

9 See https://www.suttontrust.com/; https://www.pratham.org/programs/education/aser/; https://aserpakistan.org/index.php

10 PISA collects data from 15-year-olds, whichever grade they are in. TIMSS collects data from Grades 4 and 8. The Sutton Trust collects data from students aged 11-16. Pratham and ASER-Pakistan collect data from children aged 5-16. SACMEQ collected data from students in Grade 6; and PASEC also collects data from that grade.

Making tutoring less necessary

Improving public schooling

Insofar as demand for shadow education is driven by parental perceptions of qualitative shortcomings in public education, an obvious way to reduce the demand is by improving public education. Schools that are better resourced and managed can cater for diversity within their student bodies, supporting lower achievers to keep up with their peers and providing stimulus for higher achievers to excel further.

However, such advocacy is of course easier to say than to accomplish. It requires adequate financing, which is a matter not only of economic strength but also of political priorities. It also requires training, support and guidance for schools across diverse regions and communities. Moreover, quality is a matter of perception as well as concrete criteria. Thus, countries with strong school systems such as Singapore, Japan and the Republic of Korea have much more shadow education than some countries with struggling school systems in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. Further, much shadow education is received even by children who attend good-quality private schools around the world. This phenomenon reflects parental demand – and ability to pay for the supplementation – in competitive environments.

Reforming assessment and selection

The next question, therefore, concerns the learning assessment structures and modalities. As noted above, demand for private tutoring generally peaks immediately before high-stakes examinations. This is especially evident at the end of secondary schooling, but is also apparent in systems with watersheds at lower grades. Some governments have decided that assessments at the end of primary schooling should not be of the high-stakes type, particularly if their countries have universal junior-secondary education. These governments hope that when they reduce the high-stakes nature of assessment, they can also reduce the pressures for private tutoring.

> Reforms to reduce the high-stakes nature of examinations can reduce pressures for private tutoring.

Again, however, multiple complexities must be recognized. For example, the history of reforms in the Republic of Korea has even included replacement of examinations by lotteries. This specific component proved unworkable, and had to be abandoned. The reform was politically sensitive because many students who felt that they deserved places in secondary schools were denied them (Kim & Lee, 2010). Also, schools had to manage greater diversity in their intakes. Broader literature stresses that examinations may be viewed as equalizing instruments that can reward diligent students regardless of their home or school circumstances (Kellaghan & Greaney, 2019). Such factors have retained the existence of examinations at various levels in education systems despite their disadvantages.

Yet even if governments retain major examinations, they can still postpone watershed points and can reduce stratification. For example, the Mauritian authorities sought to reduce stratification in 2017 with the replacement of the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination by a broader Primary School Achievement Certificate (PSAC) assessment (Samuel & Mariaye, 2020, p.17). Similarly, in 2019 the Kenyan government reorganized its education system to stress continuous assessment rather than end-of-cycle tests, with more focus on competency-based than examination-based assessment (Kenya, 2019).

Nevertheless, such matters are not always straightforward. On a technical level, benchmarking school-based assessments so that they are comparable across schools is challenging. More broadly, systems that are already threatened by corruption are likely to be even more exposed if significant decision-making power is placed in the hands of teachers without adequate arrangements for monitoring and for enforcement of accountability. When the Cambodian government eliminated the Grade 6 examination, teachers introduced their own examinations and, in Dawson's words (2010, p.17), 'carried on business as usual' without the quality-control measures that the common examination had provided. With a different dynamic, media reports in Singapore indicate that whenever the government removes an examination, tutorial centres 'fill the gap' by offering their own examinations to enable anxious parents to benchmark their children's performance (Christensen, 2022, p.181).

Devising and implementing regulations

The UNESCO-administered questionnaire in 205 countries and self-governing jurisdictions mentioned above also generated information on regulations.[11] First, 105 (51.2%) of the responses had no information – suggesting that over half of the governments around the world did not have private tutoring on their agendas. Then, among the responses that did contain some information, useful remarks focused on regulations both for companies and for teachers that offer private tutoring. These categories are here considered in turn, followed by remarks about regulating (or taking a *laissez faire* approach on) informal suppliers of tutoring.

> Most countries need more and better regulation of private tutoring.

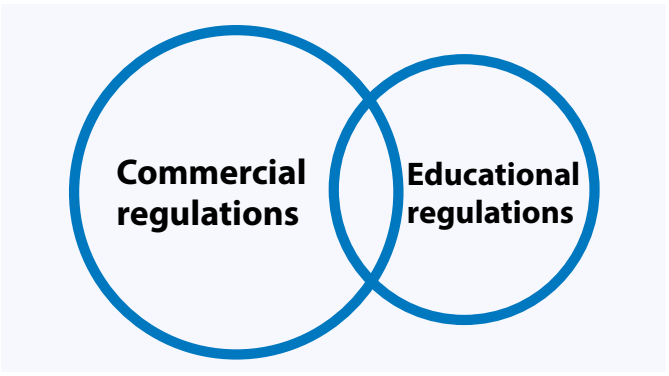
Regulating companies that provide tutoring

In most countries, tutorial enterprises that operate as businesses are subject to regulations set by the Ministry of Commerce or equivalent. Requirements commonly include focus on safety of buildings, provision of toilets, preparation of accounts, payment of taxes, and legality of contracts for both employees and clients.

Alongside may be regulations set by the Ministry of Education or equivalent. As shown in Figure 2, the educational regulations may overlap with the commercial ones. The Figure portrays the educational regulations as slightly smaller because commercial regulations usually dominate, but the relativity of the sizes and the extent of overlap may vary considerably.

Among the 205 responses to the 2021 UNESCO survey noted above, 25 mentioned only regulation by the bodies responsible for commercial affairs, while 49 mentioned specific criteria for educational enterprises. The fact that fewer responses focused on commercial regulations probably reflects the fact that the questionnaire was filled in by personnel in the Ministries of Education who were more interested in that domain and took the commercial side for granted. Indeed it may be assumed that commercial regulations existed in most or all the 205 countries and jurisdictions; yet the educational regulations are also of greater interest to the present study.

Figure 2: Overlapping categories of company regulations



Source: Adapted from Dhall, 2011, p.1.

Table 4 extracts data from eight countries responding to the UNESCO survey to illustrate commonalities and diversities in educational regulations. All specify the national or sub-national legal framework that sets the regulations. Common foci are:

- **Facilities**. In some cases the requirements are precise. For example in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), centres must have a minimum of 600 square metres. They must also be located away from noisy areas, though this may be more difficult to define or measure. In Pakistan the benchmark relates to (non-state) schools, thus making a link between tutoring and schooling.
- **Curriculum**. In Cyprus, tutorial centres must adopt the standards and outline of the national curriculum, and similarly the authorities in Pakistan require tutorial centres to ensure 'that they do not diverge greatly from school curricula and conform to minimum standards'. The Indonesian and Korean regulations are more flexible.
- **Qualifications**. Specific stipulations on tutors' qualifications are set in Cyprus, Indonesia, and Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), but the authorities in Türkiye are more flexible.
- **Class size**. In Hong Kong (China), registration is only required for enterprises having eight students at one time or 20 students in one day, and the maximum class size is set at 45 students. By contrast, in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), centres are not permitted to have more than 10 students.
- **Fees**. The authorities in Cyprus set stipulations on fees, but their counterparts in Hong Kong (China) and Türkiye are more flexible.

11 https://education-profiles.org/themes/~non-state-actors-in-education

Table 4: Regulations on tutorial centres in selected countries

Cyprus	Private tutoring is under the purview of the Ministry of Education, Sport & Youth (MoESY). It is regulated by the Establishment and Operation of Private Tutorial Centres Law 2018 (amended in 2020 and 2021), with an Advisory Committee for Private Tutorial Centres to make recommendations to the Minister. Applications to establish private tutorial centres must contain details on infrastructure, qualifications of the director and teaching staff, courses and fees. Applicants must be citizens of Cyprus or a European Union Member State, and not public servants. Centres must adopt the standards and outline of the national curriculum at primary and secondary level, with approval from the MoESY for specific national curriculum subjects. Fees must be approved upon registration and on an annual basis. Centres may be inspected by the MoESY.
Ethiopia	In Addis Ababa, private tuition centres must be licensed and follow similar minimum standards to primary and secondary schools. Following regulations issued in 2004, the Education Bureau regulates the premises, class size, location, teacher qualifications, curriculum, and learning hours. Centres must provide facilities with a minimum of 600 square metres, be located away from noisy areas, have a maximum of 10 students, follow a similar curriculum to the national curriculum, and provide classes for a maximum of 45 minutes per day (and a maximum of 5 days per week). As in state schools, tutors employed in private centres must have a minimum teaching diploma for tutoring primary students, and a degree for tutoring secondary students, in addition to pedagogical training certificates.
Hong Kong, China	Tutorial centres are defined as 'private schools offering non-formal curriculum' and must be registered under the 1971 Education Ordinance (like regular non-state schools). The threshold is 8 students at one time or 20 students in one day, and centres have a maximum class size of 45 students. Centres are not required to seek approval for fees or the qualifications of teachers. However, any teacher employed in a private tuition centre must be registered under the Teacher Registration Team of the Education Bureau or (in the case of non-locals) the Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation.
Indonesia	Private tutoring is viewed as 'non-formal education' in the Education Law No.20/2003, which 'functions as a substitute, complement, and/or supplement to formal education', subject to specific national education standards and regulated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research & Technology. Private tutoring centres must register with the District Education and Culture Office. Like schools, applications for licences are assessed on the curriculum, teacher qualifications, and facilities, while private tutoring centres must additionally be accredited by the National Accreditation Board for Non-Formal Education. Centres must provide satisfactory facilities and equipment. They are not required to follow the school curriculum.
Libya	Under the 2011 Law No.211 (S.2), persons desiring licences to work as private tutors must apply to the Office of Free Education indicating that they a) are Libyan citizens with good reputations, b) are healthy, c) will not stop working suddenly in a way that would harm students, and d) have not committed crimes (Art.2). The Office then forwards applications to the National Committee on Private Education, which in turn forwards them to the General People's Committee on Education and Research to issue a licence. The private tutor is subject to periodic inspection and should teach according to the students' curricula (Art.11). The tutor must also evaluate and assess students in the first three grades at the primary level similarly to how they are evaluated in state institutions (Art.14). The law does not outline the qualifications of private tutors.
Pakistan	In the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT), private tuition centres, like private schools, must be registered under the Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority (PEIRA). Centres may only operate from the middle education level and above, and must comply with the minimum infrastructure standards that are applicable to non-state schools. Similar arrangements apply in Balochistan. The authorities in both locations regulate the fees and curricula, ensuring that they do not diverge greatly from school curricula and conform to minimum standards. Centres must submit annual audited accounts.
Republic of Korea	The 2001 Act on the Establishment and Operation of Private Teaching Institutes and Extracurricular Lessons (amended in 2021) and its respective 2001 Enforcement Decree (amended in 2021) provide the regulatory framework for private teaching institutions as well as for individuals who provide private extracurricular lessons. Owners/managers of private teaching institutions must apply to the superintendent of education with information on the curriculum, instructors, fees, facilities, and equipment. The curriculum can be determined by the operator. Institutions can set their tuition fees, but when the fees seem excessive the superintendent of education can adjust them.
Türkiye	Tutorial institutions are regulated by the Private Education Institutions Law (2007) and Regulation on Private Education Institutions (2012). Applications to open institutions are made to the provincial directorate of national education, and approved by the provincial governorship. Only high school students can attend these institutions, and each institution can give courses only on one subject. The curriculum must be approved by the General Directorate of Private Education Institutions. The 2012 Regulation has no requirements on fees. However, each institution must notify the provincial directorate of national education and announce the fee to the public. All private education institutions and personnel are under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education. Governorships also have authority to inspect them. No requirements pertain to qualifications of tutors.

Source: PEER, https://www.education-profiles.org, 31 March 2024

Other specifics include the nationalities of applicants (Cyprus and Libya), that centres 'will not stop working suddenly in a way that would harm students' (Libya), and that applicants should demonstrate that they have no criminal records (Libya and Qatar).

Detailed regulations are not necessarily preferable to those with fewer specifics. Regulations that have much detail generally lose flexibility, and may not cater for geographic and social variations within the country. Also, governments may lack sufficient appropriately qualified personnel to manage the implementation of detailed regulations, and may consider the expense too high. Situations in which regulations cannot be implemented or are ignored may be worse than situations with minimal or no regulations, because they bring the government machinery into disrepute. Further, entrepreneurs may still find ways round regulations thus, to some extent, mocking the system. In Hong Kong (China), for example, 'star' tutors with large classes have side-stepped the regulation that classes should have a maximum of 45 students. They have constructed glass walls within their lecture theatres, with each unit between the walls having 45 spaces and with technology to broadcast the sound between sections.

A review of patterns shown in the 2021 UNESCO survey and in the related literature (Bray & Kwo, 2014; Zhang, 2023) shows more variations than presented in Table 4. Indeed considerable diversity may be found within as well as across countries, as exemplified by patterns in India where decisions are made at the state level (Mehendale, 2020).

Regulating tutoring provided by teachers

Referring again to the 2021 UNESCO survey of 205 countries and jurisdictions, 54 responses (26.3%) focused on regulations for teachers who wish to provide tutoring. Four basic scenarios are evident:

- *Prohibition*. Teachers may be prohibited from providing tutoring to:
  - their own students,
  - other students in their schools, and/or
  - students from other schools.

  Countries in this category include Albania, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Oman, Romania, and Zimbabwe.
- *Discouragement*. Practices may be governed by codes of conduct rather than by regulations, with strong signals that teachers should not undertake private tutoring, especially to their existing students (e.g. Bahrain, Canada [Alberta], Liberia, Romania).
- *Permission if approved*. Permission may be granted at the school level or by the wider educational authorities, on a range of conditions (e.g. Bahamas, Liechtenstein, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mauritius, the US).
- *Laissez faire*. In some cases the education authorities explicitly leave decisions to teachers and the clients (e.g. Hong Kong [China], Macao [China], Tajikistan),

In some countries (e.g. Cyprus, Greece, Namibia and Zambia), the regulations apply to teachers in public schools but not to counterparts in private schools.

Again, however, realities may be rather different from the intentions of these regulations. Thus, tutoring by teachers has persisted despite the regulations in such countries as Cambodia (Bray et al., 2016), Egypt (Sieverding, 2019), Oman (AlHajri et al., 2023), and Zimbabwe (Bukaliya, 2021). Such situations again call the regulations themselves into disrepute. Authorities would be wise to consider why the regulations are ignored, and then either find ways to ensure that they are taken more seriously or perhaps modified.

Regulating tutoring by informal providers

The third category of tutoring providers, which embraces university students and other categories of self-employed tutors, is even more difficult to regulate. These tutors commonly secure cash payments without written contracts, and operate beyond the reach of the government authorities.

In these circumstances, governments may devote efforts to informing and empowering the consumers. For example, the authorities in Hong Kong (China) have aspired to a relatively low level of control in the marketplace but with an 'appeal to parents and students to exercise their consumer right and responsibility to make informed choices' (Hong Kong, 2003, p.6). Box 3 presents a checklist of questions that parents might ask themselves. It was devised for a 'knowledge exchange' seminar, and could also provide a framework for governments to encourage dialogue at the levels of parents, families, and communities.

> Informal provision of tutoring is particularly difficult to regulate. An alternative lies in user empowerment.

Box 3. A checklist for parents

Your child's needs

Your child needs rest and play in addition to academic development and other forms of training.
Are you getting the balances right? How do you know?
If you consider supplementary tutoring, what are the reasons?

- To keep up with classmates?
- To keep ahead of classmates?
- Because other parents seem to be investing in tutoring?
- Other reasons?

Are these reasons appropriate?

Relationships with the school

What are the attitudes of your child's teachers towards supplementary tutoring?
In your own judgement, how would tutoring complement or disrupt regular school learning?

- Will your child be bored in school because material has already been covered?
- Will your child be more interested in school because the material is easier to understand?
- Will your child be tired in school because of too much out-of-school tutoring?
- How will the tutoring shape relationships with other children?
- How would the fact that tutoring has to be paid for while schooling is free of charge shape your child's views toward schooling?

Evaluating the tutoring

If you do decide to invest in supplementary tutoring, how will you evaluate the content and quality?

- How can you find out and evaluate what the tutor will cover with your child?
- What qualities (personal and professional) should you seek in the tutor? How will you know if the tutor has those qualities?

How would you determine the appropriate intensity and duration of tutoring?

- Should tutoring be short term for specific needs, or should it be for the long term?
- If short term for specific needs, how will you know when those needs have been met?
- If long term, how will you avoid the danger of your child becoming dependent on tutoring instead of learning to be self-reliant?

Contracts and services delivered

Do you have a formal contract with your tutor? Do you gain receipts for payments? Why or why not?

- If you are dissatisfied with the services of your tutor, what is the mechanism for terminating the arrangement in the best interests of your child?
- How would you decide if you are paying an appropriate price for the tutoring?

Source: Bray & Kwo, 2014, pp.54-55.

5. Implications for other stakeholders in the education ecosystem

Previous chapters have mentioned the notion of an ecosystem in which multiple actors interrelate. Particularly important alongside governments are schools, tutoring providers, and families (including students). This chapter elaborates on potential range in their perspectives and roles.

Schools

The principals, leadership teams and teachers in schools, like governments, may have diverse perspectives on private supplementary tutoring. *Laissez faire* is commonly the dominant approach. These schools prefer not to engage with the tutorial sector, and may completely ignore it. Others, however, engage in partnerships of various kinds.

As noted in the Introduction, some leadership teams and teachers are offended by private tutoring. They consider it a critique of their own operation, implying that their delivery is inadequate. Further, they may feel that external tutoring disrupts their own work by contributing to student fatigue, increasing disparities within the classrooms, and bringing dissonance when the students prefer the pedagogic styles of their tutors to those of their teachers. In addition, teachers may find themselves competing with tutors for the students' time, e.g. in completion of homework. However, other leadership teams and teachers welcome private tutoring. They argue that students should learn from all sources – and when the students achieve good academic results, the schools may claim credit for themselves.

Whatever the attitude, it seems desirable that leadership teams and teachers should at least discuss matters so that they have some clarity. Even if governments are *laissez faire* on the theme, schools can have their own perspectives and can place issues on the table for discussion with teachers, students, and parents. Schools may have internal regulations, for example prohibiting teachers from providing private tutoring to (i) their existing students, (ii) any students in the school, or (iii) students from any school. Alternatively, schools may themselves actively organize tutoring, gaining the collaboration of teachers.

> Schools and teachers may have diverse attitudes towards private tutoring.

Potential diversity is illustrated by Table 5 with information from Dubai (United Arab Emirates). The majority of Dubai schools, and all nine schools to which Table 5 refers, are private. They operate with a range of fee levels, reflecting not only the incomes of the families that they serve but also the business models on which they operate. In this respect, an analogy may be made with hotels. First, hotels may have a range of facilities and corresponding prices; and second, hotels may offer packages of full board, bed and breakfast, or room only. Some Dubai schools charge high fees and then include supplementary tutoring as part of the package. Others provide only the school curriculum and leave families to secure supplements elsewhere if desired; and yet others have an intermediate arrangement of school-organized tutoring for extra fees.

Within this framework, Table 5 shows diversity not only according to the business models and levels of fees, but also according to the attitudes of the principals and management bodies. To some extent, models are also shaped by cultural factors. Dubai schools have diverse curricula to serve communities with different origins and ongoing ties. The fact that private supplementary tutoring is a norm in India and Pakistan, for example, creates differences from schools with Indian and Pakistani curricula compared with those following curricula from the the United Kingdom or the United States. Yet even within these subgroups there is diversity. In School F, for example, the head of the secondary section accepted that tutoring was important for some students, and had a mechanism through which teachers could request approval to provide such tutoring outside school hours and off the premises. However, the head of the primary section disapproved of private tutoring and had no such mechanism. By contrast, in School E the head of the primary section perceived the benefits of tutoring and even had an arrangement through which teachers could provide tutoring with extra remuneration on the premises. In this school, however, the head of the secondary section disapproved of such arrangements and kept a distance.

Table 5: School-level attitudes and provision of supplementary tutoring in Dubai, United Arab Emirates

School	Curriculum	Level of fees	Principal's attitude toward external private supplementary tutoring	School-provided tutoring with no extra charge	School-provided tutoring with extra fees
A	Indian	High	Discourages extra tutoring – school provision is enough	School supports students during the day	None
B	Indian	Low	Accepts as part of reality	At one stage offered for most grades, but then suspended. Still provides for Grades 11 and 12 at no extra charge	School organizes, and pays teachers extra. Fee-charging for Grades 4-10, but free for Grades 11-12
C	Indian	Low	Recognizes that it happens, but dislikes	Did once offer free classes in school, but poor response	None
D	Pakistani	Low	Seems not to be considered an issue	Extra classes two days per week and on Saturdays. Free of charge for students, but teachers paid extra	None
E	United Kingdom	High	Primary-section head supports and organizes in-school provision. Secondary-section head disapproves	Some extra support without extra charge	Primary section organizes supplementary tutoring by teachers on the premises.
F	United Kingdom	High	Secondary-section head accepts that tutoring is important for some students and has an approval mechanism for teachers to provide. Primary-section head disapproves	Not part of school arrangements	Secondary-section head permits teachers to provide tutoring if approved, but normally outside school
G	United Kingdom	Medium	Disapproves, and prohibits teachers from providing extra private tutoring	In-school provision for about 2% of students	None
H	The United States	Medium	Positive: 'It means that students and parents care about learning.'	None mentioned	School organizes, and about 10% of students attend
I	The United States	Medium	Feels that supplementary tutoring is generally needed	Classes at no extra charge for up to two years	School organizes groups of up to four students each

Source: Adapted from Bray & Ventura, 2022, p.5

Schools elsewhere may have less autonomy to devise their own policies, but the main point is that policies can be taken at the school level within wider ecosystem constraints and possibilities. Indeed school-level policies may be taken more seriously than government ones by teachers and families, because the actors at that level know each other personally. In this context, infringements of school-level regulations are more likely to come to light and be sanctioned than infringements of regulations set by distant governments without local reporting mechanisms.

Tutoring providers

Much of the tutoring for students in Dubai is provided by serving teachers, though tutorial centres providing specialized services are also common. Teachers who provide private tutoring obviously have their own agendas and, as mentioned in Chapter 4, teachers commonly maintain their supplementary work even in such countries as Cambodia, Egypt, Oman and Zimbabwe where it is officially forbidden. This remark again underlines the importance of school-level policies.

Turning to tutorial businesses, the Introduction to this report mentioned the huge size of the global marketplace, with a 2023 estimate of US$159 billion and a forecast to reach US$288 billion by 2030. Much of the potential is in high-income economies; but, as with low-fee private schools (see e.g. UNESCO, 2021a, pp.32-53), opportunities also arise in low-income economies. This observation is illustrated by a market report entitled *The Business of Education in Africa* (Caerus Capital, 2017).

In some respects the qualitative crisis created by government initiatives to expand education provision under the EFA and related agendas has provided an opportunity for commercial enterprises to bridge gaps. Entrepreneurs also benefit from social competition among relatively prosperous families. In this connection, alongside Dubai, the Pakistan data in Table 3 may be recalled, showing higher tutoring enrolment rates for students in private schools than for counterparts in public schools.

In the broad arena, private actors commonly contribute to innovations. They do this because they have incentives, seeking clients in the competitive environment. Most obvious are technological innovations spearheaded by the private sector alongside innovations in curriculum and pedagogy. Examples in the Republic of Korea have been provided by Jung et al. (2022) who examined five internet *hakwons* (tutorial companies) and compared their pedagogies with those of five schools. Among the *hakwons* in their sample was one that offered approximately 300 courses with over 7,000 instructional videos from 70 tutors to support each core subject. Institutions of this size have both the capacity and the incentive to be innovative, and the researchers demonstrated in this and other *hakwons* ways in which online materials were innovative not only in content but also in capturing and retaining students' attention. Smaller *hakwons* are also client-oriented and can also be innovative in their pedagogical styles. To some extent, the researchers pointed out, schools can learn from the innovations in the *hakwons*, though they may not have either the capacity or the incentive to operate so well at the cutting edge.

> Tutoring providers may engage in self-regulation both for their own and for wider public good.

For public trust and sustainability, however, commercial enterprises would be wise to engage in elements of self-regulation. In this respect the work of the Australian Tutoring Association (ATA) provides a valuable example. Formed in 2005, the Association aims not only to represent tutors and to act as a lobby group, but also to raise the standard of tutoring. Particularly significant is its code of conduct (ATA, 2024). The code is available on the website (https://ata.edu.au/about-us/member-code- of-conduct/) in multiple languages, thereby providing access to clients of multiple cultural backgrounds, and the website stresses that 'In the event of an ATA member not following the code of conduct then an investigation may follow, which could lead to suspension and/or expulsion'. A separate code of conduct has been prepared for online tutoring. Parallel bodies have been established for example in Germany, Greece, India, Japan, Türkiye, and the US (Bray & Kwo, 2014, p.56). Membership of professional associations with codes of conduct may reassure potential clients in a parallel way to which, for example, the International Air Transport Association (IATA) provides reassurance that member airlines heed standards on safety and reliability.

Families and students

Parenting has always been a challenging task, the nature of which, of course, varies across different cultures with the challenges evolving alongside wider social changes. Generational shifts include greater acceptability of and desire for private tutoring, particularly among parents who themselves received tutoring when at school. As noted above, parental decision-making is especially important for young children. Balances adjust when the children advance through secondary schooling since teenagers want to make – or at least negotiate – their own decisions. Both for parents and for teenagers, much decision-making is shaped by peer behaviour: when everybody else seems to be securing tutoring, the pressures to go with the crowd increase.

> Parents always want the best for their children and their ambitions may not fit government agendas.

Family desires may also be inconsistent with government policies. Thus when governments seek to discourage or even ban tutoring, parents may move to the underground marketplace (see e.g. Zhang, 2023, pp.25, 61). Similarly, although authorities may prohibit teachers from tutoring their existing students, parents may still ask teachers for such support on the grounds that they already know the children well and can fit the tutoring closely to the school syllabus. In any case, parents will always want the best for their children. Box 4 reports an interview with a satisfied parent in Myanmar. Not every parent would be able to report so positively about experiences with tutoring, but the ambitions and concerns of this particular parent can be widely recognized.

Box 4. A Myanmar parent's attitude on tutoring as an investment

The following dialogue is from a UNESCO-sponsored study of private tutoring in Yangon, Myanmar.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about your own family experiences concerning private tuition?

Parent: Yes, certainly. When my eldest daughter was in Grade 10, I could not afford private tuition. I was struggling for my family living expense. But she was bright; she was only eight marks behind the entry mark of Medical University…. As I was from a rural area, we thought highly of medical professionals. So, I made her apply to the Medical University for her first choice, Dental University as second choice, and then University Pharmacy and then nursing and so on. I wanted my son and daughters to get a better life than mine. Educating my son and daughters is the most valuable thing I can give to them….And now, my children are providing private tuitions as well to support the family income because soon I am going to retire.

Interviewer: And for your daughter, was the tuition effective? Did it work?

Parent: I couldn't afford a special class for my daughter. A special class [has] few students and expensive fees. When my daughter was in Grade 10, a special class cost around 2,000 - 3,000 kyats. So I sent her to normal tuition where there were 100~200 students with the tuition fee of 500 kyats.

How much was the tuition effective? She could pass the matriculation examination with just going to school regularly. Just pass. But with the help of the tuitions, she got higher marks. I lived in a rural area until my eldest child was in Grade 8, and then I moved to the city for my children's education because cities have better private tuitions compared to rural areas. I couldn't afford the best private tuition in town, but with a lot of struggling I could still send my children to better private tuition with 100~200 students in one class. Also, I couldn't afford to send them to private tuition for all six subjects. I had to prioritize the subjects for them, such as Physics, Chemistry and English.

Interviewer: So it was a good investment?

Parent: Yes, of course.

Source: Bray, Kobakhidze & Kwo, 2020, p.54.

6. Conclusions

As noted in Chapter 1, although private supplementary tutoring has a long history, only in recent times has it emerged as a significant global phenomenon. During the second half of the twentieth century it became a major issue in such countries as Egypt, Japan, Mauritius, the Republic of Korea, and Türkiye, but was not sufficiently prominent in the wider arena to gain attention during the 1990 meeting that set the EFA agenda or during its 2000 sequel. By 2015, when the SDGs were devised, private tutoring had expanded and with obvious implications for the nature of the SDGs. As such, the paucity of recognition at that time was more problematic. Now, in the present decade, and accelerated not only by deepening marketization of education but also by the COVID-19 pandemic and other forces, the need to address the phenomenon is blatant. In some respects the present report is an update on earlier studies published by UNESCO-IIEP (Bray, 1999, 2009). Some governments have developed significant policies for national and subnational levels, but many other governments are either unaware of the issues or have ignored them. Alongside governments, other actors in the ecosystem have their own perspectives and agendas. Most obvious are the managers and employees of tutorial companies, but also important are teachers and their unions. These actors can and should consider the dynamics of inter-relationships in the wider picture.

The UNESCO mandate and human rights

UNESCO's constitution stresses a belief in 'full and equal opportunities for education for all' (UNESCO, 1946, preamble). This sentiment is widely shared. It was a core element during preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), and in many subsequent resolutions including the Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989).

Since 1998, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights has appointed a number of Special Rapporteurs on the Right to Education. The first Special Rapporteur had some specific focus on privatization but mainly on schools (Tomasevski, 2000, paras.34-41). Moreover, although subsequent commentary mentioned the household costs of books, transportation, school meals, uniforms, pens, pencils, and sports equipment (para.49), it did not include tutoring, which in some settings and grades demanded more finance than all these categories added together.

The third Special Rapporteur, who served from 2010 to 2016, addressed issues of privatization more strongly and comprehensively. In his 2014 report to the United Nations General Assembly, he included specific mention of private tutoring (Singh, 2014). He observed (para.59) that 'The practice of private tutoring in private and public schools has far-reaching implications for school education services and social inequalities', and (para.60) that 'Regulations for tutoring companies are only beginning to catch up with those for schools, but are arguably almost as important'. Pointing a way forward, he suggested (para.60) that issues could be discussed by parliamentary committees or commissions on education, to safeguard education as a public good.

The Special Rapporteur repeated these sentiments the following year in his report to the Human Rights Council (Singh, 2015). His observations included (para.93) that 'few Governments have satisfactory regulations on tutoring by private tutorial companies'. Yet although the overall sentiments about privatization were taken seriously, the annual resolution 29/7 adopted the same year (United Nations, Human Rights Council, 2015, p.2) merely urged Member States to monitor private education providers and hold accountable those whose practices had a negative impact on the enjoyment of the right to education. In the same vein, although issues relating to privatization of education were raised by successor Special Rapporteurs (Boly Barry, 2019; Shaheed, 2023), their reports mainly focused on schooling without specific attention to private tutoring.

With such matters in mind, the present document again places private tutoring more firmly on the table. It does so with recognition that even in 1948 many dimensions of human rights were controversial, and that the word 'compulsory' was saved by a majority vote of just one (Tomasevski, 2003, p.42). In the Universal Declaration, the dimension of free provision then followed because delegates argued that elementary education could only be compulsory if it was free. Nevertheless, whatever the political wrangling and misgivings at the time, the fact remains that article 26.1 of the Universal Declaration declared. Thus, in 1948 the word 'compulsory' was saved by a majority vote of just one. In the Universal Declaration,

the dimension of free provision then followed because delegates argued that elementary education could only be compulsory if it was free.

Nevertheless, whatever the political wrangling and misgivings at the time, the fact remains that Article 26.1 declared that everyone has the right to education; that education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages; that elementary education shall be compulsory; that technical and professional education shall be made generally available; and that higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. This indeed set a powerful agenda for the decades ahead.

However, more recent times have brought recognition that some concepts in the right to education need to evolve. The questions then become how and why. A global event hosted by UNESCO in 2021 opened agendas on this theme (UNESCO, 2021b, 2022b). It gave particular attention to reinforcing quality and inclusion, and to ensuring learning throughout life. The section on non-state actors recognized their crucial role in maintaining access to education during the COVID-19 crisis but added that privatization can create financial burdens and can lead to low quality education when it is not well-regulated. For these and other reasons, the documentation recalled the 2019 Abidjan Principles, stressing that 'States must adopt and enforce effective regulatory measures to ensure the right to education where private actors are involved' (UNESCO, 2021b, p.30). A sequel Formal Dialogue (UNESCO, 2023b) took issues further, this time mentioning private tutoring (UNESCO, 2023c, pp.73-74; 2024b, p.10). However, the focus remained at the level of mention rather than detailed analysis.

> Discussions about human rights should take account of tutoring as well as other forms of private education.

Further attention to regulations

The challenge then concerns the way forward in the specific domain of private tutoring. Taking the cue from Singh's (2015) report, from the Abidjan Principles (2019), and from the UNESCO dialogues (2021b, 2023b), a major focus does indeed need to be placed on regulations. As noted in Chapter 4, the majority of countries have no specific regulations on private tutoring; and the countries that do have regulations commonly have shortcomings in both design and implementation. In this domain, much can again be learned from comparative analysis.

Beginning with an extreme, lessons may be learned from two cases in which governments have attempted a complete ban on private supplementary tutoring. The first is the Republic of Korea, in which the authorities have had longstanding concerns. Multiple directives from the Ministry of Education during the 1950s led to a Presidential declaration that persons who provided extracurricular courses 'would receive the full penalty of the law' (Seth, 2002, p.143). Much private tutoring continued, however, leading to another policy climax in 1980 with a renewed and more rigorously-policed prohibition (Jo, 2013, p.81). In a follow-up to the 1980 ban, in 1981 even the sale of supplementary learning materials was prohibited. However, much tutoring continued underground and at higher prices. In the face of public opinion, the government relaxed the ban by stages, but then in 1995 introduced new legislation to enforce restrictions. Finally, in 2000 the highest legal authorities declared the prohibition of private tutoring impermissible on the grounds of infringing parental rights (Republic of Korea, Constitutional Court, 2000, para.3). Faced with this ruling, the Korean government had to revisit its policies. Private tutoring was again officially permitted, and bounced back to even greater magnitudes. The government's revised approach was again to try to make private tutoring unnecessary through improved public provision, but the forces of social competition nevertheless continued to drive the sector with very high enrolment rates and expenditures. As noted in Table 1, in 2023 private tutoring enrolment rates were 64.6% among elementary students, 66.3% among middle school students, 56.1% among high school students, and 63.1% among general high school students (KOSIS, 2024).

The second case, with a parallel story, is from Türkiye. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the country experienced significant expansion of private tutoring in the 1960s, leading to official efforts during the 1980s and again during the 2010s to scale back the sector. In 2014 the government announced that, following a transition period, all private tutorial centres would be closed (Demirer, 2015, pp.266-267). Again, however, the matter was taken to the Constitutional Court which ruled that phasing out of private tutorial centres (*dershanes*) was unconstitutional 'in regards to the individual's right to education' (Anadolu Agency, 2015). This ruling was later softened, thereby permitting much resumption of tutoring (Ulusoy, 2021), but it nevertheless remained significant.

> A complete ban on tutoring is not a realistic option. But a laissez faire approach is also problematic.

Elsewhere, government policies to prohibit private tutoring have not been taken to constitutional courts, but have similarly proven unrealistic. An example is the general ban on fee-charging private tutoring announced in Kenya in 1995 (Mogaka, 2014, p.1). This ban was reiterated in 1999 (Wanyama & Njeru 2004, p.1), but later quietly abandoned because it had been impossible to enforce.[12]

As such, recommended policies on regulation would be less than a complete ban but more than a laissez faire approach. This, of course leaves a huge range of possibilities. Detailed advice is beyond the scope of this report, and decisions must rely on the visions and capacities of individual governments at national and possibly sub-national levels.

Finding balances

The contextual frame must also consider broader issues about the natures and purposes of education. Although the EFA agenda set in 1990 did include focus on early childhood care, improvement of learning achievement, and the reduction of adult illiteracy, its main focus was on universal access to, and completion of, primary education. A similar remark applies to the renewed agenda set in 2000. The education component of the MDGs devised in the same year focused only on primary education, and in practice this meant primary schooling. For most Ministries of Education, further developments beyond the primary level have also focused on schooling, and then universities and other higher institutions, rather than broader forms of education and learning. Yet as noted by UNESCO's report on the Futures of Education (2021c, p.92), 'how schools are designed is not neutral and reflects assumptions about learning, success, achievement, and relationship'. To some extent, the rise of shadow education reflects qualitative shortcomings and rigidities in schooling. The qualitative shortcomings lead at least some parents to seek supplementation, and the rigidities include excessive emphasis on academic learning.

In this situation schooling, particularly in the public sector, may feel threatened by the rise of shadow education. Singh's (2014) report to the United Nations General Assembly warned about the danger of privatization 'supplanting public education instead of supplementing it'. He was referring more to private schools competing with public schools, but his remark could equally apply to private tutoring. In such countries as Egypt, India, Myanmar and Türkiye, students deliberately skip schooling, particularly in the upper secondary grades immediately prior to high-stakes examinations, because they consider it a waste of time when they could be in tutorial lessons (Altinyelken, 2013; Bray et al., 2024; Sobhy, 2023).

In other settings, tutoring has displaced schooling even at the level of primary schooling. Chapter 1 reported the 71.5% private tutoring enrolment rate for Grades 1-8 in rural Bihar (India) in 2022, and noted the remark by Pratham (2023, p.20) that it was 'entirely possible' that the supplementary help from tutoring had restricted the learning loss from COVID-19. However, another side of this picture was abysmal quality in public schools, which in effect drove away most children with the ability to move. A 2023 survey of 81 primary and upper-primary public schools in north Bihar revealed 'a serious failure to ensure even minimum norms', with 'inadequate resources, ineffective policies and indifferent action' even before the pandemic (Tewary, 2023). Yet although the tutorial centres had attracted large numbers of children, even they were described by the report as 'cheap' and 'dingy'.

At the other end of the scale, and very different in contexts and levels of resourcing, are schools in prosperous countries that feel threatened by the shadow education sector. Sydney's leading newspaper in New South Wales, Australia, has published several articles about the growing scale and impact of private tutoring (e.g. Carroll, 2024a, 2024b). Parallel reports are available in the academic literature (e.g. Doecke, 2023).

The juxtaposition of low-income rural Bihar and high-income urban New South Wales helps to underline that some issues of private tutoring have global commonalities. In both these and all other locations, private tutoring raises issues of social stratification and backwash on schooling.

12 While the general ban on tutoring was abandoned, a 2013 amendment to the Education Act (Kenya, 2013, section 37) prohibited private coaching during school holidays. Yet this prohibition also proved difficult to enforce.

For policy-makers seeking to address the challenges, one obvious route would seem to lie in (further) improvement of the quality and perhaps flexibility of schooling. Indeed, as also noted in UNESCO's Futures of Education Report (2021c, p.58): 'Despite the massive expansion of access to primary education across the world between 1990 and 2020, there remains much to be done to strengthen quality in every area of learning, making full use of participatory and collaborative pedagogies'.

> Issues of private tutoring are global, albeit with different emphases in different contexts.

Yet the reality is that the world has become increasingly competitive, and notions that education can be a marketised good accessible as either a supplement or a substitute for public schooling are increasingly accepted across the globe. Thus, to echo a core message from Zhang (2023, p.113): 'Shadow education is here to stay'. It can be steered and possibly reduced in scale, but will not go away. This again brings the theme back to regulation – and also to partnerships.

Partnerships for shared futures

Regulations and other dimensions of policy are more likely to be effective when all parties agree on their orientations and value. Thus, both design and implementation of regulations can be greatly enhanced through consultation and partnership. This strategy would also be in the long-term interests of the tutoring providers, since they would be able to operate in contexts of enhanced social trust and stability.

This observation links back to matters of self-regulation by tutoring providers, mentioned in Chapter 4. Providers are more likely to engage in self-regulation when they perceive threats of external regulation by governments; but self-regulation can pre-empt the need for fierce external regulation. Self-regulation can enhance public confidence in the tutoring industry, in turn reducing the likelihood of negative perceptions and enhancing longer-term stability. To be realistic, tutoring providers like all other actors (including, as noted in the Introduction, providers of advertising, textbooks, computer equipment, transportation, management of premises, and perhaps even food for tutees and supporting personnel) may have short-term horizons and wish to cash in on opportunities. However, they should also be warned about the consequences of short-term opportunism as evidenced, for example, by advertisement wars in China that contributed to a sharp regulatory intervention by the government (Zhang, 2023, p.68).

> Since shadow education is here to stay, the way forward lies in dialogue and perhaps partnerships.

Thus, again the value of partnerships for the wider goal of social development is emphasized. One of the 'key takeways' from the Formal Dialogue on the Initiative of the Evolving Right to Education in a Lifelong Learning Perspective (UNESCO, 2024b, p.10) provides a way to conclude this report and to extend the stage for further development. The report stressed that the discussions:

> Underscored a need for policies and regulations that are not only well-crafted but also sensitive to the diverse and evolving needs of all learners. In this regard, the participation of teachers, parents, communities, and learners themselves was seen as vital. A shift towards such a participatory approach would not only cater to the diverse needs of learners, but also remain agile and responsive to the ever-evolving demands of the 21st century educational paradigm and the need for a new social contract for education.

Private supplementary tutoring has expanded in an increasingly competitive world in which government resources are stretched and marketization is increasingly evident. The way forward lies not in *laissez faire* approaches that ignore the phenomenon but in dialogues that hold in view the themes not only of learning and individual development but also of broader social development.

References

Abdel-Moneim, Mohamed Alaa (2021). In search of a school façade: Explaining the centrality of private tutoring among high-performing students in Egypt. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *83*, pp.1-14. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0738059321000377

Abidjan Principles (2019). *The Abidjan Principles*. https://www.abidjanprinciples.org/en/principles/overview

Adamson, Frank; Aubry, Sylvain; de Koning, Mireille & Dorsi, Delphine (eds.) (2023). *Realizing the Abidjan Principles on the Right to Education: Human Rights, Public Education, and the Role of Private Actors in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. https://www.abidjanprinciples.org/en/resources/background-papers

Alam, Md Bayazid (ed.) (2024). *Shadow Education in Asia: Policies and Practices*. Hershey: IGI Global. https://www.igi-global.com/book/shadow-education-asia/334592

AlHajri, Rashid; AlAjmi, Qasim; AlYahmadi, Hamed & Alwahaib, Ibrahim (2023). The reasons behind the spread of private tutoring in the Sultanate of Oman from teacher's point of view. *Migration Letters*, *21*(1), pp.477-494. https://migrationletters.com/index.php/ml/article/view/5307

Altinyelken, Hülya Koşar (2013). The demand for private tutoring in Turkey: Unintended consequences of curriculum reform. In Bray, Mark; Mazawi, André & Sultana, Ronald (eds.), *Private Tutoring across the Mediterranean: Power Dynamics, and Implications for Learning and Equity*. Rotterdam: Sense, pp.187-204. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-6209-237-2_12

Anadolu Agency (2015). Top court says banning tutoring centers violates right to education, private enterprise. *Hürriyet Daily News*, 24 July. https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/top-court-says-law-banning-tutoring-centers-violates-right-to-education-private-enterprise--85879

ASER Pakistan Secretariat (2024). *Annual Status of Education – ASER-Pakistan 2023 – National Rural-Urban*. Lahore: Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA). https://aserpakistan.org/document/2024/booklet_national_urban_rural.pdf

Assaad, Ragui & Krafft, Caroline (2015). Is free basic education in Egypt a reality or a myth? *International Journal of Educational Development*, *45*(1), pp.16-30. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0738059315000991

Aurini, Janice; Missaghian, Rod & Milian, Roger Pizarro (2020). Educational status hierarchies, after-school activities, and parenting logics: Lessons from Canada. *Sociology of Education*, *93*(2), pp.173-189. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0038040720908173

ATA [Australian Tutoring Association] (2024). Member code of conduct. https://ata.edu.au/about-us/member-code-of-conduct/, accessed 14 April 2024.

Ball, Stephen J. & Youdell, Deborah (2008). *Hidden Privatisation in Public Education*. Brussels: Education International.https://www.right-to-education.org/resource/hidden-privatisation-public-education

Batatota, Laura Shamali (2023). Becoming somebody: Exploring aspirations and pathways to social mobility amongst youth in Sri Lanka. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2023.2205544

Bisson-Vaivre, Claude; Bouvier, Alain & Klépal, Isabelle (2023). Éditorial : La marchandisation de l'éducation. *Administration et Éducation*, 180, pp.7-12.

Boly Barry, Koumbou (2019). *Right to Education: The Implementation of the Right to Education and Sustainable Development Goal 4 in the Context of the Growth of Private Actors in Education.* Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education. Human Rights Council, Forty-first session, Agenda item 3, A/HRC/41/37. https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/41/37

Bray, Mark (1999). *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000180205?posInSet=2&queryId=7b430433-89e3-4a12-8488-38dc79c0c03a

Bray, Mark (2009). *Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring?*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000185106?posInSet=2&queryId=1511cb41-bb1f-47ac-9649-b382ac54bc43

Bray, Mark (2021a). Shadow education in Europe: Growing prevalence, underlying forces, and policy implications. *ECNU Review of Education*, *4*(3), pp.442-475. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2096531119890142

Bray, Mark (2021b). *Shadow Education in Africa: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Policy Implications*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong. https://cerc.edu.hku.hk/books/shadow-education-in-africa-private-supplementary-tutoring-and-its-policy-implications/

Bray, Mark (2023). Shadow education in Asia and the Pacific: Features and implications of private supplementary tutoring. In Lee, Wing-On; Brown, Phillip; Goodwin, A. Lin & Green, Andy (eds.), *International Handbook on Education Development in the Asia-Pacific*. Singapore: Springer, pp.159-181. https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-981-19-6887-7_10#chapter-info

Bray, Mark & Baba-Moussa, Abdel Rahamane (2023). Measuring private tutoring: Methodological lessons and insights from Francophone Africa'. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, pp.1-16. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03057925.2023.2246375

Bray, Mark & Hajar, Anas (2023). *Shadow Education in the Middle East: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Policy Implications*. London: Routledge. https://cerc.edu.hku.hk/books/shadow-education-in-the-middle-east-private-supplementary-tutoring-and-its-policy-implications/

Bray, Mark & Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa (2014). Measurement issues in research on shadow education: Challenges and pitfalls encountered in TIMSS and PISA. *Comparative Education Review*, *58*(4), pp.590-620. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/677907

Bray, Mark; Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa & Suter, Larry E. (2020). The challenges of measuring outside-school-time educational activities: Experiences and lessons from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). *Comparative Education Review*, *64*(1), pp.87-106. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/706776

Bray, Mark; Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa & Kwo, Ora (2020). *Shadow Education in Myanmar: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Policy Implications*. Yangon: UNESCO and Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong. https://cerc.edu.hku.hk/books/shadow-education-in-myanmar-private-supplementary-tutoring-and-its-policy-implications/

Bray, Mark; Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa; Liu Junyan & Zhang Wei (2016). The internal dynamics of privatised public education: Fee-charging supplementary tutoring provided by teachers in Cambodia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *49*, pp.291-299. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0738059316300402

Bray, Mark & Kwo, Ora (2014). *Regulating Private Tutoring for Public Good: Policy Options for Supplementary Education in Asia*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, and Bangkok: UNESCO. https://cerc.edu.hku.hk/books/regulating-private-tutoring-for-public-good-policy-options-for-supplementary-education-asia/

Bray, Mark & Ventura, Alexandre (2022). Multiple systems, multiple shadows: Diversity of supplementary tutoring received by private-school students in Dubai. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *92*, pp.1-8. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0738059322000748

Bray, Mark & Lykins, Chad (2012). Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Implications for Policy Makers in Asia. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Bray, Mark & Ventura, Alexandre (2024). Shadow education in Latin America: Assembling the jigsaw. *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, *82*(288), pp.193-220. https://reunir.unir.net/bitstream/handle/123456789/16778/REP_288_ENG_Shadow%20education%20in%20Latin%20America.pdf?sequence=2

Buhagiar, Michael A. & Chetcuti, Deborah A. (2013). The private tuition phenomenon in Malta: Moving toward a fairer education system. In Bray, Mark; Mazawi, André & Sultana, Ronald (eds.), *Private Tutoring across the Mediterranean: Power Dynamics, and Implications for Learning and Equity*. Rotterdam: Sense, pp.129-149. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-6209-237-2_8

Bukaliya, Richard (2021). The impact of extra lessons on the political environment: A case study of the three urban day high schools in Chegutu, Zimbabwe. *African Educational Research Journal*, *9*(2), pp.620-629. https://www.netjournals.org/pdf/AERJ/2021/2/21-014.pdf

Burch, Patricia (2021). *Hidden Markets: Public Policy and the Push to Privatize Education*. London: Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/Hidden-Markets-Public-Policy-and-the-Push-to-Privatize-Education/Burch/p/book/9780367366186

Caerus Capital (2017). *The Business of Education in Africa*. Calgary: Caerus Capital. https://www.idpfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Business-of-Education-in-Africa-Report.pdf

Carroll, Lucy (2024a). Coaching colleges target selective students and 'undermine' HSC. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 January. https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/coaching-colleges-target-selective-students-and-undermine-hsc-20231227-p5etx3.html

Carroll, Lucy (2024b). 'Cease and desist': The top Sydney school taking on private coaching colleges. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 February. https://www.reddit.com/r/SMHauto/comments/1avcu3g/au_cease_and_desist_the_top_sydney_school_taking/

Ceylon (1943). *Report of the Special Committee on Education*. Sessional Paper XXIV. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press. https://www.educationforum.lk/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Report_Kannangara_1943.pdf

CESE (Centre for Education Statistics and Evaluation) (2023). *Covid Intensive Learning Support Program: Phase 3 Evaluation Report*. Sydney: New South Wales Department of Education. https://education.nsw.gov.au/about-us/education-data-and-research/cese/publications/cese-evaluations/covid-ilsp-phase-3-evaluation

Chetty, M.; Moloi, M.Q.; Poliah, R.R. & Tshikororo, J. (2017). *The SACMEQ IV Project in South Africa: A Study of the Conditions of Schooling and the Quality of Education*. Pretoria: Department of Basic Education. https://www.education.gov.za/Portals/0/Documents/Reports/SACMEQ%20IV%20Project%20in%20South%20Africa%20Report.pdf?ver=2017-09-08-152617-090

Christensen, Søren (2022). Singapore: Shadow curriculum between "Private Tuition" and "Enrichment". In Kim, Young Chun & Jung, Jung-Hoon (eds.), *Theorizing Shadow Education and Academic Success in East Asia: Understanding the Meaning, Value, and Use of Shadow Education by East Asian Students*. London: Routledge, pp.175-191. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003097860-10/singapore-s%C3%B8ren-christensen

Christensen, Søren & Zhang, Wei (2021). Shadow education in the Nordic Countries: An Emerging Phenomenon in Comparative Perspective. *ECNU Review of Education*, 4(3): 431-441. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/20965311211037925

Cole, Rachel (2017). Estimating the impact of private tutoring on academic performance: Primary students in Sri Lanka, *Education Economics*, *25*(2), pp.142-157. https://doi.org/10.1080/09645292.2016.1196163

Cullinane, Carl & Montacute, Rebecca (2023). *Tutoring - The New Landscape: Recent Trends in Private and School-based Tutoring*. London: Sutton Trust. https://www.suttontrust.com/our-research/tutoring-2023-the-new-landscape/

Dawson, Walter (2010). Private tutoring and mass schooling in East Asia: Reflections of inequality in Japan, South Korea, and Cambodia. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *11*(1), pp.14-24. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12564-009-9058-4

Demirer, Derya Keskin (2015). Reproduction of inequality through private out-of-school education. In Carmo, Mafaldo (ed.), *Education Applications and Developments*. Lisboa: inSciencePress, pp.259-269. https://press3.insciencepress.org/index.php/press/catalog/download/10/20/251-1?inline=1

Dhall, Mohan (2011). Trends and issues with private tuition: A global perspective. National Tutoring Association Newsletter. (Winter) 1: 5-15. http://www.ntatutor.org.

Doecke, Esther (2023). Family strategies of educational advantage in the Australian and German school systems: a comparative analysis, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, pp.1-16. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2023.2220070

Dwarkan, L. (2017). *SACMEQ IV Study Mauritius: A Study of the Conditions of Schooling and the Quality of Education*. Port Louis: Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). http://www.seacmeq.org/sites/default/files/sacmeq/publications/final_sacmeq_4_report_mauritius.pdf

Edwards, D. Brent; Moschetti, Mauro C. & Caravaca, Alejandro (2023). *Globalization, Privatization, and the State: Contemporary Education Reform in Post-colonial Contexts*. London: Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/Globalization-Privatization-and-the-State-Contemporary-Education-Reform-in-Post-Colonial-Contexts/EdwardsJr-Moschetti-Caravaca/p/book/9780367460822

Ellis-Thompson, Amy; King, Liberty & Cinnamon, Jed (2021). *National Tutoring Programme Tuition Partners: Year 1 (2020-21) – Reflections on Scaling Interventions to Create System Change*. London: Education Endowment Foundation. https://d2tic4wvo1iusb.cloudfront.net/production/documents/guidance-for-teachers/covid-19/NTP_TP_Year_1_Reflections.pdf?v=1713544842

Galvão, Fernando Visotto (2022). *Uma análise das práticas de ensino suplementar no contexto Brasileiro.* PhD thesis, University of São Paulo. https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/48/48139/tde-17052022-135747/pt-br.php

Guo, Yuhe; Chen, Qihui; Zhai, Shenying & Pei, Chunchen (2020). Does private tutoring improve student learning in China? Evidence from the China Education Panel Survey. *Asia and Pacific Policy Studies*, *7*, pp.322-343. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/app5.310

Hajar, Anas & Karakus, Mehmet (2024a). An inevitable phenomenon: A bibliographic analysis of shadow education research (1982-2022). In Wiseman, Alexander W. (ed.), *Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2022*. Leeds: Emerald, pp.193-213. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-36792023000046A014

Hajar, Anas & Karakus, Mehmet (2024b). Coming out of the shadows: Investing in English private tutoring at a transition point in Kazakhstan's education system during the global pandemic. *The Language Learning Journal*, pp.1-14. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09571736.2023.2213244

Hajar, Anas & Tabaeva, Almira (2024). Being participatory: Employing geographic lenses to understand young people's experiences of private supplementary tutoring in Uzbekistan, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, pp.1-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2024.2333520

Hawrot, Anna (2024). Do school-related factors affect private tutoring attendance? Predictors of private tutoring in Maths and German among German tenth-graders. *Research Papers in Education*, *39*(1), 1-23. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02671522.2022.2089209

Herrera, Linda (2022). *Educating Egypt: Civic Values and Ideological Struggles*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press. https://www.amazon.com/Educating-Egypt-Values-Ideological-Struggles/dp/1649031025

Hong Kong (2003). *Changes in the regulatory control of private schools offering non-formal curriculum*. Paper No. CB(2)312/03-04(01). Hong Kong: Legislative Council Panel on Education. http://www.edb.gov.hk/attachment/en/edu-system/other-edu-training/non-formal-curriculum/ed1117cb2-312-1e.pdf

Inkei, Péter with Koncz, Gábor & Pocze, Gábor (1988). *The Diversification of the Educational Field in Hungary*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000079549

Inter-Agency Commission (1990). *World Conference on Education for All: Final Report*. New York: Inter-Agency Commission, World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA). unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000097551/PDF/097551eng.pdf.multi

Jangra, Anubhav; Mozafari, Jamshid; Jatowt, Adam & Muresan, Smaranda (2024). *Navigating the Landscape of Hint Generation Research: From the Past to the Future*. Ithaca: Cornell University, pp.1-19. https://arxiv.org/abs/2404.04728

Jayachandran, Seema (2014). Incentives to teach badly: After-school tutoring in developing countries. *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol.108, pp.190-205. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0304387814000285

Jung, Jung-Hoon; Bang, Gi Hong & Kim, Young Chun (2022). Posthuman learning culture and internet-based private tutoring in South Korea: Implications for online instruction in public schooling. *Sustainability*, *14*, pp.1-20. https://doi.org/10.3390/su142114566

Joynathsing, M., Mansoor, M., Nababsing, V., Pochun, M. & Selwyn, P. (1988). *The Private Costs of Education in Mauritius*. Réduit: School of Administration, University of Mauritius. https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/1839604

Kafe, Emmanuel (2020). Greedy Teachers Tempting Covid-19 Fate. *Sunday Mail*, 26 April. https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/greedy-teachers-tempting-covid-19-fate

Kale, Pratima (1970). The guru and the professional: The dilemma of the secondary school teacher in Poona, India. *Comparative Education Review*, *14*(3), pp.371-376. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1186149

Kany, Nicklas (2021). The rise of private tutoring in Denmark: An entrepreneur's perspectives and experiences. *ECNU Review of Education*, *4*(3), pp.630-639. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/20965311211038560

Kassotakis, Michael & Verdis, Athanasios (2013). Shadow education in Greece: Characteristics, consequences and eradication efforts. In Bray, Mark; Mazawi, André & Sultana, Ronald (eds.), *Private Tutoring across the Mediterranean: Power Dynamics, and Implications for Learning and Equity*. Rotterdam: Sense, pp.93-113. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-6209-237-2_6

Katsillis, Michail (2020). *Factors and Processes of Educational and Social Stratification in Greece: The Role of Shadow Education*. PhD thesis, University of Oxford. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:db6fed91–4f17–4469–9f00–13119c9a78cb

Kellaghan, Thomas & Greaney, Vincent (2019). *Public Examinations Examined*. Washington DC: The World Bank. https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/208231572358210940/public-examinations-examined

Kenya, Government of (2013). *The Basic Education Act, 2013*. Nairobi: Government Printer. http://www.parliament.go.ke/sites/default/files/2017-05/BasicEducationActNo_14of2013.pdf

Kenya, Ministry of Education (2019). *Sessional Paper No.1 of 2019 on A Policy Framework for Reforming Education and Training for Sustainable Development in Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printer. https://repository.kippra.or.ke/handle/123456789/3020

Khaydarov, Sherzod (2020). Shadow education in Uzbekistan: Teachers' perceptions of private tutoring in the context of academic lyceums. *Orbis Scholae*, *14*(2), pp.81-104. https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=913445

Kim, Sunwoong & Lee, Ju-Ho (2010). Private tutoring and demand for education in South Korea. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *58*(2), pp.259-296. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/648186

Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa (2018a). (Un)regulating shadow education in West Asia: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. In Kennedy, Kerry J. & Lee, John C. K. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Schools and Schooling in Asia*. London: Routledge, pp.355-363. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315694382-33/un-regulating-shadow-education-west-asia-magda-nutsa-kobakhidze

Kobakhidze, Magda Nutsa (2018b). *Teachers as Tutors: Shadow Education Dynamics in Georgia*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, and Cham: Springer. https://cerc.edu.hku.hk/books/teachers-as-tutors-shadow-education-market-dynamics-in-georgia/

KOSIS [Korean Statistical Information Service] (2024). Private Education Participation Rate by School Level. https://kosis.kr/statHtml/statHtml.do?orgId=101&tblId=DT_1PE003&vw_cd=MT_ETITLE&list_id=O15_7&scrId=&language=en&seqNo=&lang_mode=en&obj_var_id=&itm_id=&conn_path=MT_ETITLE&path=%252Feng%252FstatisticsList%252FstatisticsListIndex.do, accessed 20 March 2024.

Kotarski, Hubert (2020). Cultural and social factors determining the use of private tutoring services in Poland. *New Trends and Issues Proceedings on Humanities and Social Sciences. 7*(3), pp.1-9. https://un-pub.eu/ojs/index.php/pntsbs/article/view/5012

Krafft, Caroline (2015). Educational experiences of youth in Egypt: Who attends school, who succeeds, and who struggles. In Roushdy, Rania & Sieverding, Maia (eds.), *Panel Survey of Young People in Egypt 2014: Generating Evidence for Policy, Programs, and Research*. Cairo: Population Council, pp.31-50. https://www.academia.edu/50543159/Panel_Survey_of_Young_People_in_Egypt_SYPE_2014_Generating_evidence_for_policy_programs_and_research

Krylova, Natalia G. & Tikhomirova, Elena V. (2024). Features of psychological readiness for the unified state exam of high school students using tutor service. *Yaroslavl Pedagogical Bulletin*. 1(136), pp.207-217. [in Russian] https://vestnik.yspu.org/releases/2024_1/21.pdf

Laaksonen, Linda Maria & Kosunen, Sonja (2024). Exploring private supplementary tutoring in Finnish general upper secondary education, *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 1-3. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/20020317.2024.2302195

Lamprianou, Iasonas & Lamprianou, Thekla Afantiti (2013). Charting private tutoring in Cyprus: A socio-demographic perspective. In Bray, Mark; Mazawi, André & Sultana, Ronald (eds.), *Private Tutoring across the Mediterranean: Power Dynamics, and Implications for Learning and Equity*. Rotterdam: Sense, pp.29-56. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-6209-237-2_3

Lynch, Sarah; Aston, Katherine; Bradley, Eleanor; Morton, Chris; Smith, Andrew; Segura, Juan Manuel Del Pozo & Lord, Pippa (2023). *Evaluation of the National Tutoring Programme Year 3: Implementation and Process Evaluation*. London: Department for Education. https://www.nfer.ac.uk/publications/evaluation-of-the-national-tutoring-programme-year-3-implementation-and-process-evaluation/

Mahmud, Rafsan & Bray, Mark (2017). School factors underlying demand for private supplementary tutoring in English: Urban and rural variations in Bangladesh. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *37*(3), pp.229-309. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02188791.2017.1321525

Mehendale, Archana (2020). *Regulation of Private Schools in India: An Analysis of the Legal Frameworks*. New Delhi: Oxfam India. https://www.oxfamindia.org/knowledgehub/workingpaper/regulation-private-schools-india-analysis-legal-frameworks

Mikhaylova, Tatiana (2022). *Shifting Shadows: Private Tutoring and the Formation of Education in Imperial, Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*. Uppsala Studies in Education No.144, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. https://www.uu.se/en/events/defences/2022-05-20-tatiana-mikhaylova-shifting-shadows-private-tutoring-and-the-formation-of-education-in-imperial-soviet-and-post-soviet-russia

Mishra, Samiran (2024). "This is the last option": 18-year-old student dies by suicide in Kota. *India News*, 29 January. https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/i-am-loser-another-student-dies-by-suicide-in-rajasthans-kota-4952956#pfrom=home-ndtv_bigstory

Mogaka, Ayieko George (2014). *Factors that Influence the Need for Private Supplementary Tuition in Secondary Schools: A Case Study of Selected Schools in Borabu District of Nyamira County, Kenya*. MEd dissertation, University of Nairobi. http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/handle/11295/73974;jsessionid=8E56170284F50C33CB68F7479B309EDC

Moreno, Albertina; Nheze, Ismael; Lauchande, Carlos; Manhica, Glória; Mateus, Celso; Afo, Lúcio; Nahara, Trindade & Flávio Magaia (2017). *The SACMEQ IV Project in Mozambique: A Study of the Conditions of Schooling and the Quality of Primary Education in Mozambique*. Maputo: National Institute for Education Development. https://learningportal.iiep.unesco.org/es/biblioteca/the-sacmeq-iv-project-in-mozambique-a-study-of-the-conditions-of-schooling-and-the http://www.seacmeq.org/sites/default/files/sacmeq/publications/sacmeq_iv_international_report.pdf

Moreno, Juan Manuel (2022). A perfect storm: High-stakes examination and private tutoring in Egypt. *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, *40*, pp.146-161. https://revistas.uned.es/index.php/REEC/article/view/31510

Moreno, Juan Manuel & Martínez, Ángel (2023). *Educación en la Sombra en España: Una radiografía del mercado de clases particulares por etapa escolar, renta de los hogares, titularidad de centro y Comunidad Autónoma*. Madrid: Esade Centre for Economic Policy. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/367254603_Educacion_en_la_Sombra_en_Espana_Una_radiografia_del_mercado_de_clases_particulares_por_etapa_escolar_renta_de_los_hogares_titularidad_de_centro_y_Comunidad_Autonoma

Özdere, Mustafa (2021). The demand for private tutoring in Turkey: An analysis of private tutoring participation and spending. *Journal of Education and Learning*, *10*(3), pp.96-111. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1300440.pdf

Pallegedera, Asankha (2018). Private tutoring expenditure: An empirical analysis based on Sri Lankan households. *Review of Development Economics*, *22*, pp.1278-1295. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/rode.12384

Pratham (2023). *Annual Status of Education Report (Rural) 2022*. New Delhi: ASER Centre. https://img.asercentre.org/docs/ASER%202022%20report%20pdfs/All%20India%20documents/aserreport2022.pdf

Republic of Korea, Constitutional Court (2000). *Extracurricular Lesson Ban* Case. 12-1 KCCR 427, 98Hun-Ka16, 98Hun-Ma429 (consolidated), April 27. Seoul: The Constitutional Court of Korea. https://www.scourt.go.kr/

Samuel, Michael Anthony & Mariaye, Hyleen (2020). Schooling education in Mauritius: Negotiated connectivities. In Sarangapani, Padma M. & Pappu, Rekha (eds.), *Handbook of Education Systems in South Asia*. Singapore: Springer, pp.1-31. https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-981-13-3309-5_54-1

Santalova, Antonina & Põder, Kaire (2024) (eds.), *Privatisation in and of Public Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://academic.oup.com/book/56174

Sato, Yuji (ed.) (2012). 学習塾百年の歴史・塾団体五十年史 [*One Hundred Years of Juku and Fifty Years of Juku Associations*]. Tokyo: Federation of Private Tutoring Associations.

Sebastian, Meryl (2024). India's once most valuable start-up is fighting to survive. *BBC News*, 11 March. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-68399872

Sellami, Abdellatif (2019). *Qatar Education Study 2018: Private Tutoring Report*. Doha: Social & Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI), Qatar University. https://www.qu.edu.qa/static_file/qu/SESRI/Private%20Tutoring%20Report_English_Final[89].pdf

Sen, Amartya (2010). Primary Schooling in West Bengal. *Prospects*, 40: 311-320. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11125-010-9164-4

Seth, Michael J. (2002). *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. https://uhpress.hawaii.edu/title/education-fever-society-politics-and-the-pursuit-of-schooling-in-south-korea/

Shaheed, Farida (2023). *Securing the Right to Education: Advances and Critical Challenges.* Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education. Human Rights Council, Fifty-third session, Agenda item 3, A/HRC/53/27. https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/53/27

Sieverding, Maia; Krafft, Caroline & Elbadawy, Asmaa (2019). An exploration of the drivers of private tutoring in Egypt. *Comparative Education Review*, *63*(4), pp.562-590. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/705383

Silova, Iveta (ed.) (2009). *Private Supplementary Tutoring in Central Asia: New Opportunities and Burdens*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000185116

Silova, Iveta; Būdienė, Virginija & Bray, Mark (eds.) (2006). *Education in a Hidden Marketplace: Monitoring of Private Tutoring*. New York: Open Society Institute. https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/education-hidden-marketplace-monitoring-private-tutoring

Singh, Harsha Kumari (2023). 2 suicides in Kota in 2 days, both teens came to coaching hub 2 months ago. *NDTV India News*, 28 June. https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/kota-suicides-2-suicides-in-kota-in-2-days-both-teens-came-to-coaching-hub-2-months-ago-4158854#pfrom=home-ndtv_topscroll

Singh, Kishore (2014). *Right to Education*. Sixty-ninth session, Agenda item 68 (b), 'Promotion and protection of human rights: human rights questions, including alternative approaches for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms', A/69/402. New York: United Nations General Assembly. https://undocs.org/en/A/69/402

Singh, Kishore (2015). *Protecting the Right to Education against Commercialization*. Human Rights Council, Twenty-ninth session, Agenda item 3, 'Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development', A/HRC/29/30. https://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/29/30

Sobhy, Hania (2023). *Schooling the Nation: Education and Everyday Politics in Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/schooling-the-nation/C17A639E1EF9E1448842B6ACEA6216F5

Šťastný, Vít (2021). Shadow education: a double-edged sword for Czech mainstream schools in the competitive educational market. *Research Papers in Education*, *37*(6), pp.1042-1063. https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2021.1907777

Tan, Jason (2009). Private tutoring in Singapore: Bursting out of the shadows. *Journal of Youth Studies* [Hong Kong], *12*(1), pp.93-103. https://openurl.ebsco.com/EPDB%3Agcd%3A7%3A21611399/detailv2?sid=ebsco%3Aplink%3Ascholar&id=ebsco%3Agcd%3A43823138&crl=c

Tan, Jason (2019). Equity and Meritocracy in Singapore. In Teng, Siao See; Manzon, Maria & Poon, Kenneth K. (eds), *Equity in Excellence: Experiences of East Asian High-Performing Education Systems* (pp.111-125). Singapore: Springer. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-13-2975-3_8

Tansel, Aysit & Bircan, Fatma (2008). *Private Supplementary Tutoring in Turkey: Recent Evidence on its Various Aspects*. Discussion Paper No.3471. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1122804

Tewary, Armanath (2023). Primary, upper primary govt. schools in Bihar in danger of being replaced by cheap, dingy tuition centres, says report. *The Hindu*, 4 August. https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/primary-upper-primary-govt-schools-in-bihar-in-danger-of-being-replaced-by-cheap-dingy-tuition-centres-says-report/article67158490.ece

Tomasevski, Katarina (2000). Progress report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education. Commission on Human Rights, Fifty-sixth session, Item 10 of the provisional agenda. E/CN.4/2000/6. New York: Economic and Social Council, United Nations. https://www.refworld.org/reference/themreport/unchr/2000/en/91744

Tomasevski, Katarina (2003). *Education Denied: Costs and Remedies*. London: Zed Books. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000130097

The Economist (2019). Hungry for knowledge: Private tutors are illegal in North Korea, but thriving. 14 December. https://www.economist.com/asia/2019/12/12/private-tutors-are-illegal-in-north-korea-but-thriving

Ulusoy, Ali D. (2021). Dershaneler geri mi geldi? Pandemide devletin veremediği eğitimi fiilen bu "merdiven altı" dershaneler telafi etmiş. [Are the classrooms back? The education that the state could not provide during the pandemic was actually compensated by these "under-the-stairs" classrooms], 15 September. https://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ali-d-ulusoy/dershaneler-geri-mi-geldi,32470#:~:text=Legal%20olarak%20%C5%9Fu%20anda%20sadece,kanunu%20%C3%B6nce%20k%C4%B1smen%20iptal%20etti

UNESCO (1946). *Constitution*. Paris: UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/en/legal-affairs/constitution?hub=66535

UNESCO (1960). Convention against Discrimination in Education. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000183342

UNESCO (2000). *World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April 2000: Final Report*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000121117?posInSet=5&queryId=d5b87aa2-8272-45f3-99ef-7947cef39605

UNESCO (2015). *Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges*. EFA Global Monitoring Report. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232205?posInSet=1&queryId=3af92de3-87d8-474e-b521-3160493ed812

UNESCO (2021a). *Non-State Actors in Education: Who Chooses? Who Loses?*. Global Education Monitoring Report 2021/2. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000380076?posInSet=11&queryId=90a218dd-393d-4f03-81fc-5db70d54435a

UNESCO (2021b). *The Right to Education in the 21st Century: Background Paper for the International Seminar on the Right to Education*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000381317

UNESCO (2021c). *Reimagining our Futures Together: A New Social Contract for Education*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000379707

UNESCO (2022a). *Global Education Monitoring Report 2022 – South Asia – Non-State Actors in Education: Who Chooses? Who Loses?*. Paris: UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/2022-south-asia

UNESCO (2022b). *The Right to Education in the 21st Century: Findings from the International Seminar on the Evolving Right to Education*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000381108

UNESCO (2023a). *Technology in Education: A Tool on Whose Terms?* Global Education Monitoring Report 2023. Paris: UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/technology

UNESCO (2023b). *Formal Dialogue on the Initiative of the Evolving Right to Education in a Lifelong Learning Perspective*. 14 December. Paris: UNESCO. https://articles.unesco.org/sites/default/files/medias/fichiers/2023/10/evolving-right-to-education-formal-dialogue-cn-en.pdf

UNESCO (2023c). *Bringing into Focus the Future of the Right to Education: Policy-oriented Research Paper as Part of the Initiative on the Evolving Right to Education*. https://articles.unesco.org/sites/default/files/medias/fichiers/2023/12/Future-of-right-to-education-working-document-en.pdf

UNESCO (2024a). *Global Report on Teachers: Addressing Teacher Shortages and Transforming the Profession*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000388832

UNESCO (2024b). *Formal Dialogue on the Initiative of the Evolving Right to Education in a Lifelong Learning Perspective: Synthesis Report*. Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000389309

UNESCO, Global Education Monitoring Report Team (2023). *Can countries afford their national SDG4 benchmarks?*. Policy Paper 49, Paris: UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000385004

United Nations (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: United Nations. https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights

United Nations (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York: United Nations. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf

United Nations (2000). *Millennium Development Goals*. New York: United Nations. https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

United Nations (2015). *Sustainable Development Goals*. New York: United Nations. https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals

United Nations, Human Rights Council (2015). *Resolution adopted by the Human Rights Council on 2 July*. Human Rights Council, Twenty-ninth session. Agenda item 3. A/HRC/RES/29/7. New York: United Nations General Assembly. https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/RES/29/7

Wanyama, Indeje & Njeru, Enos (2004). *The Sociology of Private Tuition*. IPAR Policy Brief, Nairobi: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research, University of Nairobi.

White House, The (2022). *Biden-Harris Administration Launches National Effort to Support Student Success*. Washington DC: The White House. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/07/05/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-launches-national-effort-to-support-student-success/?utm_content=&utm_medium=email&utm_name=&utm_source=govdelivery&utm_term=

Zayed, Hany (2024). The platformization of shadow education and the rise of polymorphous tutoring. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01425692.2024.2433010.

Zhang, Wei (2023). *Taming the Wild Horse of Shadow Education: The Global Expansion of Private Tutoring and Regulatory Responses*. London: Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/Taming-the-Wild-Horse-of-Shadow-Education-The-Global-Expansion-of-Private-Tutoring-and-Regulatory-Responses/Zhang/p/book/9781032331553

Zhang, Wei & Bray, Mark (2020). Comparative research on shadow education: Achievements, challenges, and the agenda ahead. *European Journal of Education*, *55*(3), 322-341. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/ejed.12413

Zhang, Wei & Bray, Mark (2021). A changing environment of urban education: Historical and spatial analysis of private supplementary tutoring in China. *Environment and Urbanization*, *33*(1), 43-62. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0956247820981820#:~:text=It%20highlights%20the%20changing%20scale,and%20is%20shaped%20by%20urbanization

Zhang, Wei & Bray, Mark (2024). Privatization by default: The global expansion and implications of private supplementary tutoring. In Santalova, Antonina & Põder, Kaire (eds.), *Privatisation in and of Public Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.85-104. https://academic.oup.com/book/56174/chapter-abstract/443184254?redirectedFrom=fulltext&login=false

Zhang, Wei & Yamato, Yoko (2018). Shadow education in East Asia: Entrenched but evolving private supplementary tutoring. In Kennedy, Kerry & Lee, John C.K. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook on Schools and Schooling in Asia*. London: Routledge, pp.323-332. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315694382-30/shadow-education-east-asia-wei-zhang-yoko-yamato

Zwier, Dieuwke; Geven, Sara & van de Werfhorst, Herman G. (2021). Social inequality in shadow education: The role of high-stakes testing. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 61(6), pp.412-440. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0020715220984500

unesco
United Nations
Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization

Whose visions for what learning?

Perspectives, policies and practices in private supplementary tutoring

Private supplementary tutoring is a global phenomenon with far-reaching implications. It plays a positive role for some students through increased availability and flexibility of learning options, and expands parental choice. Yet it has potential negative effects including persistent social inequalities, students' academic burdens, strained household budgets, and skewed learning for high-stakes examinations.

Despite the widespread scale of the phenomenon, many governments have laissez faire attitudes. This report points out that regulations are necessary, both for commercial providers and for teachers who offer private supplementary tutoring.

The report also highlights diversity of perspectives among stakeholders, stressing the need for dialogue and the value of partnerships to achieve the common good.

9 789231 007729