

Shadow Education in Africa

Private Supplementary Tutoring and its Policy Implications

Mark Bray

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List of Acronyms

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BoG	Board of Governors
CONFEMEN	Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation des États et Gouvernements de la Francophonie
CPE	Certificate of Primary Education
EFA	Education for All
FCUBE	Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM Report	Global Education Monitoring Report
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
INRE	Institut Nationale de Recherche en Éducation
KG	Kindergarten
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
KSSHA	Kenya Secondary School Heads Association
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	National Parents' Association
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PASEC	Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Éducatifs de la CONFEMEN
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity/Public-Private Partnership
PSAC	Primary School Achievement Certificate
REB	Rwanda Education Board
SACMEQ	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SHS	Senior High School
SMC	School Management Committee
SMS	Short Message Service
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization

UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education
USA	United States of America

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Executive Summary

This study focuses on the so-called shadow education system of private supplementary tutoring. The phenomenon is called shadow education because to a large extent its content mimics that in schooling: as the curriculum changes in the schools, so it changes in the shadow. The two main categories of providers considered are regular teachers offering tutoring as part-time activities to earn extra incomes, and tutorial companies operating on a commercial basis. Such tutoring may be provided one-to-one, in small groups, in large lecture theatres, and over the internet.

Shadow education can help achieve the fourth of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG4) by promoting learning, and well-organised tutorial companies can be a social and economic asset. However, much shadow education also raises major questions about social inequalities, (in)efficiency in education systems, and ethics. Shadow education has become a major focus of attention, particularly in East and South Asia, and also to some extent in Europe and North America. In Africa, it has received less attention because commentators have felt that the priority focus should be to get children into school in the first place. This orientation has overlooked the significance of far-reaching issues arising from shadow education and related to SDG4.

Definitions, Scope and Scale

The study is concerned with tutoring that is:

- *fee-charging*. The focus excludes fee-free tutoring by relatives or by teachers as part of their school duties.
- *academic*. The focus is on mathematics, languages and other examinable domains. It does not include musical, artistic or sporting skills that are learned primarily for pleasure and/or more rounded personal development.
- *supplementary*. The provision is additional to that provided by schools.
- for *primary and secondary* education. Shadow education in pre-primary and post-secondary education also deserves attention, but it is less voluminous and is excluded from this study to permit clear attention to the primary and secondary levels.

Geographically, the study addresses the whole of Africa, defined as 54 countries (including the island countries adjacent to the mainland continent). The fact that these 54 countries have much diversity in cultures, economies, population sizes and educational histories creates some analytical challenges, but also provides variables for instructive comparative analysis.

A starting point is with the scale of shadow education. Most countries lack comprehensive and high-quality data, but the following indicators provide some idea of scale:

- *Angola*: 94% of surveyed students in Grades 11 and 12 were receiving or had received tutoring at some time;
- *Burkina Faso*: 46% of surveyed upper primary students were receiving private tutoring at the time of the study;
- *Egypt*: Focusing on Grade 12, 91% of respondents indicated that they were either currently receiving shadow education or, if they had graduated, had done so when they were in that grade;
- *Ethiopia*: 67% of surveyed upper primary students had received private tutoring at some time;
- *Mauritius*: 81% of surveyed Grade 6 students were receiving private tutoring at the time of the study; and
- *South Africa*, 29% of surveyed Grade 6 students were receiving private tutoring at the time of the study.

Egyptian statistics in the early 2000s indicated that households spent more money on shadow education than the Ministry of Education spent on schooling, and expenditures on private tutoring in that country have remained very high. In Mauritius, 2012 data suggested that monthly tutoring expenditures could consume around 6% of the minimum wage for just one child.

Around the continent, shadow education enrolment rates and the accompanying financial burdens are growing. Although current enrolment rates in some countries are relatively modest, one fundamental message of the study is that such modest enrolment rates should not be a cause for complacency but rather an opportunity to steer the shadow education sector before it gets engrained in cultures.

Demand and Supply

The main force underlying demand for shadow education is social competition. Families perceive education to be a major instrument for social advance, and see it as an investment for the future. Education is to some extent a positional good, in which the chief determinant of whether people consider themselves to have secured adequate learning and qualifications is whether the amount is higher than that held by peers and competitors. Shadow education helps some students to catch up, and other students to get ahead or stay ahead.

In some respects, achievements in the Education for All (EFA) objectives and related expansion of public education have increased demand for shadow education. Families that in previous generations would have perceived higher levels of education to have been out of reach now see it as within reach, and engage in the social competition. At the same time, the pace of government-led expansion of schooling has contributed to perceptions of qualitative decline, leading families to seek shadow education to bridge gaps. These factors are stronger in Africa than in most other parts of the world because governments have felt the need to ‘catch up’ with other parts of the world. The governments have achieved great accomplishments in the EFA and related agendas of educational expansion, but have needed to make compromises in the process.

While stronger statistical data are needed, it appears that throughout Africa the main suppliers of shadow education are serving teachers who undertake such work on a supplementary basis to increase their incomes. Although with variations around the continent, teachers’ salaries have fallen over the decades – again partly because of the financial demands of the EFA agenda. Alongside teachers, increasing numbers of commercial enterprises provide tutoring, especially in urban areas.

The Impact of Shadow Education

Academic Achievement

An obvious question is whether shadow education ‘works’ in the sense of improving students’ examination and related achievements. This question cannot be answered with mathematical precision, because it would require comparisons of precisely similar groups of students with and without shadow education of strictly comparable amounts and qualities. Nevertheless, most students and families in receipt of shadow

education do feel that it assists academic achievement. That, of course, is to be expected since they would likely not invest in tutoring if they did not expect a benefit. However, many students and families feel pressurised to invest in shadow education because everyone else seems to be doing so.

From a system perspective, moreover, shadow education can subtract as well as supplement. Particularly in urban settings, shadow education may take some of the best teachers away from schools to work in tutorial centres; and teachers who remain in schools but provide supplementary tutoring commonly devote more effort to their private lessons, in which income depends on performance, than to their regular classes for which they are paid regardless of quality. Further problems concern the burdens on children and youth who have full days of schooling followed by full evenings and weekends of tutoring.

For the SDG4 goal of *quality* education, moreover, it is far from certain that even well-paid tutors can justify their incomes from the perspective of pedagogical training and tailoring to meet the needs of each child. Thus a South African study suggested that while many tutorial centres employed practising school teachers, franchise operations prioritised personnel with good business acumen accompanied by ability to facilitate. A parallel Benin study of tutor identities found that 40.0% were teachers most or all of whom presumably had been trained, but that 49.9% were university students, 6.7% were secondary school students, and 4.4% were unemployed or other informal workers. Concerning tailoring of tutoring to fit clients, certainly much tutoring is delivered individually and in small groups, but Egypt, for example, is also known for its famous tutors operating with classes of 300 to 500. Learning gains can still be achieved in these huge classes, but much depends on the style and content of the tutoring, and on the readiness and capacities of learners to grasp content.

Social Inequalities

Self-evidently, prosperous families can invest in more and better tutoring than can middle-income families, who in turn can invest in more and better tutoring than low-income families. Shadow education is a major vehicle for maintaining and exacerbating social inequalities, which thus raises concerns in connection with the SDG4 focus on *equitable* and *inclusive* quality education. Especially problematic are situations in which shadow education in effect becomes part of the education system,

meaning that children who do not receive private tutoring do not gain the full curriculum. These situations are not widely recognised by policy makers.

Technology is among the factors facilitating reach but exacerbating social inequalities. Around the African continent, broadband access and even ability to use mobile phones is highly variable and favours urban over rural areas. Some companies are increasingly turning to the internet, and during the Covid-19 crisis that hit at the beginning of 2020 were able to keep educational provision going when face-to-face teaching in schools and tutorial centres had to be suspended. Yet prosperous families are obviously much better placed than low-income ones to take advantage of internet teaching.

Ethics and social values

Situations in which teachers neglect their regular duties in order to devote their energies to private tutoring raise ethical issues. Even more obviously problematic are situations in which teachers coerce regular students to take their supplementary lessons. One strategy is for teachers to complain that the syllabi are too wide to complete without extra lessons and then leave “vital content” in their private tutoring. Also, teachers who also provide private tutoring may also pay special attention to tutored students during their regular classes, praising the achievements of these students and marginalising others.

More broadly, shadow education shapes the values of young children in ways that continue to influence them when they become adults. It shows that even public education can be turned into a private service available only to people who pay for it; and it seems to demonstrate that government promises, e.g. of free education for all, cannot always be trusted.

Implications for Policy Makers

Improved data

A necessary starting point is with more and better data on the scale, nature and impact of shadow education. Ministries of Education can collect their own data, and can request inclusion of questions about shadow education in household surveys administered by other government bodies. The academic community is also a major source of data. Dialogue between universities and policy makers can help university-based researchers to

see the impact of their work and then both collect further data and improve the quality of the research.

Assessment, selection and curriculum

Much shadow education is driven by watershed examinations, particularly at the end of secondary schooling but also at earlier points. Governments seeking to shape the shadow education sector should pay close attention to these assessment systems. Recent assessment reforms in Egypt may provide a model deserving observation to see their impact. Curriculum reforms also need to be checked to identify the burdens on teachers and students that might in unintended ways require shadow education for support.

Regulations

The shadow education sector is largely unregulated. Particular consideration is needed on regulations for (a) tutorial companies, and (b) teachers who provide private supplementary tutoring. In contrast to Asia, for example, regulations on companies have not yet become a significant agenda in Africa, chiefly because governments are attending to other priorities and are overlooking the need. A significant number of governments prohibit serving teachers from offering private tutoring but are unable to enforce the prohibition. Care is needed in design of regulations to ensure that they are both reasonable and workable.

Public debate

Policy makers should take the topic out of the shadows with public debate on the challenges and benefits of shadow education. Such debate can usefully be at all levels – from national government down to individual schools and communities, and this report might itself provide one reference point for discussions. Partnerships with teachers' unions and other stakeholders will strengthen alliances to tackle issues. The media can also be harnessed to spread awareness and understanding. Topics for inclusion should include the challenges facing parents, who always want the best for their children and commonly find themselves trapped by wider forces that seem to require private tutoring even if they, as parents and citizens, are not in favour of it.

Debate may also focus on the roles of entrepreneurs. Market research has shown the attractiveness even to foreign entrepreneurs of tutoring operations in such countries as South Africa and Nigeria. One

assessment asserted in 2017 that for Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, worthwhile investments in supplementary education over a five-year period might be made for US\$0.4 to 0.6 billion, generating revenues of 15 to 20%. Roles and relationships between public and private, particularly when the entrepreneurs take their earnings out of the countries in which they have been generated, may again need debate to achieve appropriate balances.

Implications for SDG4

This analysis shows that shadow education plays an ambiguous role in the context of SDG4. It attracts and consumes huge volumes of household and commercial resources, including not only finance but also the time and energy of students, families and others. Shadow education provides employment for tutors and supplements the incomes of teachers; and it is at least generally perceived to increase learning, even if the extent may be ambiguous. However, private supplementary tutoring is clearly not inclusive or equitable, and is not always of good quality. Further, shadow education in some respects undermines mainstream school systems by taking away good teachers for work in the tutorial centres and by causing teachers to neglect aspects of their regular classes in order to devote more attention to their private lessons.

Shadow education has much expanded in recent decades, and will not go away. It has long been a major focus of attention in parts of Asia, and is increasingly on agendas in Europe and North America. Shadow education also needs more attention in Africa not just in the context of SDG4 but also in relation to broader matters of social and economic development at all levels.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Huge advances have been accomplished in educational provision in recent decades. Among the milestones was the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. It set targets of Education for All (EFA) to be achieved by 2000 (Inter-Agency Commission 1990). The sequel World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000 observed considerable progress but continued gaps, and set new targets for 2015 that were incorporated into the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Then the 2015 World Education Forum in Seoul, Republic of Korea, similarly observed considerable progress (UNESCO 2015a) and contributed to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with a target of 2030.

The present study builds on a Background Paper prepared by the author for UNESCO's 2021 Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report on non-state actors in education. The Concept Note for this issue of the GEM Report (UNESCO 2019, p.2) commenced by recognising the importance of non-state actors in achievement of the fourth of the 17 SDGs. This goal (SDG4) is, by 2030, to "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (UNESCO 2017a).

The 2030 Framework for Action to achieve SDG4, the Concept Note pointed out, had observed that:

Country-led action will drive change; however, the ambitious education goal cannot be achieved by governments alone. They will need the support of all stakeholders, including non-state actors.

The Framework for Action continued with a positive note that placed the public sector at the fore and envisaged non-state actors as supporters:

The private sector, philanthropic organizations and foundations can play an important role, using their experience, innovative approaches, business expertise and financial resources to strengthen public education. They can contribute to education and development through multi-stakeholder partnerships, investment and contributions that are transparent, aligned with local and national priorities, respect education as a human right and do not increase inequality.

This, however, was arguably an idealised view which paid inadequate heed to realities in the range of non-state actors and their motives for work in the education sector.

The Concept Note rightly observed (p.4) that definition of non-state actors is complex: “Non-state actors in education are highly diverse, and a commonly accepted typology has not been agreed”. The sector embraces both for-profit and not-for-profit actors with multiple orientations and modes of organisation (Srivastava 2020). The present report focuses on provision of private supplementary tutoring at the levels of primary and secondary education. This is a neglected topic, especially in Africa which is the geographic focus of the study.

The study is primarily based on research literature, supplemented by multiple discussions with educators in both schools and the private-tutoring sector and with policy makers, parents and students. These discussions have taken place over the years, in some cases through the UNESCO framework but in other cases during the author’s field visits and other professional activities. Valuable comments on the draft were received from educators, researchers, administrators and policy makers in various African countries and around the world.¹

A predecessor benchmark for the present work was a document prepared by the author for the 2008 Biennale of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), convened in Mozambique (Bray & Suso 2008). That document presented information on quantitative patterns and variations, diversity in forms of supply of tutoring, questions of effectiveness, and impact on the Education for All (EFA) agenda. It particularly highlighted issues of equity, making links to parental motives for seeking tutoring and ability to pay. Revisit of these themes a dozen years later shows that private tutoring has expanded throughout the continent, with new forms appearing as a result of technological development. More data are now available compared with 2008, but research on this topic in African contexts remains thin. The author hopes to stimulate more research and to strengthen the rigour of that research.

¹ Some of these inputs were gained during a special workshop in July 2020 hosted by the International Centre for Teacher Education (ICTE) in collaboration with the Centre for International Research in Supplementary Tutoring (CIRIST) at East China Normal University (ECNU). It brought together 47 educators and administrators from 17 African countries.

To a large extent the issues associated with shadow education in Africa, including social inequalities, study burden on children, and conflict of interest when teachers provide tutoring, mirror those in other world regions (see e.g. AlKharashi 2012; Aurini et al. 2013; Bray 2020; Bray & Lykins 2012; Silova 2010). However, some aspects are distinctive in particular because some parts of the continent have not yet reached universal primary and lower secondary education. Within Africa, moreover, are major regional variations. Arabic-speaking North Africa has very different traditions from Anglophone West, East and Southern Africa; and in turn traditions in these regions diverge from those in Francophone and Lusophone Africa. Further, across the spectrum are variations in the extent to which businessmen see market potential within environments that they consider adequately remunerative and stable. Few multinational companies are providing private tutoring in Africa, and the majority of local businesses are small and localised. Even then, the place of for-profit educational provision may be controversial in some societies.

With such matters in mind, the study commences with matters of scope, definitions and contexts in order to permit some mapping of the landscape. It then turns to demand and supply, and to the impact of private supplementary tutoring. These remarks permit identification of implications for policy makers which are addressed in the next chapter. The final section concludes by linking back to SDG4 and by considering the way ahead.

Chapter 2

Scope, Definitions and Contexts

To set the frame for subsequent parts of this study, this chapter explains the geographic and conceptual scope of the study. It presents the definitions employed, and notes further contextual factors in changing roles of the state. The last section addresses matters of teachers' salaries.

Geography and levels of education

Focus on Africa as a whole means 54 countries.¹ This large number brings complexities and challenges. Each country is of course different; and each country also has internal diversity. At the same time, clusters of countries may be identified according to colonial legacies most obviously evident in official languages and associated international communities. These legacies bring traditions that shape structures and attitudes towards education, including private supplementary tutoring.

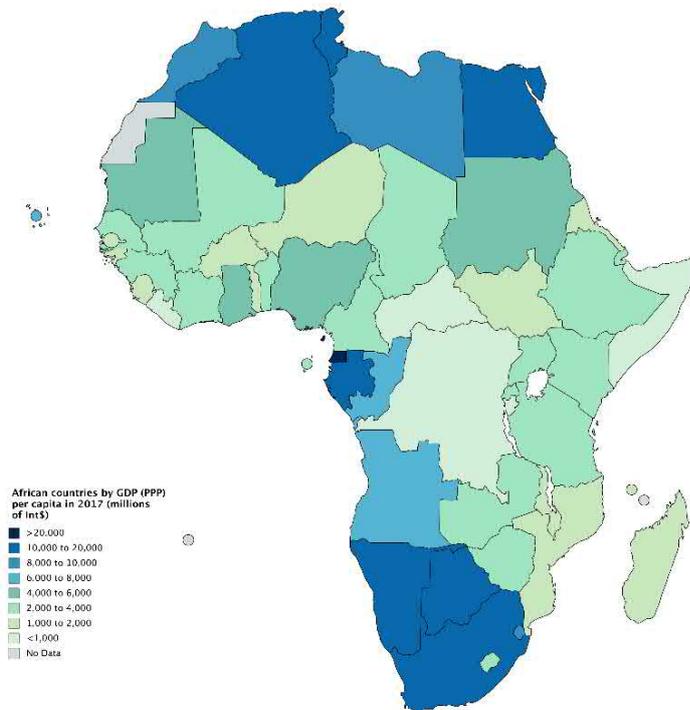
Also important are variations in per capita incomes. Figure 1 shows ranges by country in per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) according to Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) in 2017. The high-income countries are clustered in northern and southern Africa, with western, central and eastern Africa having a range of lower per capita incomes. Per capita incomes influence private tutoring not only insofar as they determine household ability to pay for it but also in their attractiveness to commercial investors willing to establish companies to supply tutoring.

Concerning levels of education, like much existing literature this report focuses on primary and secondary education. These are the locations of most formal education enrolments, and also of most tutoring.

¹ These countries, member states of UNESCO, are: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo (Republic of), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, São Tomé & Príncipe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Some private tutoring may exist at pre-primary and post-secondary levels, but much less than in Asia, for example (see e.g. Mitra & Sarkar 2019; Ng 2016); and even in Asia it remains modest at pre-primary and post-secondary levels compared with primary and secondary schooling. The focus of this report also excludes most forms of vocational education and training, where again private tutoring is relatively uncommon.

Figure 1: African Countries by GDP (PPP) per Capita, 2017



Source: JackintheBox, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=68236561>

Concepts and definitional boundaries

The title of this study uses the metaphor of shadow education. This metaphor has become popular in the academic literature, in part because

of the author's own work published by UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (Bray 1999, 2003, 2009). He did not invent the term, having taken it from usage in Malaysia, Singapore and Japan; but the 1999 book was the first global study of the phenomenon, and set an agenda for much subsequent research and policy analysis (Zhang & Bray 2020). The metaphor of the shadow was used because to a large extent the curriculum in private tutoring mimics that in the mainstream: as the curriculum changes in the schools, so it changes in the shadow. The metaphor also implies that the features of shadow education are much less distinct compared with those of schooling. Despite some improvement since the 1999 book was written, this lack of clarity remains problematic.

The present study retains the basic definitions of the 1999 book which have been followed by many other researchers. The book focused on private supplementary tutoring, with *tutoring* taken to mean not just one-to-one instruction but also provision in small groups, full classes and large lecture theatres. Concerning *supplementation*, the book was concerned with subjects that were already covered in the school curriculum, and did not for example focus on instruction for minority children whose families were anxious that new generations should retain competence in languages not taught in school. And concerning *private*, the book was primarily concerned with tutoring provided in exchange for a fee, thereby excluding free-of-charge support by schools, family members, neighbours, charities or others (Bray 1999, p.20).

These definitions did have some ambiguities. For example, some tutors normally charge fees for their services but sometimes make exceptions for poor families. These cases would still be included because the fee-free arrangements are minor exceptions in the general practice. For the contemporary era it has also been necessary to update modes of instruction to include internet tutoring of various kinds. Nevertheless, the basic parameters of the definitions have held strong. Thus the present study, like its predecessor, is chiefly concerned with *academic* subjects taught in mainstream schools, particularly languages, mathematics and other examinable subjects. Discussion here does not include musical, artistic or sporting skills that are learned primarily for pleasure and/or more rounded personal development. These domains may also consume substantial financial and human resources, and may have significant

impact on social inequalities and other domains; but as the 1999 book noted, “the issues associated with non-academic subjects are somewhat different, particularly insofar as they are not assessed by examinations and explicitly used in the gate-keeping process of transition from one part of an education system to another” (Bray 1999, p.20), and they continue to deserve separate study in their own right.

Again concerning terminology, although this study uses the vocabulary of shadow education it recognises that that term is not used universally and is not always easy to translate into other languages. In this document, shadow education is taken as a synonym for private supplementary tutoring, but many alternatives are evident. For example in Malaysia and Pakistan, it is more common to refer to private tuition than to private tutoring. In the Anglophone Caribbean, a common term is ‘extra lessons’ with the implication that they are operated privately and for a fee; in Ireland such tutoring is called grinds; and in the USA, the common term is supplemental education.

For the present study, focusing on Africa, it is useful to identify various common terms not only in English but also in French, Portuguese and Arabic, and to recognise that local languages have further variations. Beginning with English, ‘private tutoring’ is commonly used in Kenya and Nigeria, for example, and ‘coaching’ is used in such countries as Rwanda and Uganda. In The Gambia the activity is commonly called ‘studies’, while Zimbabweans, like their Caribbean counterparts, refer to ‘extra lessons’. In Francophone Africa, common terms are *tutorat privé*, *soutien scolaire* and *accompagnement*; while in Lusophone Africa the dominant terms are *explicações* and *reforço escolar*. Egyptians distinguish between ‘private lessons’ (*durus khususiyya* دروس خصوصية) taught on a one-to-one basis or in small groups, and ‘study groups’ (*magmu’at* مجموعات) or ‘reinforcement classes’ (*fusul taqwiyya* فصول تقوية) provided in tutorial centres, mosques and churches, or at school. And at the end of the school year, shortly before the examinations, many teachers provide fee-charging ‘final revisions’ (*muraga’at niha’iyya* مراجعة نهائية) in venues able to accommodate several hundred students at once.

These variations in vocabulary emphasise that care is needed in terminology, especially across national and cultural boundaries. However, the basic message is that the study focuses on forms of fee-charging supplementary academic instruction delivered outside the

regular domain of schooling. It may be delivered by companies of various sorts and sizes, by mainstream teachers on a supplementary basis beyond their official employment, and by university students, retirees, persons seeking temporary occupations while ‘between jobs’, and others who operate informally. Collectively, the activities can be called shadow education even though some have more direct mimicry of the school curriculum than others.

One final definitional matter concerns identification of these providers of private tutoring within a report focused on non-state actors in education. Commercial companies are clearly non-state actors, and retain such identities even when in forms of public-private partnership. Similar remarks would apply to not-for-profit Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). University students and other informal suppliers are also in the non-state sector. Teachers who provide private supplementary tutoring are clearly non-state actors when the main work of these teachers is in private schools, but for teachers in public schools an ambiguity arises. This report still defines the shadow education activities of the latter group as part of the non-state sector because the teachers are conducting a form of private practice alongside their public duties, and in most cases have not been approved by the state to do so.

Changing roles of the state

One major factor underpinning the rise of shadow education, whether delivered by companies, NGOs, informal suppliers or teachers, is that private education has become more acceptable to both governments and societies in general. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948) and associated perspectives held that at least basic education was the responsibility of the state, albeit perhaps supplemented by religious and other not-for-profit providers. When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was promulgated most African countries were under colonial rule, and in general the colonial authorities paid little heed to education. Following political independence, the new governments viewed education as an instrument for nation building and economic development, and embarked on great educational expansion. In many cases they were assisted by bilateral donors and by international agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank. The 1961 Conference of African States on the Development of Education, convened in Addis

Ababa by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) was a milestone in this progress (UNESCO 1961). A parallel conference for the Arab states was held in Tripoli in 1966 (UNESCO 1966). The Addis Ababa conference noted “the fervent desire of the people for an expansion of education of quality” (UNESCO 1961, p.3), and set targets (p.18) that by 1980:

- primary education should be universal, compulsory and free;
- secondary education should be provided to 30% of the children completing primary school; and
- higher education should be provided to 20% of those completing secondary schooling.

The Arab states were already more advanced, but set comparably ambitious goals.

In line with these and related aspirations, governments through-out the continent embarked on ambitious plans. However, they faced major constraints including in finance. Kenya’s first President, Jomo Kenyatta, promised free primary education to all citizens during his 1963 inaugural address (Buchmann 1999, p.97), but the promise was only partially fulfilled in 1974 with abolition of fees for the first four years of primary education and a further push in 1978 – and even then it could not be sustained and so required a repeat campaign in 2003 (de Souza & Wainaina 2009; Sifuna & Sawamura 2015). Similar remarks apply to Nigeria’s Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme launched in 1976, and its repeat Universal Basic Education (UBE) scheme launched in 1999 (Obanya & Binns 2009). Parallel patterns were evident in many other countries around the continent (Bown 2009; Bray 1981; Ogawa & Nishimura 2015). The existence of the campaigns showed political commitment and initiative, but the need to repeat the campaigns showed the challenges of both financial and human resourcing. Primary school classes commonly exceeded 50 pupils and sometimes even 100 pupils, and the education systems suffered severely from shortages of qualified teachers. Achievements in expansion of primary education, accompanied by population growth, led to what Verspoor (2008, p.134) called “exploding demand” for secondary education; and achievements in secondary education led in turn to exploding demand for higher education (Wiseman & Wolhuter 2013).

To some extent reflecting the realities of these strains, but also because of wider ideological shifts, towards the end of the 20th century and increasingly in the 21st century, balances shifted in international development advocacy to accord greater roles for the private sector even at the level of compulsory education (Harber 2014; Macpherson et al. 2014). In many countries this pattern was associated with Structural Adjustment Programmes (see e.g. Reimers 1994) which sought to reduce government expenditures; and these initiatives were themselves associated with the ideology of neoliberalism which asserted a strong role for market forces (Harvey 2005; Ward 2014). In line with this approach, privatisation was widely advocated as a deliberate strategy to include both outsourcing of services within public schools and encouragement of private schools alongside public schools (Ball & Youdell 2008; Chitpin & Portelli 2019).

At the same time, many settings displayed forms of bottom-up privatisation by default rather than by deliberate strategy. Shadow education was among these domains, as demonstrated by the present study. The existing literature on privatisation by default in the education sector has been dominated by discussion of low-fee private schools (e.g. Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju 2014; Srivastava & Walford 2016). While precise statistics are not available, shadow education is likely much larger than these forms of non-government financing. Finance for shadow education is now provided by the majority of households throughout large parts of Africa, and indeed throughout large parts of the world. To provide one striking example, a 2002 World Bank report (cited by Herrera 2008, p.363) indicated that in Egypt nearly 9% of total GDP was devoted to education, of which 60% was publicly managed and as much as 40%, including shadow education, was privately managed. These figures far exceeded averages for members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); and within these expenditure estimates, shadow education represented 1.6% of GDP. Proportions elsewhere in Africa have not reached such levels, but they are certainly increasing.

Teachers' salaries

Allied to the above considerations have been shifts in the teachers' salaries. The pressures to expand education systems within the context of

budget constraints led governments to devise lower-cost categories of teachers; and alongside, communities commonly recruited their own low-cost teachers (Teacher Task Force 2020; Jarousse 2009; Marchand 2000). Many teachers with low salaries felt a need for additional incomes, for which private tutoring was among the most obvious avenues.

An international ranking of teachers' salaries in 35 countries according to Purchasing Power Parity (Dolton et al. 2018, p.62) shows some striking patterns. Three of the four lowest countries were African, namely Egypt, Ghana and Uganda.² It is not coincidental that many teachers in those countries provide private supplementary tutoring. The upper reaches of the ranking included Singapore, Canada, the Republic of Korea, and Japan. Although these countries also have much private tutoring, most is provided by companies because teachers already have adequate incomes and society would not approve of them taking additional work (Aurini et al. 2013; Entrich 2018; Kim 2016; Zhang & Yamato 2018). The ranking did not include Bangladesh, Cambodia or Myanmar, but they would be among Asian countries in which teachers' salaries are low and in which many teachers therefore seek supplementary incomes through tutoring (Bray et al. 2020; Joshi 2019; Marshall & Fukao 2019).

Elaborating on African patterns, Foko and Husson (2011) recounted broad differences in teachers' salaries between Francophone and Anglophone Africa. In previous decades, teachers' salaries in Francophone Africa had been high, in part because the majority were civil servants and their salaries had been indexed to counterparts in France. With pressure to expand the teaching force, many governments employed lower-paid contract teachers alongside the civil-servant teachers. Some governments decided also to cover some or all of the salaries of community teachers, but at low salaries. In Anglophone Africa the chief divide was according to whether teachers had received training or not. At the same time, teachers in Francophone Africa were generally paid better than their Anglophone counterparts. Foko and Husson indicated (2011, p.51) that in Niger in 2007, civil-service primary teachers were paid 11 times the per capita GDP while contract teachers were paid only 5.5

² The fourth country was Russia. The figures were: Uganda \$4,205, Russia \$5,923, Egypt \$6,592, and Ghana \$7,249.

times. In Togo the gap was less marked, with civil-service teachers earning 6.1 times the per capita GDP and contract teachers 4.5 times. Community teachers were paid an average of 0.9 times the per capita GDP in the seven countries with available data. Concerning Anglophone countries, in Malawi qualified teachers were paid 6.6 times the per capita GDP while non-qualified peers were paid only 3.6 times; and in Rwanda the figures were 2.6 and 2.1. And to these numbers should be added the proportions of each category within the teaching force. Thus, Côte d'Ivoire and Burundi had mostly civil-service teachers (86% and 88% respectively), while Mali had only 21% civil-service teachers alongside 48% on contract and 31% community teachers. In Anglophone countries, 92% of Malawi's teachers were qualified but only 68% of Uganda's teachers were in that category.

The summary message of the above statistics is one of considerable variation in levels of teacher remuneration around the continent (see also Teacher Task Force 2020, pp.47-53), but with teachers in Francophone countries generally being paid at higher levels than their counterparts in Anglophone countries despite considerable reduction of that divide compared with 30 years previously (Foko & Husson 2011, p.52). Erosion of salaries in both Anglophone and Francophone countries has increased the pressures on teachers to engage in additional occupations, among which private tutoring is a common choice. To some extent, therefore, the expansion of shadow education can be considered a side-product of the efforts to expand schooling in line with the EFA and SDG objectives.

Chapter 3

Mapping the Landscape

This chapter commences with overall shadow education enrolment rates, classified by country, before turning to demographic variations within countries. The chapter also remarks on subjects, modes of tutoring, and costs.

Enrolment rates

Cross-national mapping of enrolment rates is not easy, because few statistics have been collected on a common measure. Table 1 shows snapshots from countries around the continent. Particularly useful are data from the carefully-designed national surveys of the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) in 2007 and 2013.¹ The 2007 dataset covered Grade 6 in 15 education systems, while the 2013 dataset covered the same grade in 14 systems.² Alongside the SACMEQ data, other snapshots address different grades and points in time.

Table 1: Selected Cross-National Indicators of Shadow Education

<i>Country</i>	<i>Patterns</i>
Algeria	A 2009 study by the Institut Nationale de Recherche en Éducation (INRE), cited by Thani (2012, p.1), found that 34.5% of surveyed Grade 9 students were receiving private tutoring.
Angola	Among the 8,513 students in Grades 11 and 12 in Luanda, Benguela and Huambo surveyed by Chionga (2018, p.90), 93.8% were receiving or had received tutoring at some time.

¹ When established in 1995, SACMEQ served only countries in Southern Africa. Subsequent expansion brought membership of Ministries of Education in Eastern Africa, and in some settings the acronym SEACMEQ is used. However, SACMEQ seems still to be the dominant acronym, and is the one used in this report.

² However, not all reports are widely available in the public domain. The SACMEQ website (<http://www.sacmeq.org/?q=sacmeq-projects/sacmeq-iv/reports>) has reports for Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa, and some additional reports can be located from Ministry of Education websites.

Botswana	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 5.9% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring. The 2013 survey reported that 35.5% were doing so (Chabaditsile et al. 2018, p.16).
Burkina Faso	Ouattara's (2016) survey of 177 pupils in the last three grades of elementary education in Ouagadougou found that 46.3% were receiving private tutoring (p.200).
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%. Further data were presented by Sieverding et al. (2019, p.572) from the 2014 Survey of Young People in Egypt. Among surveyed Grade 12 students, 72% were receiving private one-to-one tutoring and 18% private group tutoring.
Eswatini	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 1.1% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring. In contrast, the 2013 survey reported 11.0% of students paying for extra lessons (Jabulane 2015, pp.39-40).
Ethiopia	Melese & Abebe (2017) surveyed 866 upper primary students in four regions (two relatively developed and two emerging) plus the national capital. When asked if they had ever received private tutoring, 66.8% replied affirmatively.
Ghana	A 1999/2000 survey of 1,535 students in 39 schools sampled to represent four different types of community found private tutoring participation rates of 32.8% in primary, 49.5% in junior secondary, and 72.3% in senior secondary (Montgomery et al. 2000, p.12). A different survey reported that 48% of 1,020 households paid additional fees for private tutoring in 2008 (Antonowicz et al. 2010, p.21). A 2018 report, though without details on the sample, stated that about 68% of school children receive extra lessons after school, with 23% of them receiving home tutoring (BusinessGhana 2018).
Kenya	In 1995, Buchmann (1999, p.107) surveyed 597 households in three locations. She found that 36.0% of children were receiving private tutoring, which was most common in the later years of primary schooling. SACMEQ's national survey indicated that 52.1% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving paid extra tuition and a further 18.1% were receiving fee-free extra tuition (Wasanga et al. 2012, pp.38-39). The report on the 2013 SACMEQ survey indicated a total

	of 63.0% receiving extra tuition, but did not distinguish between fee-free and fee-charging (Karogo et al. 2019, p.39). A 2013 survey of 487 students in 31 secondary schools by Getange & Obar (2016, p.11) showed an enrolment rate of 83.1%.
Lesotho	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 2.5% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring.
Malawi	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 4.5% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring. In 2013, the proportion was 13.9% (Masanche 2017, p.52-52).
Madagascar	Andriamahavonjy & Ravelo (2009, p.38) observed that in upper primary schooling, private tutoring was “nearly obligatory for all pupils”.
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). SACMEQ data for Grade 6 indicated an 81.4% enrolment rate in 2013 (Dwarkan 2017, p.37).
Morocco	In 2016, Rhazal et al. (2018) surveyed 267 students as a representative sample for urban secondary school students. They found that 85% were receiving private tutoring (p.18).
Mozambique	SACMEQ data indicated that 9.7% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring. The proportion increased to 20.8% in 2013 (Moreno 2017, p.48).
Namibia	SACMEQ data indicated that 18.7% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2013 were receiving extra tutoring, but only 31.2% of them had to pay for it, making a proportion of 5.8% receiving paid private tutoring (Shigwedha et al. 2015, pp.35-36).
Nigeria	A 2004 nationally representative survey of 4,268 households asked about household expenditures in the 2003/04 academic year. One third (33.5%) of households with primary school children spent money on private tutoring, and over half (53.2%) of households with secondary school children did so (National Population Commission & ORC Macro 2004, pp.92, 102).
Seychelles	SACMEQ data indicated that 13.1% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring, and that this proportion increased to 20.8% in 2013 (Felix & Benstrong 2017, p.44).
South Africa	SACMEQ data indicated that 29.1% of Grade 6 students in 2013 were receiving private tutoring (Chetty et al. 2017,

	p.16). This was a considerable increase from the 4.0% recorded in 2007 (SACMEQ 2010, p.1).
Sudan	The World Bank (2012, p.154) surveyed 1,012 teachers in three states in 2009. In these states, 13%, 17% and 21% of regular teachers were providing private tutoring.
Tanzania	Sambo's (2001) survey of teachers and principals in 50 secondary schools, plus a random sample of 100 students from those schools, reported that 70% of students and 72% of teachers participated in private tutoring (p.100). SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that in 2007 14.3% of sampled Grade 6 students in Mainland Tanzania and 11.4% in Zanzibar were receiving private tutoring.
Tunisia	A 2008 study by the Association for the Protection of Consumers (cited by Akkari 2010, p.51) indicated that 73.2% of 250 households reported that their children received private tutoring.
Uganda	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 25.1% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring. Kwaje's (2018, p.34) sample of 65 Grade 10 students in four schools of one district found that 81.5% were receiving private tutoring.
Zambia	A nationally representative survey (Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro 2003, p.100) found that in 2001, 6.1% of households invested in private tutoring for Grade 1 students. Proportions increased over the primary school grades, reaching 27.3% in Grade 6 and 54.2% in Grade 7. SACMEQ (2010, p.1) reported much lower figures, i.e. that 6.1% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring.
Zimbabwe	SACMEQ (2010, p.1) indicated that 15.4% of sampled Grade 6 students in 2007 were receiving private tutoring.

The fact that Table 1 draws on diverse studies with varying samples, research approaches and points in time requires caution. Nevertheless, the collection of snapshots does form some sort of mosaic, including a portrait of regional diversity. In North Africa, Egypt has long been known for its high rates of private tutoring (Abd-al-Aaty 1994; Fergany 1994; Hua 1996), which continue at high levels. At the other geographic end of the continent, rates have also long been high in Mauritius (Foondun 1992; Joynathsing et al. 1988), and in the contemporary era are high in Angola (Chionga 2018). As shown by the SACMEQ data, between these levels are countries such as Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda; and at the bottom end

of the scale are several countries in Southern Africa. However, the Southern African countries having low rates in 2007 had substantially higher rates in 2013 (Table 2), and there is reason to think that expansion has continued.

Table 2: SACMEQ Data on Enrolment Rates in Private Tutoring, Grade 6, 2007 and 2013 (%)

<i>Country</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2013</i>
Mauritius	74.6	81.4
Seychelles	13.1	20.8
Mozambique	9.7	20.7
Botswana	5.9	34.5
Malawi	4.5	13.9
South Africa	4.0	29.1
Namibia	2.9	5.8
Eswatini	1.1	11.0

Note: The countries are ranked by the reported proportions of students receiving private tutoring in 2007. Only eight countries are shown because of missing data for 2013. Reports for Lesotho, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar either did not include any data on this topic, or did not clearly indicate the proportions of total population receiving paid rather than fee-free tutoring. Tanzania [Mainland] did not participate. Reports for Zambia and Zimbabwe could not be located.

Sources: SACMEQ National Reports.

Demographic variations and intensities

Many of the statistics in Table 1 are at the national level, and wide geographic and socio-economic variations may be evident within countries. Also important are questions about the intensity of shadow education received during the day, week and year.

As an example of geographic diversity, Table 3 shows patterns by province in South Africa where 2013 enrolment rates ranged from 10.5% in Limpopo to 61.5% in Free State. Research around the world shows that enrolment rates are typically higher not only in more prosperous communities but also in more urbanised ones. Zambian data, for example, have shown 26.6% of urban primary school students receiving tutoring compared with only 3.4% of rural counterparts, and with average expenditures at 2001 prices of 50,063 kwacha per urban child compared

with 37,226 kwacha per rural child (Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro 2003, pp.97, 105). Related, with reference to Burkina Faso Paré-Kaboré (2008, p.6) stated that tutoring was “gaining momentum” in the urban context with the implication that it was less vigorous in rural areas. Urban areas commonly have higher enrolment rates because population density provides enough clients for tutorial enterprises to be viable, and supply to some extent creates demand. Cities are also more competitive, especially in their prosperous suburbs. Further, children in rural areas have less time for extra educational activities because they commonly walk further to school and are expected to help with farm work.

Table 3: Regional Distribution of Grade 6 Students Receiving Private Tutoring, South Africa, 2013

<i>Province</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Province</i>	<i>%</i>
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: Chetty et al. 2017, p.16.

Elaborating on urban/rural differences in Kenya, Buchmann (1999, p.107) reported on her 1995 household survey in Nairobi (the capital city), Kwale (a poor rural district), and Murang’a (an agriculturally fertile district). As expected, shadow education enrolment rates were higher in Nairobi (55.6%) than in Kwale (30.0%) and Murang’a (27.0%). Similar patterns have been noted in Nigeria. A statistically representative household survey found that 20.4% of urban primary school students were receiving private tutoring in 2003/04 compared with 14.9% of rural students; and comparable proportions at the secondary level were 58.5% and 47.4% (National Population Commission & ORC Macro 2004, pp.92, 102).

Concerning gender, Buchmann’s Kenyan research noted (2002, pp.142-143) that schooling for girls had made significant gains but remarked on “lingering gender stereotypes regarding job prospects and gender biases in children’s expected contributions to housework”. These lingering biases, she reported, led to more boys than girls being enrolled

in shadow education. However, later research in Kenya by Getange and Obar (2016, p.11) did not show significant biases, and similar remarks applied to Ethiopia (Melese & Abebe 2017, p.636). In Egypt, Elbadawy et al. (2007, p.7) had expected to find discrimination against girls, but found broad gender parity. Indeed later Egyptian research showed more females receiving tutoring, and at higher expenditures, than males (Krafft 2015, p.167).³ Ghanaian, Nigerian and Zambian studies have also shown higher rates of private tutoring among girls than boys (Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro 2003, pp.97, 105; Montgomery et al. 2010, p.12; National Population Commission & ORC Macro 2004, pp.92, 102).⁴

Differences should also be expected by socio-economic group, since more prosperous families can invest in both greater quantities and better qualities of tutoring. Both Buchmann (2002) and Elbadawy et al. (2007) showed that families in higher socio-economic strata were more likely to secure shadow education than their counterparts in lower socio-economic strata. The point has also been made in Egypt by Sieverding et al. (2019, p.576). Their statistics showed that:

³ The 2014 Survey of Young People in Egypt, using a national sample, found that 32.2% of males in secondary schooling or below were receiving private (one-to-one) lessons compared with 44.5% of females; and that 13.1% of males were receiving (fee-charging) group tutoring compared with 18.7% of females. The expenditures for females were also higher. For females, expenditures averaged 325.5 Egyptian pounds for the private lessons compared with 307.1 pounds for the males; and they averaged 202.6 pounds for group tutoring compared with 169.2 pounds for males.

⁴ Among the sampled primary school students in the Ghanaian survey, 35.2% of girls were receiving private supplementary lessons compared with 30.6% of boys. In junior secondary schooling, proportions were 56.9% and 42.4%; and in senior secondary schooling, they were 76.9% and 68.1%. In the Nigerian survey, 35.6% of primary school girls were receiving such extra lessons compared with 31.8% of boys; and 55.8% of secondary school girls were receiving extra lessons compared with 50.7% of boys. However, per pupil expenditures for girls at the primary level were less than for boys: 1,583 naira compared with 2,079 naira. At the secondary level, per pupil expenditures were almost equal: 2,429 naira for girls and 2,404 for boys. In the Zambian survey, 11.5% of primary school boys were reported to be receiving private tutoring compared with 14.7% of girls; and average expenditures were 49,403 kwacha for boys compared with 61,894 for girls.

having a mother with a secondary or higher education (which is likely to be a marker of high socioeconomic status) predicted a significantly higher chance of private lessons. Compared with illiterate fathers, having a father with more education significantly increased the chances of private lessons.

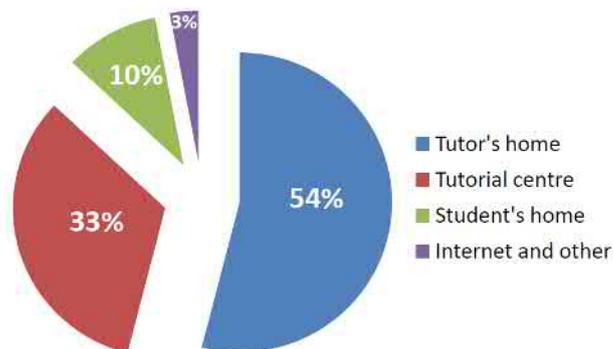
Sieverding et al. also found important differences by father's work status. Children of irregular workers, who were the most economically vulnerable, were significantly less likely than others to receive private lessons. The patterns matched findings elsewhere in Africa and beyond (see e.g. Entrich 2018; Holloway & Kirby 2020).

Analyses also need to take account of the intensity of shadow education because, unlike schooling that has a standard timetable usually for five days a week, private tutoring may have a highly variable timetable for different groups. Among the 7,991 Grade 11 and 12 Angolan students receiving tutoring surveyed by Chionga (2018, p.105), 47.0% indicated that they did so for over four hours a week, 31.2% for four hours, 16.9% for three hours, and 4.8% for two hours. Their activities also varied according to the season. Within the sample, 28.3% received tutoring all the year round, 23.3% during parts of the school year, and 48.3% during the examination season. In other contexts, holiday coaching is a major phenomenon in Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe (Andrew 2016; Jinga & Ganga 2011; Kwaje 2018).

Modes, locations and costs

The modes of tutoring range from one-to-one provision to full classes resembling those in regular schools, and even in large lecture theatres. Again presenting Angolan figures from Chionga (2018), Figure 2 shows the locations of tutoring received by the sampled Grade 11 and 12 students in 2015. Over half received the support in the homes of the tutors, while one third did so in tutorial centres, and 10% in their own homes. Only 3% received support through the internet and in other locations.

Figure 2: Locations of Private Tutoring, Angola, 2015



Source: Chionga 2018, p.103

Elsewhere, schools are the default locations for tutoring, particularly when that tutoring is provided by teachers in those schools. In Mauritius, at one point this was even given official sanction. In 1988 the Minister of Education proposed a set of regulations to prohibit tutoring in Grades 1-3, partly to protect the health of young children (Parsuramen 2007, p.10). At the same time, the Minister decided to permit the use of classrooms for tutoring in Grades 4-6 in order to allow the activity to be conducted in appropriate environments rather than the “appalling physical conditions” of converted garages and other locations.

Egypt has another model in which forms of private tutoring are officially sanctioned on school premises. It was introduced as an option in 1952, and in 1986 made a mandatory for schools to offer (Sobhy Ramadan 2012, p.95). The objective was to combat out-of-school private tutoring and to alleviate financial burdens by providing in-school tutoring at lower prices. However, in practice the measure fuelled greater tutoring by primarily functioning as a means to increase teachers’ incomes. According to Ministry of Education regulations at the time that Sobhy Ramadan was writing, 85% of the income generated from in-school tutoring went to the teachers and 15% to administrators at different levels of the system from the school all the way up to the minister, thereby “creating clear stakes for them to ‘encourage’ or condone tutoring” (p.95). In 2016 the system of fees was adjusted with variations by

urban/rural location and grade (Sieverding et al. 2019, p.568). For example, urban fees for group tutoring in Grades 7 and 8 were set at 35 Egyptian pounds and for Grade 9 at 40 pounds. The revenue distributions were adjusted to 90% for the teachers, 5% for the schools, and 5% for the teachers' union. When announcing the 2016 fee increase, the Ministry confirmed that the classes were voluntary. Most students interviewed by Sobhy Ramadan (2012) much preferred out-of-school tutoring if they could afford it, even if that tutoring was delivered by the same teachers. This was because the teachers commonly behaved in a more client-oriented way when off the school premises and unconstrained by the official fee levels.⁵

Much private tutoring in other countries also occurs on school premises, though it is usually done in the face of official disapproval. The literature documents these patterns for example in Algeria (Benamar 2013), The Gambia (King 2012), Kenya (Munyao 2015), Uganda (Eilor 2007), and Zimbabwe (Simbarashe & Edlight 2011). The schools have apparent appropriateness insofar as they are designated spaces for teaching and learning with facilities designed for educational use.

Other tutoring is provided in churches, mosques, cafés, libraries, and other public locations that may be less convenient in layout and facilities. The use of churches and mosques commonly reflects community participation in the phenomenon, providing support for families and recognising that shadow education is part of daily life. Noting tutorial centres operated on mosque premises in Egypt, for example, Hartmann (2008) observed that some operators merely rented the space but that in other cases the mosque authorities played an active role. Concerning the latter, one centre manager explained (p.74) that association operating the centre also ran a small health centre, a kindergarten and a library as low-cost services for social and religious reasons. By contrast, Munyao (2015, p.101) indicated that teachers in Kenya provided tutoring in churches and other out-of-school locations

⁵ Provision of tutoring outside the premises diminished the revenue for the administrators. Teachers explained to Sobhy Ramadan (2012, p.120) that they had to make periodic gifts to key administrators. In some schools, principals simply imposed 'fees' on teachers as a kind of tax or charge for showing leniency in teacher absenteeism, poor teaching, and toleration of veiled coercion of students to enrol in tutoring.

“to avoid being found out” in the face of official disapproval at their schools. Tutoring in cafés may be welcomed by the owners of those cafés seeking business and willing to provide space. In public libraries, administrators may be tolerant or even supportive on the grounds that libraries are venues for learning of different kinds.

Although the Angolan data did not indicate significant tutoring through the internet, in other countries it has become common as an alternative channel. In Morocco, for example, Rhazal et al. (2018) found that 65% of students in their 2016 sample were receiving internet tutoring. Compared with their counterparts in Europe, North America and East Asia, for example, African households are less likely to have domestic personal computers, and the reach and power of the internet broadband is more limited.⁶ Coverage of mobile phones is considerably wider, however, and tutoring at a distance through technology will certainly grow. It was given a boost in 2020 when the Covid-19 pandemic led to the temporary closure of many schools and face-to-face tutorial centres.

Turning to costs, data presented by Paviot (2015, p.113) concerning Mauritius indicated that in 2012 interviewed parents were typically spending 400 to 1,000 rupees per month on tutoring for each Grade 6 child. This compared with the minimum monthly wage of 12,176 rupees (US\$391), which implied that tutoring expenditures could consume around 6% of the minimum wage for just one child. Household expenditures may also be compared with government ones. Conservative estimates considered in 2011 that for every three rupees spent by the Mauritian government on education, parents spent one rupee on shadow education (Samuel & Mariaye 2020, p.16).

On this matter, Egyptian data are even more striking. Sobhy Ramadan (2012, p.96) cited a 2000 survey by the National Institute of Planning that reported poor households to be spending a fifth of their yearly incomes on (supposedly free) schooling; and other data showed middle-class households to be spending about one third of their incomes on tutoring. Indeed she cited UNESCO and other estimates that household expenditures on tutoring even exceeded government expenditures on education, with the former amounting to 12-15 billion

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_number_of_broadband_Internet_subscriptions, accessed 23 June 2020

Table 4: Mean Annual Household School Costs of Shadow Education as a Percentage of Average National per Capita Expenditure, Egypt, 2014

Income group	<i>Lower Secondary Schools</i>				<i>General Upper Secondary Schools</i>			
	Private lessons	Group lessons	Other costs	Total costs	Private lessons	Group lessons	Other costs	Total costs
Poorest	4	2	4	9	29	1	8	37
Second	6	4	4	14	30	5	19	43
Middle	8	3	8	19	31	10	19	59
Fourth	12	4	7	23	33	9	10	51
Richest	22	6	15	43	51	7	22	79
Average	10	4	7	21	38	7	18	62
<i>N (observations)</i>	537	537	537	537	734	734	734	734

Note: Those who did not have a cost (i.e. did not receive tutoring or incur other costs) are incorporated with a value of zero for that cost. Other costs included fees, uniforms, books, stationery, transportation to school and tutoring. Average per capita expenditure was the average across all households and not specific to wealth quintile.

Source: Sieverding et al. 2019, p.577.

Egyptian pounds per annum compared with the Ministry of Education budget of 10 billion Egyptian pounds. Balances may have shifted following the 2018 launch of a five-year Ministry of Education project with a budget of US\$2,000 million of which US\$500 million was provided through a World Bank loan (Watani 2018; World Bank 2018a), but the picture is nevertheless salutary. Table 4 presents 2014 data on household costs of shadow education as a percentage of average national per capita expenditure. Group lessons (both inside and outside schools) had lower costs, but for all income categories the expenditures were considerable for lower secondary schooling and even greater for upper secondary schooling.

Chapter 4

Demand and Supply

Demand and supply are commonly intertwined since demand creates supply and to some extent supply creates demand. Nevertheless, it is useful to consider them separately. The first section of this chapter begins with rising demand for tutoring to take advantage of opportunities arising from the overall expansion of education in the EFA movement. It includes consideration of the roles of examinations, and additional family motives for seeking supplementary tutoring such as to keep children productively occupied during their free time. Then, turning to supply, the chapter highlights the roles of different providers and in particular companies, regular teachers who seek extra incomes, and informal operators.

Drivers of demand

The most obvious driver of demand for shadow education is social competition. Families see that educational qualifications are a major way either to improve their socio-economic status or to maintain their already high status. In previous eras, formal education was an adequate channel to achieve this goal, but contemporary families increasingly feel that schooling is not enough.

Perhaps ironically, a major background factor in this situation has been success in campaigns for universalisation of primary and lower secondary education advocated by UNESCO and others (Inter-Agency Commission 1990; UNESCO 2000; UNESCO 2015a) as part of the EFA movement. In earlier eras, some families did not aspire for advanced education because it was an unchallenged tradition in their social class that instead their children left school to find employment or to manage family duties. With rising enrolment rates in primary and lower secondary education, these families now find that upper secondary and even higher education are within reach, and develop aspirations that would not have been considered by their parents (Bray 2017). At the same time, avenues for education become even more stratified: alongside questions about what level of education has been achieved are questions about the institutions and programmes in which the education has been

achieved. Shadow education becomes necessary to reach the more prestigious institutions.

Within this process, high-stakes examinations raise demand at key junctures. At higher levels, these examinations determine who can remain in the education system and who are pushed out. At lower levels, the examinations are part of streaming: individuals remain in the education systems, but enter less or more prestigious institutions according to their scores. Thus in Mauritius, for example, the Primary School Achievement Certificate (PSAC) assessment at the end of Grade 6 replaced the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination in a 2017 reform aiming to reduce stratification. Technically, there are no failures since every child proceeds to post-primary education. However, some institutions are more prestigious than others, and stratification remains. What used to be called ‘five-star’ secondary schools (Foondun 1992) have different labels, but differentiations remain entrenched (Atchia & Chinapah 2019; Samuel & Mariaye 2020). Similar remarks apply to education systems throughout the continent (see e.g. Benamar 2013; Kellaghan & Greaney 2019). Especially crucial are the examinations at the end of senior secondary education, but also important are preceding examinations which sort students into different strata.

The demands of examinations in turn shape the content of tutoring sought by students and their families. In all contexts, the most popular subjects are mathematics and languages (particularly Arabic, English, French or Portuguese, according to the country concerned). This is partly because they are core subjects in the examinations, and partly because they facilitate achievement in other subjects. Beyond this generalisation, much depends on the syllabus. For obvious reasons, students in the science streams of senior secondary schooling have different emphases in subject matter from their counterparts in the arts streams, and may also have stronger demand. For example the survey by Yahiaoui (2020, p.92) of senior secondary students in a well-established Algerian school showed that 80.6% of science stream students received tutoring compared with 60.0% in the literature and philosophy stream and 46.7% in the foreign languages stream.

Box 1 presents a positive view on tutoring, by a journalist in Rwanda, which might be echoed throughout the continent. It commences with a statement about perceived “inability of a standard education system to address the unique needs of each student”, and presents

perspectives from ambitious and probably elite families. Thus, one parent is quoted as having absolute faith in the child's primary school teachers but wants to "contribute" further. With a similar sentiment, a student is quoted as wanting not just to be good but "perfect in each and every area".

Box 1: 'Private tutoring is here to stay' – A Perspective from Rwanda

Press comments on private tutoring range from highly critical to highly positive. Below are excerpts from *The New Times*, which describes itself as 'Rwanda's Leading Daily'. These excerpts are strongly at the positive end of the spectrum. They seem mainly to concern one-to-one tutoring, probably of a costly variety.

Tutoring is a key constituent of today's education system. The system's growth is primarily attributed to the inability of a standard education system to address the unique needs of each student.

Individual differences and pursuit of excellence

Each student differs from the other in terms of calibre, ability and comprehension, and the existing education system is ill equipped to offer the required individual attention. As a result, tutoring has assumed enormous significance because it provides an individual, innovative and personal education atmosphere to students.

Whatever its name and nature – classroom coaching, home tuitions, online classes or study material sourcing; they are a choice many are reverting to increasingly. Parents prefer that their children are prepared for their national exams and will revert to searching for extra lessons for their children.

"My daughter is in P6... I have absolute faith in the teachers, but I want to contribute to my daughter's passing too. I have to. That is what true parent-teacher relationship means. So I decided to get her a private tutor in addition to the classes at school. I can honestly say he knows what he is doing." Migambi Paul, a parent in Kanombe says.

"We do not want to be just good at the subject. We want to be perfect enough so that when the national examinations come around, we are perfect in each and every area of the subjects we are doing," says a student who preferred anonymity.

Why has the demand for private tuition increased?

Demand for private tuition is driven by the fact that competitive entrance examinations are critical for gaining admission into leading secondary

(continued from previous page)

schools as well as good tertiary institutions.

Grace Rojo, studying Mathematics Chemistry and Biology at Lycée de Kigali says that since the school she is studying at is one of the best, it is important to get extra coaching in order to keep up with other top performers.

There are many advantages of private tuition, some of which include a hustle free studying environment. A classroom environment is annoying, especially for those students who are introverted. Thus tuition provides an environment where the student does not have to fear to talk to the teacher, as they are one on one.

Caroline Otero from Kigali Professional Tutors located in Kimihurura says that a quiet, introverted child who fears to raise a hand in class will find private tuition liberating since there are no other students to fear. Such a student will be encouraged to open up more in private situations.

Source: Nayebare (2013).

Thus, education is to some extent a ‘positional good’ (Hollis 1982), in which the chief determinant of whether people consider themselves to have secured adequate learning and qualifications is whether the amount is higher than that held by peers and competitors. In this respect, the metaphor of a sports stadium is useful. When all spectators in a stadium are sitting down, then everybody can see the game easily. But if people at the front stand, then the people behind them also have to stand if they still want to see the game. When that happens, the people behind them stand until eventually almost everybody is standing. The only exceptions are the ones who cannot stand – and for them the consequence is that they can only hear and not see the game. Taking private tutoring then becomes normal. The Algerian parents interviewed by Benamar (2013, p.35) have counter-parts in many other countries. “It is necessary,” said one; “It is indispensable,” said another; “It is what we have to do,” said a third. Kahlal (2009, p.6) made a related point, also with reference to Algeria: “More and more parents ... do not hesitate to pay sometimes large sums for what they consider to be the key to the future success of their children.”

Allied to the above remarks are perceptions of inadequate quality in schools. They did not apply to the parent quoted in Box 1 who had “absolute faith” in the child’s teachers, but they certainly apply

elsewhere. With reference to secondary education in Tanzania, Martínez (2017, p.7) observed that many schools lacked enough teachers to cover all subjects, with worrying gaps in mathematics and science. “Students sometimes go without teachers specialized in the subjects for months, and must often find alternative ways to learn these subjects or pay for private tuition, or fail exams as a result”. Likewise in Egypt, 69.5% of parents in the survey reported by Ille and Peacey (2019, p.107) were dissatisfied with the education system, and particularly with classrooms having 50 or more students (see also Assaad & Krafft 2015, p.17).

In some settings, the pressure becomes greater because teachers themselves demand the right to provide tutoring. As indicated, they usually justify these actions by pointing to inadequate salaries. Again with reference to Tanzania, Martínez (2017, p.47) remarked on “the often compulsory costs of remedial training or private tuition offered by teachers”; and in Nigeria, Oyewusi and Orolade (2014, p.273) observed that:

It has always been the belief of the Nigerians that the ‘reward of a teacher is in heaven’. Today, because of their involvement in private tutoring where they are receiving untaxed income they have always replied that their reward is now on earth.

Sometimes, however, teachers have more altruistic and less financial motives. In Kenya, many teachers surveyed by Andrew et al. (2016) emphasised completion of the syllabus and support to slower learners; and similar findings were reported by Getange and Obar (2016, p.14). One of the Ugandan teachers interviewed by Kwaje (2018, p.73) stated that:

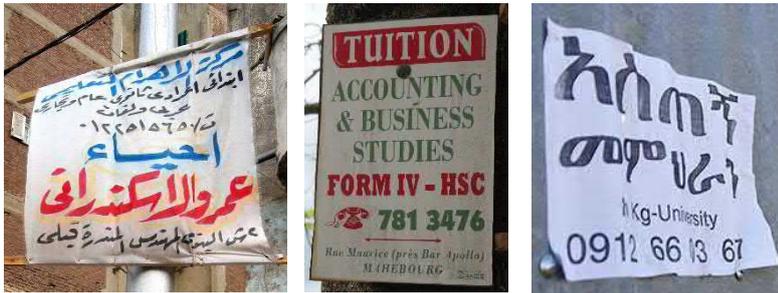
My pride is when my students are performing well in examinations. That gives you recognition and respect from the society; that is why I sacrifice to extra lessons to enhance my students’ skills in answering exams so that they can pass with good grades.

Likewise in Zimbabwe a teacher interviewed by Edson et al. (2017, p.348) stated that “with the type of children we enrol in our schools, holiday lessons are very necessary”, adding that: “These are for the good of the child and are organised for the classes that are due for examinations to make sure that these children pass examinations which are a keyhole to their future life.”

Turning again to parents, the demand for tutoring, as one might expect, is fuelled not only by aspirations but also by feelings that they cannot themselves tutor their children. As expressed by one Tunisian mother (quoted by Thot Cursus 2013): “I do not have either the time or the competence to follow and help my children. I don’t know the official programmes well, and I don’t have the appropriate pedagogy to guide their learning.” This parent added that since it seemed that schooling by itself was inadequate to meet the needs, “my only solution is to seek supplementary tutoring”. Sometimes such feelings are deliberately fuelled by tutorial companies so that they can then offer remedies. With reference to Japan, but having wider relevance, Dierkes (2013) described private tutoring as an “insecurity industry” (see also Zhao 2015).

Further factors in parental demand may include keeping their children productively occupied and under supervision while the parents are working. Kenyan parents interviewed by Paviot (2015, p.137) were anxious to avoid idleness and bad company. Their remarks included: “When left alone, children do not manage their time well so they need to be guided by teachers during their free time”; “It avoids idleness and peer pressure from bad company”; and “It is better to be at school doing something than in the street doing nothing.” Similar remarks were made by parents interviewed by Edson et al. (2017, p.350) and by Bukaliya (2019, p.168) in Zimbabwe, and by Amouzou-Glikpa (2018, p.120) in Togo.

Figure 3: Street-level Advertising of Private Tutoring, Egypt, Mauritius and Ethiopia



Sources: Mark Bray (Egypt and Mauritius); *Addis Fortune* (Ethiopia)

Diversity of supply

Elaborating on earlier remarks, it is useful to consider in turn commercial suppliers of tutoring, teachers in regular schools who provide tutoring as an additional occupation, and informal suppliers such as students and other self-employed personnel.

The commercial sector

Urban areas commonly host a range of commercial tutorial enterprises, as can be made immediately evident by a computer Google search with appropriate key words according to language. The majority of these enterprises are small and serve only their localities, but some have national and even international reach.

In 2017, an analysis of existing provision and market potential entitled *The Business of Education in Africa* was presented by a company called Caerus Capital. The report aimed “to shine a light on opportunities in education for investors and the opportunities for policymakers to leverage the private sector in their own systems” (Caerus Capital 2017, p.12). It focused on multiple types of educational business ranging from pre-school to higher education and including not only supplementary education but also teacher training, publishing, and educational technology. The authors were mainly interested in relatively large operations attractive to foreign investors, but included some comments on medium-sized and small operations.

Overall, this report viewed much potential for the supplementary sector. Focusing only on sub-Saharan Africa, the report suggested that worthwhile investments over a five-year period might be made for US\$0.4 to 0.6 billion, generating revenues of 15 to 20% (Caerus Capital 2017, p.101). Four major shaping factors were considered pertinent (p.26). First was an anticipated demographic shift. Sub-Saharan Africa was the world’s youngest region, with 50-60% of the population aged below 25. This, the report remarked, could generate a ‘demographic dividend’ while expanding public pressure to improve educational access, quality and relevance. Second was expansion of the middle class, with six million households expected to move from earning US\$5,000 a year to earning between US\$5,000 and US\$20,000 by 2025. Third was rapid urbanisation, with currently 40% of the population living in cities and expected to reach 64% by 2050, which would create various

economies in modes of educational provision. And fourth was the use of technology, with the region having 445 million unique mobile phone subscribers compared with 200 million in 2010, and the trajectory for use of both mobile phones and internet bandwidth expected to continue.

However, the report pointed out, these factors impacted differently around the continent. Table 5 summarises observations on supplementary education in the six countries taken as case studies, ranked in order of business potential. Top of the list was South Africa, recognising its existing economic strength and continued potential coupled with perceptions of qualitative shortcomings in public education that private tutoring could ameliorate. Already many tutorial enterprises operated in South Africa, but the report noted room for more. Next on the list was Nigeria, which had a much larger population but infrastructural challenges combined with issues of political and economic stability. Third was Kenya, with rising spending power and better digital coverage than Nigeria; and fourth was Ethiopia with a large population but lower per capita incomes. Senegal, ranked fifth, was the only Francophone country on the list. Given that its per capita GDP was higher than that of Kenya, it was perhaps surprising that after-school tutoring was described as unaffordable for most, but that may have reflected a widespread feeling that non-religious education was a government responsibility and thus that private tutoring was not a natural focus for household spending. Finally, at the bottom of the list was Liberia which was still suffering from the legacies of civil war with weak infrastructures, low incomes and perceived negligible potential in the domain of supplementary education.

Among the commercial providers highlighted by Caerus Capital was great diversity. At one end was Kumon, established in Japan in 1954 and by 2020 operating in 50 countries around the world including Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia.¹ Within this cluster of countries, the greatest activity is in South Africa which has about 250 centres. The company employs a franchise model specialising in mathematics and English. At the other end of the scale are innumerable small companies serving their local neighbourhoods; and in between are medium-sized companies with branch operations.

¹ <https://www.kumon.org/our-programmes/>, accessed 19 June 2020.

Table 5: Perceived Business Climate for Establishment and Development of Tutoring Enterprises in Six Countries

<i>Contextual Environment</i>	<i>Prospects for Tutoring Enterprises</i>
<p>South Africa Sub-Saharan Africa's economic powerhouse, but also the world's most unequal country; population 55 million, with 1.5% annual population growth; per capita GDP US\$7,593; middle class expanded from 5.4 million 2004 to 9.9 million 2015; Ease of Doing Business ranking 74; education consuming nearly 20% of government budget, and public education system among the continent's largest.</p> <p>Government policy supportive of private education. For-profit operations and foreign ownership allowed across all education segments.</p>	<p>Supplementary education in demand, driven by perceived low quality in public education. Multiple tutoring models have emerged. Kumon has 250 centres and over 12,000 students, but otherwise the market highly fragmented.</p> <p>Growing demand for high-quality education has increased demand for after-school tutoring. Investment opportunities for greenfield and consolidation over next five years: US\$40 million with medium financial viability.</p>
<p>Nigeria Among Africa's largest economies, but very dependent on oil prices; population 187 million, with 2.7% annual population growth – expected to become world's third most populous country by 2050, with a strong demographic dividend; per capita GDP US\$1,616; Ease of Doing Business ranking 169; education market a significant demand-side opportunity, but political and economic stability combined with infrastructural development needed to unlock growth; government regulations for investment and operations transparent and relatively favourable.</p>	<p>Private tutoring largely face-to-face and highly fragmented, with no operators at scale. A few small tech-based test preparation providers, but widespread adoption challenged by poor infrastructure and low broadband penetration.</p> <p>Investment opportunities for greenfield and consolidation over next five years: US\$80 million with medium financial viability. Infrastructure constraints might limit use of technology to 'non-delivery' uses such as fees payment, feedback, and databases.</p>
<p>Kenya Rising spending power, and now a lower-middle income country; population 45 million, with 3.0% growth rate; per capita GDP US\$885; Ease of Doing Business ranking 92; huge unemploy-</p>	<p>Widespread digital coverage, coupled with increasing demand for higher quality education, is opportunity in edtech. Investment opportunities over</p>

ment (in 2014, 67% of youth aged 15-34; 69% of new university graduates); mobile phone penetration 87%; wireless internet penetration 85%.	next five years: US\$40 million with medium financial viability.
Ethiopia Various government incentives to attract investors, but slow progress in foreign exchange facilitation. Population 100 million, with 2.5% growth rate; per capita GDP US\$486; Ease of Doing Business ranking 159; education consumes 27% of government budget; for-profit operations allowed in all education sectors of education, and foreign ownership in all sectors except primary schooling.	Investment opportunities over next five years: US\$10-20 million with medium financial viability. As English is only taught as a second language until Grade 7, large demand for English Language Teaching to help prepare for the switch to a fully English curriculum. Also opportunity to develop after-school tutoring to reduce drop-out rates.
Senegal Relies heavily on donor assistance, remittances and foreign direct investment. Population 15 million, with 2.9% growth rate; per capita GDP US\$1,042; Ease of Doing Business ranking 147; government spends 20% of budget on education, but resources not well utilised.	After-school tutoring unaffordable for most. A few English language training courses have not achieved scale. Edtech comprises very few early-stage start-ups. Investment opportunities over next five years: US\$3 million with medium financial viability.
Liberia Economy heavily reliant on foreign aid. Legacy still being felt of civil wars (1989-1997 and 1999-2003), and 84% of people live below poverty line. Population 5 million with 3% growth rate; per capita GDP US\$367; Ease of Doing Business ranking 175.	Supplementary education very limited, and test preparation market negligible. Low electricity and internet penetration restricts potential for delivery channels using technology.

Note: GDP figures were from the World Bank. They refer to 2015, and are in constant 2010 dollars.

Source: Caerus Capital (2017).

Such diversity was also evident in earlier eras. A 2003 study conducted by South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which describes itself as the continent's largest dedicated social science

and humanities research agency and policy think tank,² solicited data from 65 enterprises providing supplementary tutoring in mathematics, science and computer science for senior secondary students (Reddy et al. 2003). Most programmes were strongly linked to the school curriculum, and measured their performance in terms of ability to improve success in the end-of-secondary-schooling examination. The small programmes operated more as ‘help desks’ with tutors being available to answer students’ queries about work covered in class and/or to assist with homework, while the larger ones had their own curricular approaches. Most tutors were practising school teachers, but the franchise operations prioritised personnel with good business acumen accompanied by ability to facilitate. Echoing and deepening the HSRC survey was the evaluation of a supplementary programme in English as a second language by Fernandez-Martins (2016). The study focused on an enterprise called Active English, operating through 12 franchisees and four owner-operated franchises.

A completely different type of company operates computer platforms to match parents with tutors. A modest example, established in 2014, is Mak-Addis in Ethiopia. In 2020, Mak-Addis indicated that it had “more than 200 qualified tutors in our database willing to provide tutoring service for a very affordable price”.³ Much larger is PrepClass in Nigeria, also established in 2014 and by 2020 claiming 40,000 tutors on its books.⁴ Initially, PrepClass operated only as a matching service that earned revenue from commissions on sessions taught by the tutors. Subsequently the company added online courses earning revenue from registrations and from sale of materials and lesson notes. PrepClass’ online courses continued operation even when schools were closed in 2020 by the Covid-19 pandemic. However, both modes of operation faced limitations of Nigeria’s broadband penetration. The reported rate of penetration in mid-2020, at 39.6% (Azeez 2020), was considerably higher than the 13.0% recorded in the Caerus Capital study (2017, p.170); but even the higher level posed constraints and favoured urban areas.

² <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/about/what-we-do>, accessed 19 June 2020.

³ <https://makaddistutors.wordpress.com/>, accessed 19 June 2020.

⁴ <https://prepclass.com.ng/home>, accessed 19 June 2020.

A related but lower-tech model employs SMS (Short Message System) texts on mobile phones, which generally have wider access than broadband. A leader in this domain is Eneza, established in Kenya in 2011 and by 2020 operating also in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. The tutorial company has partnered with telephone companies so that fees are deducted from mobile airtime rather than requiring separate procedures. Each SMS message is necessarily short, but the company 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 chat with live teachers and ask academic questions from 8 am to 9 pm every day.⁵ Through its pricing and mode of operation, the company is able to target the lower parts of the income pyramid.

Nevertheless, in general face-to-face operations remain much more prominent than technology-based ones. Companies commonly stress individual and/or small group tutoring on the grounds that schools have much larger classes in which teachers cannot give personal attention to each learner. However, tutorial classes are not always small. In Benin, for example, Napporn and Baba-Moussa (2013, p.83) noted the operation of tutors able to attract senior-secondary (*baccalauréat*) candidates from a radius of 30 kilometres for classes accommodating several hundred students at a time. Similarly, the tutoring sector in Egypt is known for its 'famous' tutors (*mudarrisin mash/hurin*). Some of them teach only small groups, which permits them to charge individuals particularly high prices, but others secure much greater total incomes with lower prices and huge classes. Hartmann (2008b, p.62) referred to a tutorial centre in Cairo that had up to 1,200 students in a class. This was at the extreme, but classes of 300 to 500 students are relatively common. These operations resemble those of the 'star tutors' found in parts of Asia (Pallegedera 2018; Yung & Yuan 2020).

Finally, just as gender may be a factor in the demand for tutoring, so in some cultures it may be a factor in supply. Researching themes in Egypt, Hartmann (2008a) was struck by the gender differences in tutorial centres compared with the schools. She noted that although many school teachers were female, she did not encounter a single female in any of the tutorial centres that she visited. She did hear about female teachers who

⁵ <https://enezaeducation.com/kenya/>, accessed 20 June 2020.

provided private lessons at home, but stated (p.42) that it was “socially less acceptable for women, especially for young unmarried women, to spend their afternoons outside the home, visiting students or inviting them to their own house”. She added that women were more likely to be supported financially by their husbands or families, and were therefore less dependent on extra incomes compared with their male counterparts.

Teachers as tutors

As mentioned, much tutoring is provided as a supplementary activity by teachers in regular schools, either on school premises or externally. Teachers may be especially important in rural areas which are not served by companies or other providers. With reference to The Gambia, for example, King (2012, p.3) observed that while urban centres “have a plethora of ‘legitimate’ tutoring options and opportunities for both broader and higher educational attainment, teachers in rural areas are frequently among the few prepared to offer any supplemental services”.

Concerning school-based tutoring, variations may be found at the institutional level. In Kenya, Mogaka (2014) investigated 12 secondary schools in one district. Students from all 12 schools reported that supplementary tutoring was being offered in their schools, but in one school it was free of charge (p.44). Further, tutoring in that school was considered optional in contrast to its “compulsory” nature in the other 11 schools. In such circumstances, much depends on the views of the school principal, and also of course the teachers and parents. Mogaka added (p.46) that students in boarding schools, or in boarding sections of mixed boarding/day schools, received more tutoring than students in schools that only served day students. Variation between schools was also recorded in Togo by Amouzou-Glikpa (2018, p.126). In seven of the eight schools studied, private tutoring was initiated by the school principals and was viewed as obligatory, especially for the classes facing the public examination.

On a qualitative plane, a merit of tutoring provided by teachers is that they can be assumed to have basic pedagogic competence, even though many countries suffer from shortages of qualified teachers and of course some are better than others at their craft. However, some teachers may stretch considerably beyond their basic training in the forms and content of tutoring that they offer (Box 2).

Box 2: Demand and Supply in Ethiopia

Elsa Haile's son, five, is already preparing for life's competition that lies ahead. Elsa, an Information Technology graduate, started him in pre-KG in the new school year in September. She later copied a phone number from a notice on a lamp post, and hired a Journalism and Communications graduate to tutor the toddler for 40 minutes a day, three days a week.

"His private tutor should do all the follow-ups and help him to stand first in his class," explained Elsa, sharing her expectations. She runs a shop in Merkato; her husband also runs his own business. They opted to hire a tutor because of their time constraints due to the demands of work and home.

The tutor, Beniam Belihu, 22, recently graduated from college and has a regular job as an English teacher in a private school. His contract with Elsa includes his pay, expected behaviour, and how he is going to help her child. He feels, however, it might be too much for children to have tutors at such an early age. "The decision rests on the parents. I do my job as long as the parents find it relevant for their child to have an after-class tutorial. It is business and extra income, which is crucial for me," he emphasised.

His regular job pays 2,000 Br (US\$95) per month. He supplements that with three tutorial assignments, including a seventh grader and a 10th grader. He is paid 150 Br to 160 Br per session per student. He meets each of his three students three times a week and is paid 1,800 Br to 1,920 Br a month for each, earning well over twice his salary from the regular job.

Source: Lemma (2015).

Other informal providers of tutoring

Alongside the other categories of providers are many informal arrangements. Urban areas are not only more likely to have commercial enterprises, but also more likely to host universities which then supply students desiring to secure extra pocket money through tutoring.

Urban areas may also have large numbers of educated personnel who are unemployed or 'between jobs', and providing tutoring as a temporary measure. In Burkina Faso, for example, 49% of the tutors of primary school children in Ouagadougou surveyed by Ouattara (2016, p.205) were "[university] students or unemployed graduates". Similarly in Benin, Napporn and Baba-Moussa (2013, p.85) cited a study of identities of tutors in which 40.0% were teachers but 49.9% were university students, 6.7% were secondary school students, and 4.4% were

unemployed or other informal workers. Echoing concerns about university students in Benin who provided tutoring, Houessou (2014, p.194) noted that most lacked pedagogic skills and many provided tutoring in subjects outside their own specialisations.

Chapter 5

The Impact of Shadow Education

Building on the previous chapters about the scale and nature of shadow education, and the forces of demand and supply, this chapter turns to the impact of shadow education. It focuses first on academic achievement, then on ethics and social values, and thirdly on efficiencies and inefficiencies in education systems.

Academic achievement

An obvious question is whether shadow education ‘works’ in the sense of improving the academic achievements of its recipients. This question is difficult to answer conclusively because scientific analysis would have to compare the performance of precisely similar groups of students having and not having precisely similar types and amounts of tutoring. For ethical and practical reasons, it is not possible to conduct social experiments of this sort. Nevertheless, researchers can still seek statistical correlations between variables, and can ask whether students and their families at least perceive that they secure academic benefit.

In Kenya, Kilonzo (2014) looked not only at the proportions of Grade 8 students receiving various types of tutoring in 29 schools but also at their performance in the district-wide test taken by all students. He showed clear correlations between receipt of tutoring and test scores, adding that students who had received home-based tutoring scored even higher than those who had only received school-based tutoring, and that students receiving one-to-one tutoring scored the best of all. Correlations must always be treated with caution, since they may to some extent reflect self-selection by students who would achieve at higher levels anyway. Nevertheless, the differences were sufficiently large to be persuasive that tutoring did indeed make a difference for the students who received it (see also Andrew et al., 2016).

Then, turning to perceptions, it might seem obvious that students and their families would only pay for tutoring if they perceived it to be beneficial. However, other factors come into play, including power relationships with teachers who demand tutoring, peer pressures when everybody else seems to be receiving tutoring, and decisions to secure

tutoring as an ‘insurance policy’ in case it really does prove useful and is better to have than to risk doing without. Some researchers have specifically asked students about perceptions of benefits. For example:

- In *Algeria*, 91.5% of the students in the school surveyed by Ghounane (2018, p.4) felt that tutoring had helped them to secure good examination marks.
- In *Angola*, 97.1% of students in the three regions studied by Chionga (2018, p.109) indicated that private tutoring had improved their study habits, and 97.2% felt that it had contributed to overcoming academic difficulties.
- In *Benin*, tutors commonly assemble students across different levels and work with them in groups. Houessou (2014) surveyed 200 students receiving private tutoring in four primary and lower secondary schools. For 40.0% of these students, the tutoring was in groups from a range of grades which, the students felt, did not permit adequate attention from the tutors. Nevertheless, 60.0% of the total sample felt that their grades had improved.
- In *Ethiopia*, Melese Tarekegne and Abebe Kebede (2017, p.51) reported that 93.0% of sampled students in 26 schools in five regions felt that tutoring had helped them to improve understanding of the subject, 84.0% felt that it had improved their self-confidence, and 88.5% stated that the tutoring had helped to explain things that had not been understood in school. Teachers had comparable perceptions of the impact tutoring on the students.
- In *Ghana*, a 2018 survey found that most students considered private tutoring (known as extra classes) to be an important element in the preparation towards their final examination. Some 67% felt it a good use of time, and 63% strongly agreed to recommend it to others wanting to boost their grades (BusinessGhana 2018).
- *Kenyan* data from the 2007 SACMEQ survey with a national sample indicated that 81.5% of respondents stated that they learned new things, in addition to practising examination questions and repeating or revising school work (Paviot 2015,

- p.112).
- Parallel *Mauritian* SACMEQ data indicated that 89.8% stated that they learned new things (Paviot 2015, p.112).
 - Among the *Tanzanian* students in 50 schools surveyed by Sambo (2001, p.104), 90% stated that they secured better academic performance as a result of tutoring. The teachers felt that 80% of students secured better academic performance; and 100% of the parents felt that they did so.

However, much depends of course on both the skills and motivations of the tutors and the readiness and motivations of the students. In South Africa, Mogari et al. (2009) interviewed Grade 11 students from nine elite schools who were receiving supplementary tutoring in mathematics. These students, as might be expected from their elite status that presumably also gave them access to good tutors, felt that the tutoring provided valuable tools to obtain or maintain good marks (p.41). Yet such arrangements do not apply to all settings. In The Gambia, for example, King (2012, p.40) remarked that tutoring was not well structured: “Tutors are not properly monitored and can teach irrelevant stuff. Many are motivated by the extra bucks and not a strong desire to help.” Similar remarks have been made in Benin by Napporn and Baba-Moussa (2013, p.85) and by Houessou (2014, p.194).

Further, private tutoring can be subtractory as well as supplementary. First, students who are receiving tutoring may be tired from excessive academic work; and second, they may respect their tutors more than their teachers because they have chosen these particular tutors and are paying for their services. Writing about Egypt, Hartmann (2008a) captured issues in the title of her article “At school we don’t pay attention anyway”. This title was taken from an interview with a student who added that it was “normal” for students to receive extra lessons and to respect their tutors more than their teachers (pp.36-37). One factor exacerbating this student’s disrespect for her school teachers was a perception that the teachers only explained their lessons superficially. This pattern partly arose because the teachers assumed that all students in need were receiving extra tutoring, so made less effort than they would otherwise have done. Another reason was that many teachers were themselves tutors and reserved their energies for their private lessons. Similar remarks have been made in many other countries (see e.g. Atchia & Chinapah, 2019).

Ethics and social values

The above situation in which teachers neglected their regular duties in order to devote their energies to private tutoring raised major ethical issues. Even more problematic are situations in which teachers coerce their regular students to take supplementary lessons. In Zanzibar, for example, Khamis (2012, p.22) observed that many teachers opened tutorial centres alongside their regular duties, and in order to attract students they either absented themselves from their mainstream classes or taught ineffectively and asked the students who did not understand the lessons to join the extra classes. Similar patterns have been observed in Egypt (Box 3) and in Kenya. Concerning the latter, a parent interviewed by Getange and Obar (2016, p.14) reported that:

Teachers are very cunning. They complain that the syllabi are too wide to complete without extra lessons.... [Some] leave vital content to be covered during extra tuition. During parent days they ask us to pay for this arrangement.

Some teachers even set tests for which crucial parts of the preparation were available only during the tutoring classes and not during regular lessons. Related, one of Khamis' (2012, p.55) interviewees in Zanzibar remarked that "some of the teachers if you don't go to their private tuition classes they would grade you low in their class tests just to punish you and show you that you need to attend his or her private tuition class to achieve higher grade". In Zimbabwe, Bewu (2011) reported that teachers created separate groups in their classes according to whether students joined their private tutoring, and paid special attention to those who were in their tutored groups. Disadvantaged students finding themselves in daily comparison with their peers may suffer serious emotional harm.

Other questionable practices institutionalised at the school level concern pressure on parents to pay for extra tutorial classes. In Kenya, for example, Matara and Maina (2018) reported on a school that had made holiday coaching compulsory in Grades 7 and 8, with a fee of Sh350 per week and a fine of Shs1,000 for parents who fail to pay. "It is mandatory," indicated one parent, and in the absence of payment "the child will not be allowed back to class when schools open". In a different school the price was Sh500 with the message that "parents or guardians who complain are advised to get an alternative school for their children".

These practices had continued despite government prohibition 2013 and intermittent arrests.¹

Box 3: Saving Components for the Private Lessons

Exploring dynamics in Egypt, Sobhy Ramadan (2012, p.117) recounted observations of a lesson in a school computer laboratory.

There were two or three students per computer. The teacher started dictating the lesson and the students started writing after her. The teacher said that the class was behind in the curriculum and they had to complete the lessons in their notebooks. She dictated features of the computer and steps for making certain simple operations (copying and pasting into folders). With frequent stops to discipline chatting, latecomers to class and other 'misbehaviour', the dictation lingered. One girl who seemed to have significant knowledge of computer use was ignored or silenced when she attempted to answer questions. Finally, the teacher demonstrated something on the computer and students were allowed to replicate it on theirs.

That moment, the researcher records, was the stage for which she had been waiting. But it lasted for only about two minutes, and soon the class ended.

Subsequently, Sobhy Ramadan asked students how they felt about not spending more time working at the computers. They replied that this was normal. But, the researcher wanted to know, how would they learn? The students replied that those who wanted could later seek an explanation by enrolling in private tutoring with the teacher. A couple of students then explained their understanding of the silencing of the knowledgeable student, the lingering of the discipline, and the dictation as all related to 'saving' the material and the explanation for the private tutoring.

Similar experiences have been reported in The Gambia, though with more effective intervention from the authorities.² The government there tackled issues by increasing school-level resources through School Improvement Grants and by empowering School Management Committees (SMCs) in basic schools and Boards of Governors (BoGs) in

¹ The *Daily Nation* newspaper has contained periodic reports. For example, a 16 September 2016 article stated that 21 teachers had been arrested in Kisumu County, and included a photograph of a teacher of one of them (<https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Taking-children-for-holiday-activities-cost-parents-a-fortune-/1056-3458292-f6mgor/index.html>, accessed 8 July 2020).

² Ismaila Cesay, during workshop on draft of the present report, 3 July 2020.

secondary schools. Teachers were prohibited from directly collecting fees for supplementary lessons on school premises, and any such lessons that did take place were under the direction of the SMCs or BoGs which in turn were prohibited from sending students away for non-payment. The Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education checked via their cluster monitors on the extent to which and the ways in which supplementary lessons were conducted on school premises.

A broader ethical concern is that provision of shadow education, particularly by teachers in public schools, shapes the values of young children in a way that likely continues to influence them when they become adults. It shows that even public education can be turned into a private service available only to people who pay for it; and it seems to demonstrate that government promises, e.g. of free education for all, cannot always be trusted. In Zimbabwe, Mercy and Dambson (2014, p.652) added issues of cheating – not by students but by teachers who upgraded the examination scripts of their tutees because they wanted the parents to feel that their investments were delivering returns.

A different form of corruption concerns sexual coercion. This matter also of course arises in schools and in many other facets of life, but may be especially problematic in the tutoring sector since, particularly in the case of one-to-one tutoring, ‘private’ means operating in the private sphere as well as paying fees. Writing about Tanzania, Martínez (2017, p.7) illustrated the problem by documenting the experiences of one girl, Imani, whose aspirations for life changed abruptly when she was 16 years old:

She was sexually abused by her private tutor, a secondary school teacher whom her parents hired to teach her during the weekend. When Imani discovered she was pregnant, she informed the tutor. He disappeared.

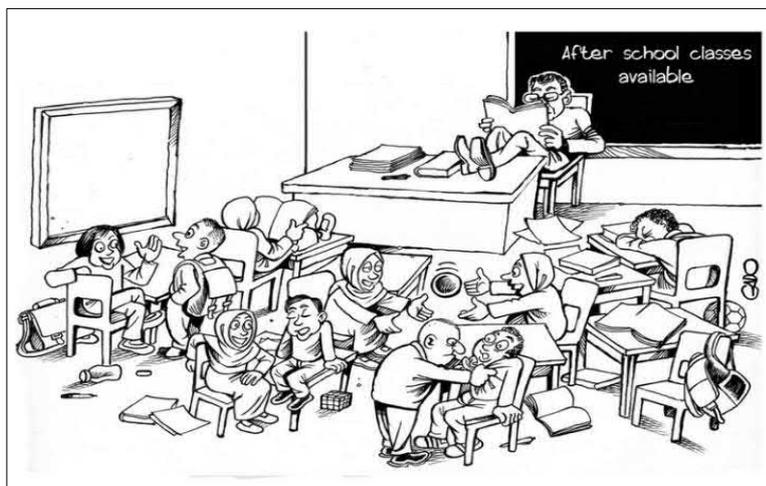
Similar concerns were documented in Zimbabwe by Bukaliya (2019, p.169) and informal remarks suggest that they are inadequately reported yet common throughout the continent. Highlighting the problem in Sierra Leone, one commentator remarked on problems when shadow education classes were poorly monitored and that “girls were misused at Basic

Education Certificate Examination (BECE) preparation extra classes”.³
He continued:

The classes normally end at 18.00 hours but these female students will not arrive at their various homes till after 20.00 hours. Their excuse will be a delay by the teachers or prolonged classes. No follow-up action will be made by the parents until after the BECE when signs of pregnancy become visible.

This became so widespread that it even became a slogan ‘After BECE will be pregnancy’.⁴ Such matters were behind the campaign launched in 2018 by the wife of Sierra Leone’s President, entitled ‘Hands Off our Girls’.⁵

Figure 4: Possible Backwash when Classroom Teachers also offer Private Tutoring



Source: <http://gem-report-2017.unesco.org/en/countonme> [reproduced with permission]

³ Sesay Philip Morie, during workshop on draft of the present report, 6 July 2020.

⁴ In local patois, ‘After BECE, Answer Belleh’. See e.g. <https://m.facebook.com/1229595073842701/posts/west-africa-women-and-girls-empowerment-wawge-on-the-13th-july-2018-organized-me/1381703778631829/>.

⁵ See e.g. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/west-african-first-ladies-launch-girls-rights-campaign/1339432>; <https://sierraleone.savethechildren.net/news/save-children-sierra-leone-joins-first-lady-sierra-leone-hands-our-girls-campaign>;

Efficiencies and inefficiencies

The above remarks have implications for the (in)efficiency with which education systems operate. From one angle, shadow education might be viewed as beneficial because it potentially increases learning and can help slow learners to keep up with their peers. However, slow learners may be unmotivated and/or from low-income families unable to afford tutoring, and since in practice shadow education is more commonly accessed by students who are already higher achievers, it is much more likely to increase gaps than reduce them. In turn these disparities raise challenges at the classroom and school levels as well as at the system level.

The matter may also be linked to stresses on children. In Mauritius the point was made sharply during a National Assembly debate (Obeegadoo 2011, p.97):

Private supplementary tuition places an unhealthy burden on children, to the extent of being described by some as a new form of child labour. In Mauritius, it is not uncommon for young children aged nine, ten or eleven, to be subjected to supplementary tuition every day of the week and for several hours. To which must be added the double homework effect: homework from school, homework from tuition. The psychological toil, if not the physical toil, is all too obvious.

To this point was added the observation (p.99) that at the level of senior secondary schooling, “large numbers of students, particularly in the final years of secondary, are absent from school during the term time, ostensibly to revise from home, but in reality to attend private supplementary tuition – with the blessing of parents and teachers alike”. Further, the teachers in the regular classes at that season “do very little effective teaching”, instead concentrating their time and energy on students that they were themselves tutoring.

While the above remarks applied to term-time activities, similar points may be made about holiday tutoring. In Uganda, Kwaje (2018, p.22) observed that some students take extra lessons to secure additional guidance in their weak study areas and find it a constructive way of spending the holiday season. However, he also recognised that it causes stress for students who need and deserve a break and, echoing Malaba

(2008), observed that the Ministry of Education was much opposed to the practice. A senior official in the Ministry (quoted by Kalundu 2009) had stated that “coaching burns out children, especially at an early age and is partly to blame for the declining reading culture in the country as the kids grow up to hate anything to do with books”.

A further challenge, noted in Egypt by Sobhy Ramadan (2012, pp.98-99) and also evident elsewhere, is that teachers want to teach in subjects that demand tutoring, in higher grades, and in communities with sufficiently affluent parents. Serious teacher shortages have been experienced for art, music and sports, and teachers are unwilling to accept postings for junior classes and rural areas. Related dimensions have been noted more generally by Jarousse (2009, p.143): “The low appeal of rural locations leads to a situation where schools established in these contexts have difficulty in attracting, retaining and maintaining their personnel and often see themselves neglected to the benefit of city schools or schools located in privileged areas.” The greater possibility of offering private tutoring was among the specific attractions of urban areas (p.145).

Continuing with the Egyptian case, another dimension noted by Sobhy Ramadan (2012) that has wider relevance concerns the subtle dynamics of peer interactions among teachers. Observing the tendency for teachers to reserve their high-quality efforts for their private classes, Sobhy Ramadan highlighted the case of one teacher who taught in school the same way she did in tutoring but who was then criticised by colleagues for giving revision sheets and frequent quizzes in school. The researcher added (p.129) that the other teachers blocked the attempt by the first teacher to spread this practice across the school, one of them asking her explicitly “What then would we offer in the private tutoring?”. As some teachers put it delicately, most teachers ‘leave something’ for their private lessons.

Nevertheless, the above examples of teachers who tutor their own students in less-than-professional ways are not universally applicable. Elite tutoring by inspirational and talented tutors of the sort that appeared to be part of the South African arrangements investigated by Mogari et al. (2009) is very different from low-quality tutoring that may barely improve upon low-quality teaching in school. Nayebare (2013) quoted a student at Kigali Institute of Education in Rwanda who, presumably speaking from experience, described private tutoring as “a waste of time because the child learns almost the same things that are taught at school.”

She added that in her view the entire aim of education was to develop independent thinking:

The best children are the ones who are self-made. If the child goes for tuition, there is no time for self study and it is as if the child is being spoon fed all through the education. This can lead to deprivation of the chance for the child to be a self made person who is an independent thinker.

Yet some forms of private tutoring indeed can help develop independent thinking and creativity – and in this respect the challenge for the school system is that the tutorial centres take many of the best teachers away from schools in order to work in the private tutoring sector. This point again stresses that analysis of tutoring must be undertaken in conjunction with analysis of schooling.

Chapter 6

Implications for Policy Makers

With all the preceding commentary on the scale, nature and impact of shadow education, it is time to turn to the implications for policy makers. This chapter particularly has in mind policy makers at the national level, though dimensions can equally apply to counterparts at provincial or state levels, especially in decentralised systems. Indeed to some extent the remarks even relate to policy makers at the school level, and particularly to the work of principals.

The chapter begins with data collection, returning to the gaps highlighted in Chapter 3 and stressing the need for clearer pictures to assess the nature of issues and to monitor trends. Then it addresses matters of assessment, selection and curriculum, before turning to regulation. The final section stresses the value of partnerships to address issues.

Securing data and monitoring trends

One major starting point for policy makers must be securing better data on shadow education. In 2010, the author described analysis of shadow education as resembling “assembly of a jigsaw puzzle with most of the pieces missing” (Bray 2010, p.3). During the period since that remark was written, data sources have much improved in some parts of the world but much further work is needed. In Africa, more information relative to other countries is available in Egypt and Mauritius, but even those countries have significant gaps. Table 1, above, may seem to have a long list but only showed data from 25 of the 54 countries in Africa. For many countries the data map is completely blank, even if anecdotal evidence suggests that the basic themes are applicable throughout the continent. Thus, in all countries more and better data are needed on:

- *receipt*: how much tutoring is received by whom, where, for what durations, in which grades, in what subjects, and at what costs; and
- *provision*: who provides shadow education, where, why, with what prices, and with what qualities.

Ideally, much of this information should be secured on a common yardstick to permit comparison across countries in the way that is possible with UNESCO statistics of schooling (www.uis.unesco.org). SACMEQ has provided some leadership, especially with its 2007 and 2013 surveys and with promise of further rounds.¹ The counterpart body in Francophone Africa, PASEC, has collected much valuable data on other topics (PASEC 2015), but its surveys to date have not included focus on private tutoring.²

In addition to basic mapping of who receives and provides shadow education, other domains of needed data include:

- what types, durations and seasons of shadow education ‘work’ for what types of students at different grades and in different settings;
- what implications shadow education has for social inequalities;
- what roles shadow education plays in the labour market;
- what benefits and tensions arise from the psychological dimensions and impact of shadow education;
- in what ways different shadow education curricula dovetail with, echo, reinforce and/or contradict school curricula; and
- what impact shadow education has on the values of children, parents, teachers, tutors, and the broader society.

Such data are needed at multiple levels in education systems: school, community, district, province/state, and country, and also by socio-economic group and perhaps race, ethnicity and gender. In some countries, valuable data have been collected through broader house-hold surveys such as the 2012 Egypt Labor Market Panel Survey (Assaad & Krafft 2015) and the 2009 and 2014 iterations of the Panel Survey of Young People in Egypt (Roushdy & Sieverding 2015). Thus the burden

¹ SACMEQ I commenced in 1995 and was completed in 1999. SACMEQ II commenced in 2000 and was completed in 2004. SACMEQ III data were collected in 2007, and SACMEQ IV data in 2013. For SACMEQ V, planning and piloting were accomplished in 2019.

² PASEC is the Programme d’Analyse des Systèmes Éducatifs de la CONFEMEN (<http://www.pasec.confemen.org/>). The CONFEMEN is the Conférence des Ministres de l’Éducation des États et Gouvernements de la Francophonie.

for data collection does not necessarily need to be shouldered by the Ministry of Education alone. Oseni et al. (2018) provide guidance on design of household surveys that do include private tutoring.

Further, the bibliography of the present study shows considerable information and analysis by academics, including masters and doctoral students. Much of this research needs stronger methodological rigour, for which the professoriate in the university sector should take the lead. Yet governments can encourage such work by recognising its existence and incorporating recommendations into policy making when appropriate. At the same time, the academic community should beware of the tendency to make simplistic recommendations that fail to take adequate account of conflicting forces and government constraints.

Reforming assessment, selection and curriculum

Insofar as assessment and selection systems are key focal points for both demand and supply of shadow education, an obvious question concerns the scope to reform these systems in order to shape the scale and nature of shadow education. In turn, assessment and selection have implications for the nature of curriculum at all levels. Even when students are not immediately sitting for watershed examinations, they are influenced by the backwash of those examinations. Thus in all countries, key examinations at the end of senior secondary schooling determine whether candidates can continue to higher education and, if so, to which institutions and programmes within those institutions. Students are likely to perform better in these examinations if they attend elite and well-focused senior secondary schools, and they are more likely to do that if they have attended elite and well-focused junior secondary schools. In turn, applicants are more likely to enter elite and well-focused junior secondary schools if they are already in elite and well-focused primary schools; and to get into those primary schools it helps to have attended the right kindergarten. Shadow education supports at each stage; and even if families feel that elite schools are beyond their reach, they may aim at middle-range institutions or at least those above the bottom.

Elaborating, while in most education systems the demand for tutoring is most intense during the season just before watershed examinations, strategic parents invest in shadow education at much earlier stages. The Zambian national household survey showed that in 2001 enrolment rates in primary school tutoring peaked at 54.2% in

Grade 7, the year of the Primary School Leaving Examination (Central Statistical Office & ORC Macro 2003, p.105), but had shown steady increase to reach that point.³ Similarly, among the 579 Grade 8 Ethiopian students surveyed by Melese and Abebe (2017, p.634), 10.7% had started to receive tutoring in kindergarten, 19.9% in Grades 1-4, 26.8% in Grades 5-6, and 42.6% in Grades 7 or 8. Comparable patterns are evident elsewhere in the continent (see e.g. Assaad & Krafft 2015, p.23; Sium Mengesha 2018, p.225).

Nevertheless, reform of watershed examinations to reduce their backwash effects is complex. This is partly because indeed a major purpose of administering examinations is to select students for different tracks in stratified education systems and/or to identify which students should be pushed out of the education systems. Further, external examinations may be viewed as equalising instruments that can reward diligent students regardless of their home or school circumstances. Such factors have retained the existence of examinations at various levels in education systems despite their disadvantages (Au 2009; Kellaghan & Greaney 2019). In the Republic of Korea, at one stage the government sought to reduce shadow education by replacing the examinations for entry first to lower secondary schools and then to upper secondary schools by lotteries (Kim 2016, p.21). The reform was politically sensitive because many students who felt that they deserved a reward for their hard work were denied those places. Also, schools were challenged by greater diversity in the academic standards of their intakes; and ambitious families that felt inadequately served still resorted to private tutoring to bridge the gaps that resulted from these challenges encountered by schools. Thus despite (or because of) its radical nature, the measure was not successful and does not seem worth trying to imitate.

By contrast, reforms in Egypt will deserve close observation to identify their impact in that country and the lessons for other countries. For many decades, Egypt's education system has been dominated by the Grade 12 examination called *Thanawiya Amma*. The education reform project launched in 2018 with a budget of US\$2,000 million of which

³ These were cross-sectional data. Enrolment rates were: 6.1% in Grade 1, 9.3% in Grade 2, 10.5% in Grade 3, 14.4% in Grade 4, 17.2% in Grade 5, 27.3% in Grade 6, and 54.2% in Grade 7.

US\$500 million was provided through a World Bank loan addressed this matter. The project document observed (World Bank 2018a, p.2) that the *Thanawiya Amma* examination “drives the whole system and reinforces irrelevant rote learning and growing education inequality via rampant private tutoring”. The document envisaged replacement of the terminal examination by a set of computer-based tests to be administered twice yearly to students in Grades 10, 11 and 12, the results of which would be compiled into a Grade Point Average for subsequent university admission and other purposes. The project design also had a reformed mechanism for selecting students for upper secondary schooling at the end of Grade 9, and a new national Grade 4 assessment. Other project components sought to improve teaching and learning in public schools in order, in the words of the Minister of Education (quoted by Saavedra 2019) “to bring learning back to the classroom”. Private tutoring was the most obvious location outside the (school) classroom to which learning had drifted.

Other governments may be less courageous to embark on radical reform of their examination systems, for political and/or administrative reasons and perhaps also for educational ones insofar as examinations do motivate students to take learning seriously. 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). And in 2019 the Kenyan government reorganised 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).⁴

At the same time, governments must be mindful of side-effects that can reinforce the need for tutoring when introducing new curricula. In

⁴ The reform replaced an 8+4+4 model (i.e. eight years of primary schooling, four years of secondary schooling and four years for a degree), which had itself been introduced in 1985 to replace the 7+4+2+3 model (i.e. seven years of primary schooling, four years of lower secondary, two years of upper secondary, and three years for a standard university degree). The 8+4+4 model had already postponed the watershed at the end of primary from Grade 7 to Grade 8 (Muricho & Chang’ach 2013, p.123). The new structure included two years of pre-primary, and had a 2+6+6+3 structure.

Benin, Napporn and Baba-Moussa (2013, p.80) indicated that a 1999 reform of primary school curricula led to teaching approaches in mathematics and other subjects that parents did not understand. As a result, these parents and others in older generations were disabled from providing adequate support at home. At the secondary level, in South Africa Mogari et al. (2009, p.41) remarked on the demands of a new mathematics syllabus and that “92% of those teaching Grade 10 mathematics mentioned that they struggle to complete the syllabus while 83% indicated that they were having problems with the Grade 11 syllabus”. According to the researchers, these challenges were among the factors pushing students to private tutoring. A further comprehensive study of mathematics teaching and learning was provided by Bethel (2016) with lesson observations and questionnaire surveys in Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Rwanda and Uganda. In all countries, the majority of teachers felt that private tutoring was needed – and in Ethiopia and Nigeria the proportion exceeded 90.0% – even in settings where teachers were very positive about their pupils’ attitudes and progress. In broader domains, similar remarks about curricular demands apply in Zimbabwe where the government in 2016 introduced a syllabus for both primary and secondary grades “to modernise the education system ... in line with modern technologies” and, according to Makwerere and Dube (2019, p.394), without a proper feasibility study relating to infrastructure and resource availability. Sometimes teachers use curriculum demands as an excuse to offer private supplementary tutoring, and students may suffer unreasonable study loads that impinge too strongly on time for leisure and other activities; but in some systems supplementary support is indeed necessary.

Finally on the matter of curriculum, policy makers can usefully analyse what the shadow education sector offers that schooling does not, and why. The marketplace to some extent sends signals about what families want and are even willing to pay for. Because the commercial sector has more flexibility than schooling, entrepreneurs can be at the cutting edge of innovation during changing times, and can provide signals about content and approaches which the school sector should also consider. This may include development of more attractive textbooks, employment of technology, and tailored approaches to learning for individuals and groups.

Devising and implementing regulations

Given these concerns about impact on education systems and the broader society, governments are increasingly concerned with regulation of shadow education. Schooling has long been regulated, albeit with shortcomings in enactment of regulations, and shadow education is beginning to catch up.

The questions then are (i) who and what should be regulated, and (ii) how. Commonly, regulations are devised separately for commercial enterprises and for practising teachers. As noted above, much tutoring is

Box 4: Educating the Consumers

It can never be possible for governments by themselves to regulate all parts of the shadow education sector. With this in mind, some authorities place weight on consumer awareness achieved through websites, flyers, television announcements and other means.

The Hong Kong government, for example, has circulated to schools and placed on its website a pamphlet about how to choose a tutorial centre (Hong Kong SAR 2018). The approach might also be useful in Africa. The Hong Kong pamphlet recommends parents to:

- choose centres that have been registered or provisionally registered with the government;
- read carefully the course information provided by the centres;
- pay attention to the information on fees;
- retain formal receipts;
- select centres with safe learning environments; and
- choose appropriate course dates and times.

An accompanying 30-second video (Hong Kong SAR 2019) expresses the core messages in a lively visual format.

However, the above list is bureaucratic in focus. It does not ask questions about whether children need tutoring in the first place and, if so, why. Nor do the pamphlet and video say anything about ways to select and monitor the work of university students and other informal providers. For this, parents might use a checklist (see Bray & Kwo 2014, pp.54-55) that considers:

- specifics about the child's needs;
- relationships between tutoring and schooling;
- ways to evaluate the tutoring; and
- contracts and services delivered.

also provided informally by university students, retirees and others; and increasing amounts of tutoring are provided via the internet, in some cases across national boundaries. Informal provision and internet tutoring are especially difficult to regulate, and the government role may need instead to rely on educating the consumers (Box 4).

Regulating tutorial companies

All countries have general regulations for companies, requiring safe buildings, proper contracts, accurate tax returns, honest advertising, etc.. Around the world some governments have specific provision for tutoring companies (see e.g. Bray & Kwo 2014; Choi & Cho 2016; Zhang 2019), but in Africa such specific provision is less common. Even the Egyptian tutorial centres are largely unregulated, for the ironic reason that successive governments have felt that they should not exist and therefore have not wished to legitimate them through regulation. This situation is arguably problematic because self-evidently the tutorial centres have long existed and are very likely to remain, and the lack of regulation perpetuates vulnerabilities for the clients and wider society. Some Egyptian centres register as language or computer centres and then add tutoring illegally, and others do not register at all (Fayed 2020). These unregistered centres do not pay taxes, though may instead pay bribes to government officials when threatened.

By contrast, in Ethiopia the Addis Ababa Education Bureau has been more proactive. Its regulations, devised in 2004 and remaining in force, have five main components (Melese 2020):

- *Facilities*: Tutorial centres must have appropriate classrooms, electricity, water, toilets, telephone access, road access, and premises with minimum areas of 600 square metres.
- *Location*: The institutions should be located away from noise.
- *Tutors' qualifications and pedagogical experience*: As in public schools, tutors should have a minimum of teaching diploma qualification for tutoring primary students and first degree for tutoring secondary students, and should hold pedagogical training certificates.
- *Curriculum*: The curriculum should be similar to that of regular school classes.

- *Times and durations:* Tutoring should be provided for a maximum of five days per week per pupil, and for not more than 45 minutes per day.
- *Class size:* Classes should have no more than 10 students.

These regulations seem to require tutorial centres indeed to shadow regular schooling in teachers' qualifications, facilities and curriculum, and are even more demanding than requirements for schooling in terms of class size and restricted duration. However, the regulations are vague in some respects. For example, they state that any person or body not implementing will be punished, but do not state the nature of the punishment. Also, the regulations have not been strictly applied. Lemma (2015) observed that the requirement for qualifications seemed mainly to be met by default since most people seeking tutoring jobs were already teachers, but the re-registration of centres that was demanded every two years was not followed up consistently.

The Addis Ababa regulations also show the challenges first of setting requirements that are realistic, and then of enactment given the need for inspection and personnel constraints in most government administrations. Regulations that are too strict and cumbersome are likely to provoke non-compliance, which brings the regulations themselves into disrepute. In Addis Ababa the temptations to ignore the regulations are strong, especially given the restrictions to 45 minutes per pupil per day, five days a week, and 10 pupils per class.

Even more difficult to regulate are companies operating through the internet either as matching services or through provision of courses. Thus Mak-Addis, for example, which was mentioned in Chapter 4 as a matching service, was described by the Caerus Capital report (2017, p.201) as "operating as an online aggregator outside of any government regulations". The company website did include a code of conduct for tutors, stressing responsibility, integrity, and care in interpersonal relationships including awareness of power dynamics.⁵ However, a wide gap might exist between enforcement of such a code and merely placing it on a website. Similar remarks may apply to the management of online courses, some of which may even be provided across national boundaries and thus beyond the regulatory reach of authorities in the recipient countries.

⁵ <https://makaddistutors.wordpress.com/tutors-register/>, accessed 19 June 2020.

Regulating provision of tutoring by teachers

Turning to regulations on private tutoring provided by practising teachers, the main questions are (i) whether teachers should be permitted to provide private supplementary tutoring, (ii) if so, for whom, and perhaps when and where, and (iii) if not, how this regulation can be enforced. The majority of African countries have no regulations on this matter, and leave it to a *laissez faire* environment. In Angola, for example, Chionga (2018, p.86) remarked that although private tutoring had proliferated, “the education authorities remain silent” on the phenomenon. Similar remarks have been made about Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Namibia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia.⁶ Nevertheless a significant number of countries do have regulations, particularly to restrict the tutoring activities of teachers in public schools (Table 6).

Table 6: Regulations on Private Tutoring by Serving Teachers

<p>Egypt: Probably the oldest regulations on the continent were set by the Egyptian government in 1947. The regulations prohibited teachers from offering private lessons either inside or outside schools without permission from the Ministry of Education and their schools (Egypt 1947). Teachers who were given permission were prohibited from tutoring pupils for whom the teachers administered official examinations. Follow-up regulations (Egypt 1998) prohibited all private lessons by public school teachers; and a 2013 Prime Ministerial decree stressed the authority of both the Ministry of Education and top administrators in each of the 27 Governorates to pursue disciplinary action against teachers providing private lessons inside or outside schools or in any public or private establishment (Egypt 2013, Article 5).</p>
<p>Eritrea: In 2012 the Ministry of Education banned the operation of tutorial centres, instead permitting teachers to operate fee-charging classes in schools on Saturdays (Eritrea 2012). Then in 2019 these Saturday classes were also prohibited (Sium Mengesha 2020).</p>
<p>The Gambia: All private tutoring by serving teachers was banned in 2010 (King 2012, p.3).</p>

⁶ Workshop participants from the named countries, reviewing draft of the present report, 3 and 6 July 2020.

<p>Kenya: A 1988 Ministry of Education circular directed teachers to offer support to students as part of their regular duties without cost to parents (Kenya 1988). The Ministry followed up in 1995 with a general ban on fee-charging private tutoring (Mogaka 2014, p.1), reiterated in 1999 (Wanyama & Njeru 2004, p.1). Another circular in 2008 repeated the prohibition of all types of fee-charging private tutoring by serving teachers, and in 2013 the prohibition of holiday coaching was reinforced by an amendment to the Education Act (Kenya 2013, section 37).</p>
<p>Mauritius: Teachers are prohibited from privately tutoring students in Grades 1-4 (Mauritius 2011), but they are permitted to tutor students in higher grades.</p>
<p>Mozambique: A 2014 Ministry of Education circular addressed tutoring in homes (Mozambique 2014, Article 41). It indicated a requirement for tutors to secure approval from the district education authorities, providing evidence of qualifications and the intended types and levels of tutoring. Teachers in both public and private schools were forbidden to offer paid private tutoring to their existing students.</p>
<p>Tanzania [Mainland]: A 1991 Ministry of Education circular (Tanzania 1991) permitted forms of vacation tutoring, provided that school managements were aware of the process. However, a subsequent circular (Tanzania 1998) banned all private tutoring in school settings.</p>
<p>Tunisia: A 2008 regulation permitted teachers to tutor up to three groups of students with a maximum of four students per group, but those students could not be from the teachers' regular classes (Tunisia, 2008). Then a 2015 regulation restricted private tutoring to the school premises, with permission from the principals and district education offices (Chraiet 2015; Tunisia 2015). Teachers in public schools were prohibited from providing private tutoring outside school premises, and the prices for the in-school tutoring were set by the authorities.</p>
<p>Uganda: A 1994 circular prohibited holiday coaching in schools, and was reiterated in 2007 (Eilor 2007, pp.28-29).</p>
<p>Zambia: The Minister of Education announced in 2013 that all private tutoring was prohibited in schools at weekends and during holidays (Mukanga 2013). Government officials affirmed the policy on various subsequent occasions. In 2019, the Ministry clarified that it applied only to public schools and not to private ones (<i>Lusaka Times</i> 2019).</p>
<p>Zimbabwe: The government prohibited holiday coaching and what in Zimbabwe are called extra [private] lessons in 2014 (Mambo 2014; Zimbabwe 2014). In 2020, teachers were required to sign a document (Box 5) recognising that they were forbidden to provide extra lessons (Mangwiro 2020).</p>

a need to tutor because of low salaries and if families continue to desire and press for the service. The Eritrean prohibition of both tutorial centres and school-based tutoring on Saturdays had some impact, but mainly drove the tutoring underground and greatly increased the prices (Sium Mengesha 2020).

Among the governments with *laissez faire* approaches, the remarks by an officer of the Rwanda Education Board (REB) provide some insight. He was quoted by Nayebare (2013) as stating that “private tuition does not need any regulations from REB”. He preferred to leave matters to the school level, and added:

We are also parents; we understand the need for extra studies for children. We understand that each child has a special way of studying.

Yet again in contrast to governments that ban private tutoring is the policy in Zanzibar where the authorities in 1998 approved private tutoring on the premises of both primary and secondary schools (Anangisye 2016, p.9). A government document (Zanzibar 1998, p.18) explained that schools were permitted “to charge a small fee for extra tuition provided by teachers after the official working hours in situations where parents are willing to do so” (Zanzibar 1998, p.18). The measure was controversial, but was described as “a rare opportunity for parents to voluntarily contribute to teachers’ remuneration and therefore increasing the motivation of teachers and decreasing their propensity to look for another job”. At least some families appear to have considered this reasonable. Writing some years later, Khamis (2012, p.50) quoted a parent who stated that:

Teaching is not an easy task and teachers are not paid well, I guess. Therefore, teachers have to increase their income through private tuition.

Another parent observed that “lawyers, doctors, nurses and others have sources for extra incomes, so teachers also use their education to earn more money”.

Also in contrast to prohibition of tutoring by teachers in many countries is a Ghanaian initiative that seems actively to encourage it. In 2017, Ghana’s President announced a Free Senior High School (SHS) scheme which led to a surge of enrolments and design of a Double-Track

system (Ghana 2020). In this system, schools moved from a three-term to a two-semester arrangement with alternating attendance by Green and Gold Tracks that utilised school buildings all the year round. Anxious that the Free SHS scheme should indeed be free, in 2018 the Minister of Education announced that the government would provide 50 cedis to every student “as an academic intervention where the teachers, if they have to organize extra lessons in Maths and English, will not charge the students but the government will give them money” (Ofosua 2018). Confirming arrangements in 2019, the Deputy Minister explained that the overall objective was “to ensure that learning outcomes improved overall through the development of an effective academic remedial programme for all students” (Kale-Dery 2019); and in 2020, the government disbursed funds to schools not only for teachers providing supplementary lessons but also to management/support staff (Ghana Education Service 2020). From a wider perspective, however, the scheme seemed to legitimise the provision of supplementary tutoring; and if in due course funding constraints might lead to withdrawal of the scheme, the culture of such tutoring would already have been reinforced.

Finally, it is again pertinent to note patterns during the period in 2020 when schools were closed by the Covid-19 pandemic. The reason for closure was to promote social distancing and thus reduce the spread of the virus; yet ironically in some settings closure of schools merely expanded face-to-face tutoring. In Kenya, for example, teachers in private schools lost their incomes because their institutions had lost their students. Many such teachers moved to private tutoring simply to make ends meet, despite the instructions on social distancing. Some public-school teachers also moved to private tutoring in order to make good use of their time while the schools were closed, and to earn some extra money on top of the salaries that were still being received (Maobe 2020). Press reports in Zimbabwe indicated similar patterns (Kafe 2020; Zimbabwe HRForum 2020), and parallels could probably be identified throughout the continent.

Developing partnerships

Governments are likely to have more success in policy enactment if they have strong partners. By corollary, governments are unlikely to be successful if they do not have at least understanding and preferably

support from major stakeholders, and particularly teachers, school administrators and families.

The types of necessary support may be illustrated by Kenyan experience when the government decided to ban weekend and holiday coaching. According to press reporting (BBC 2008), the National Parents' Association (NPA) welcomed the move on the grounds that the ban would reduce pressure on family budgets. The chairpersons of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) and Kenya Secondary School Heads Association (KSSHA) were also said to have welcomed the move. However, the KNUT felt that teachers should be compensated for loss of income by increased wages which were not forthcoming; and when the Ministry of Education pressed the issue again in 2012 but without the extra remuneration, the teachers went on strike. The Mauritian government had the same challenge in 2009 when it proposed to prohibit private tutoring in Grade 4 after having previously prohibited it in Grades 1-3 (Hilbert 2009). In this case the authorities did increase salaries, while asking teachers to contribute to an Enhancement Programme to replace tutoring, and the legislation was passed.

Other partnerships may be with community bodies and NGOs that work with parents and schools and can convey perspectives in both directions (i.e. helping the government to understand community perspectives as well as helping communities to understand government perspectives). In some countries, such as Egypt and Kenya where tutoring is sometimes provided in mosques and churches, partnership with religious leaders is desirable. Partnerships with the media also help to disseminate perspectives and thus to effect change.

A further form of partnership may be with private enterprises in the delivery of educational programmes. In South Africa, Reddy et al. (2003, p.27) highlighted forms of team teaching in which outside agencies worked with schools to teach or co-teach difficult areas of the curriculum. Other forms of Public-Private Partnership (PPP) involved collaboration between commercial enterprises and provincial Departments of Education, and supported senior secondary students facing their matriculation examinations (p.31). Such partnerships are not common in Africa, but are emerging in other parts of the world (see e.g. Bray & Zhang 2018; Šťastný et al. 2020; Zhang & Yamato 2018). They do of course need care. The Caerus Capital report (2017, p.63) stressed the value of partnerships from a business side; but the authors had in mind

access to markets and expansion of private-sector legitimacy. A similar remark applies to activities at the school level. In Botswana, for example, at least one public school has made it a practice to introduce private tutors at the launching event to welcome new students.⁷ Governments, schools and communities may need to be cautious about letting entrepreneurs through the gates of public establishments for profit-making purposes. Moreover, the profits of international companies may even be taken out of the country rather than circulated for domestic economic development.

Finally, partnerships are needed across different Ministries and levels of government. At the national level the Ministry of Education may need to cooperate with the Ministry of Commerce and perhaps other bodies; and policy makers at the national level need understanding and support from counterparts at provincial/state and district levels, who in turn need understanding and support from the school level. Indeed schools may be the most important, because much depends on the attitudes of the school principals and teachers. When schools have clear understandings and their own policies, regulation and monitoring may be more effective because they concern known people rather than anonymous documents. Schools are better able to enforce regulations on the extent to which teachers are permitted to provide private supplementary tutoring, to whom, when, where and at what price; and they can liaise with parents to explain the regulations, e.g. to inform parents if teachers are not permitted to provide tutoring to their existing students.

⁷ Participant during workshop on the draft of the present report, 3 July 2020.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This concluding chapter begins by returning to SDG4, which is the core agenda for UNESCO's GEM Report. It then stresses the need to take private supplementary tutoring out of the shadows, for wider discussion and consensus-building. Yet future policy directions will have to recognise pressures on government finances and other dimensions in the politics of education reform; and then, ultimately, decisions will have to consider balances in the circumstances perceived by policy makers in their own jurisdictions.

Shadow education and SDG4

SDG4, to recall, is to "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" by 2030. How does shadow education fit with this goal? At least ostensibly shadow education is far from inclusive or equitable, because it depends on the ability (and willingness) of households to finance it. Prosperous households are obviously able to secure greater quantities and better qualities of shadow education than middle-income households, and some families are left out altogether.

Does this negative impact on inclusion and equity mean that UNESCO and its partners should oppose the existence of shadow education and advocate its elimination? The answer clearly has to be No, because shadow education does contribute to social and economic development. A better idea is to enhance the quality of public education so that families see less need for supplementary support. A comment made in 1997 about policies in Seoul, capital of the Republic of Korea, has relevance. When the Seoul authorities sought to prohibit tutoring, one mass-circulation periodical (*Asiaweek* 1997, p.20) remarked that: "For Korean authorities to address their own shortcomings in primary and secondary education by banning tutors is a bit like trying to eliminate robbery by ensuring that the entire population is poor." However, even improved public education will not cause shadow education to disappear – as indeed evidenced by subsequent patterns in Korea. Even in the 1990s, when the statement was made, despite shortcomings Korea

had a strong education system; and since that time, much effort has been devoted to further improvement. Yet shadow education has remained very visible despite these measures (Kim 2016). This situation reflects the role of education as a positional good for which families seek greater quantities and better qualities than their competitors. As such, in Korea and elsewhere demand and therefore the supply of shadow education will always be present. The question then turns to how the authorities should try to manage and steer the shadow education system rather than expecting to eliminate it.

Taking the topic out of the shadows

Although private supplementary tutoring is now more widely recognised and discussed than in earlier decades, it still receives inadequate attention. This remark applies both internationally and within individual countries. Even in academic communities, most university Faculties of Education remain in effect Faculties of Schooling.

The need for international agencies to give private supplementary tutoring more attention, both generally and concerning Africa, may be illustrated by reference to the World Bank. The theme was almost completely overlooked in the Bank's major report prepared by Verspoor (2008) with the Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA) team.¹ It again was almost completely ignored in the flagship World Development Report entitled *Learning to Realise Education's Promise*, even though the report stressed the need to focus on learning rather than merely schooling (World Bank 2018b).² And the 2018 substantial World Bank report subtitled *Schooling for Learning in Africa* (Bashir et al. 2018)

¹ The report, which had 387 pages, had just one sentence on private tutoring (p.68) followed by a box on the topic (p.69).

² Page 13 noted in passing that many parents in the Republic of Korea “send their children to private ‘cram schools’ for test preparation”, but did not follow up. Then Box 5.2 on page 118 recognised that much learning “happens outside the classroom, including from tutoring and at-home programs”, but then focused exclusively on community reading programmes to boost literacy. A further passing sentence on page 122 stated that intensive student support could provide an institutional safety net for at-risk youth, and that new approaches showing promising results “include intensive tutoring with supplemental instruction, intensive advising, and student success courses”. Again, the sentence was not followed up.

again made only one reference to shadow education. This reference was a passing statement about corruption (p.253) with an endnote (p.326) asserting that “little is known” about regulatory issues for shadow education. The present study shows that a lot more was known than was implied by this pair of statements.

Similar remarks apply to other international bodies. UNESCO has devoted some attention to shadow education, most obviously in its IIEP publications mentioned above. UNESCO’s flagship publication *Rethinking Education: Toward a Global Common Good?* included some focus on the topic (UNESCO 2015b, pp.73-74), as did the 2015 *EFA Global Monitoring Report* (UNESCO 2015c, p.202) and the 2017 sequel (UNESCO 2017b, pp.108-110). As noted at the beginning of the present study, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) had the theme on the agenda for its 2008 Biennale in Mozambique, but did not subsequently follow up in a significant way. By contrast, SACMEQ is to be applauded for consistent attention to private supplementary tutoring, and perhaps PASEC can be persuaded to emulate it.

Box 6: A Place to Start – Prohibiting Teachers from Privately Tutoring their own Students

One of the most problematic dimensions of shadow education arises when teachers provide private tutoring to their own students. This can contribute to favouritism in regular classrooms, and to pressures on students and their families that amount to corruption. Policy makers deciding to tackle the problems of shadow education could usefully start with this theme because its implications can also be easily understood within the teaching profession and the wider public.

To tackle the issue, partnerships will be needed. Governments may collaborate with teachers’ unions to prepare and then enforce codes of ethics that include this issue. School-level discussions are especially helpful because they involve known people and situations rather than just abstract concepts. The media can help to highlight the issues, and community bodies can explore themes including the problems that arise when parents request their children’s existing teachers to provide private tutoring.

From time to time, national governments highlight issues through their websites, press releases and public speeches. Government-initiated attention to shadow education have been very evident in connection with regulatory decisions in Egypt, Eritrea, Mauritius, Kenya, Zambia and

Zimbabwe. These and other governments seeking call attention to issues can usefully hold a clear focus on the common good, e.g. commencing with problems surrounding the provision of tutoring by existing teachers (Box 6).

At the same time, political circumstances and the availability of strong allies need to be assessed carefully. In this respect, experiences in Egypt's Sharqia Governorate may be worth attention. As noted above, a 2013 Prime Ministerial decree (Egypt 2013, Article 5) stressed the authority of both the Ministry of Education and top administrators in each of the 27 Governorates to pursue disciplinary action against teachers providing private lessons inside or outside schools or in any public or private establishment. In 2015 the Governor of Sharqia did decide to take action, vowing to close the (illegal) tutorial centres in his governorate and to fine their owners 50,000 Egyptian pounds (US\$6,400). His rationale was that out-of-school private tutoring had "damaged a generation of young people, and corrupted the educational process" (El Watan 2015), and to provide an alternative he accompanied his action with steps to support in-school tutoring. However, demonstrations not only by the owners of the tutorial centres but also by students and parents escalated into a crisis that led the Governor to resign less than a month after the launch of the initiative. Egypt has a long history of failed initiatives in this domain, and the fact that tutoring has become so embedded in the culture and in the economic interests of multiple stakeholders sends a signal to Egyptian policy makers that the issues of shadow education need persistent and multi-faceted approaches with community support. They also signal to policy makers elsewhere that they would be wise to take initiatives to steer the sector before vested interests become so deeply entrenched.

Pressures on government finances

Insofar as serving teachers provide private supplementary tutoring because they consider their salaries to be inadequate, an obvious question is whether salaries can be raised in order to remove this motive. Beyond simple advocacy for the education sector, commentators do need in this sphere to be realistic. The Korean authorities have largely eliminated the practice of teachers offering private tutoring (Bray 2021), but they have been assisted by a strong economy that greatly contrasts with the weak

economies in many African countries. Similar remarks may be made about China, which has had a combination of a growing economy and strong government with machinery to enforce its regulations (Zhang 2019). Further, in both countries parents see less need to approach teachers for supplementary tutoring because the commercial sector has generally shown effective ability to meet demand.

Analysis must also recognise that progress towards the EFA goal and the successor SDG has greatly burdened government budgets – and ironically fuelled the demand for shadow education. For many governments in Africa and around the world, organisational and financial burdens have been expanded by aspirations for ever higher levels of education. Thus as primary schooling approached universality, most school leavers wanted to proceed to junior secondary schooling; as junior secondary schooling then approached universality, most school leavers wanted to proceed to senior secondary schooling; and as senior secondary enrolment rates expanded, many school leavers wanted to proceed to tertiary education. This expansion created huge burdens not only because of the total enrolments in educational institutions but also because unit costs were much greater at higher than at lower levels. And alongside all this upward expansion of education was also downward pressure to expand and improve pre-primary provision in order to give young children the best start in life. For most African countries, pressures were further exacerbated by population growth.

Although with these demands many governments found their budgets severely stretched, as noted at the beginning of this report they also recognised the political appeal of fee-free education campaigns as exemplified by the UPE and related schemes in Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. Yet these schemes greatly raised class sizes and required recruitment of unqualified teachers and lower-cost teachers (Jarousse 2009). These factors expanded demand for shadow education to compensate for decline in the quality of schooling; and they fuelled supply of shadow education by teachers who needed to supplement their incomes.

One far-reaching initiative mentioned in previous chapters was Egypt's education reform project, launched in 2018 with a five-year budget of US\$2,000 million of which US\$500 million was provided through a World Bank loan. This project was explicitly designed to combat private tutoring and "to bring learning back to the classroom"

(Saavedra 2019). However, the package did not include increases in teachers' salaries which, at a consistently low level, had been a major factor underlying the provision of shadow education (Johnson 2018). Further, even the World Bank (2018a, p.iv) assigned an overall high-risk rating to the project, describing macroeconomics as a 'substantial' risk and placing politics and governance in the category of 'high' risk. Elaborating, the document stated (p.57) that the programme offered "a combination of opportunities and threats to different education sector stakeholders", and stressed the need for sustained political will. It added (p.58) that teachers risked losing benefits from the status quo, even though they stood to gain from the comprehensive professional development and the focus on bringing learning back to the classroom.

The Egyptian project is emphasised here because it is a bold attempt to confront issues of shadow education where they are especially entrenched. Elsewhere in Africa, shadow education is less entrenched; but that again is precisely why policy makers in those countries should address issues before the obstacles have become insurmountable. The Egyptian authorities are certainly to be commended for their commitment, for even the World Bank component is a loan rather than a grant. Evaluations of the project will deserve attention not only in Egypt but also elsewhere in Africa and beyond.

Meanwhile, though, a further sober note is linked to the Covid-19 pandemic that hit the globe at the beginning of 2020. Reverberations from the pandemic will inevitably hit education budgets hard, first because of the perceived need to divert resources to the health sector and second because of the sharp economic impact from lost production that both reduced taxation revenues and made other demands on governments for employment support (Albright 2020; UNESCO 2020). African governments will be affected by not only their domestic economic crunches but also by the international one insofar as the African governments have been beneficiaries of external aid that is likely now to be reduced. One possible outcome, by default, could be contraction of government support for education systems and then some compensation through shadow investments from families that can afford them. Such patterns would further exacerbate inequalities, leaving the poorest families even more marginalised than before.

The resourcing theme may also be linked to the continental map of

per capita incomes presented in Figure 1, and to the ranking of teachers' salaries in 35 countries by Dolton et al. (2018, p.62). The map showed Egypt to be among Africa's high-income countries, even though it was third from the bottom in the ranking of teachers' salaries. An instructive contrast may be made with another high-income country at the other end of the continent, namely South Africa.

As indicated in this study, South Africa has had a very different pattern of shadow education compared with Egypt. SACMEQ data indicated an enrolment rate of just 4.0% of Grade 6 students in 2007, though a very sharp jump to 29.1% in 2013. More research is much needed to understand factors underlying this jump, together with updates and focus on the scale and features of shadow education in other grades. Meanwhile, on the matter of teachers' salaries it has been reported that if South Africa had been included in the ranking of 35 countries it would have occupied 17th place, i.e. at the mid-point, with a PPP salary of \$30,921.³ That figure suggested much less pressure on South African teachers to provide tutoring for basic survival. However, it also reflected wealth in the society that made the tutoring sector attractive to entrepreneurs; and, tellingly, those entrepreneurs viewed perceptions of low quality in public education (whether or not those perceptions were justified) as part of their marketing opportunity (Caerus Capital 2017, p.158). Yet when the tutoring companies launched their businesses, many sought teachers to work on a part-time basis to serve the clients. The point underlines the complexities underlying provision both demand and supply of shadow education, and the need to examine distinctive factors in different societies at particular points in time.

Finding balances in the way ahead

Many of the dynamics in this study are about balances. Viewed positively, features of shadow education include that it:

- is an avenue to enhance learning (both remedial and enrichment) for personal, social and economic development;

³ 'How much money teachers get paid in South Africa vs other countries', *Businessstech*, 13 November 2018. <https://businesstech.co.za/news/finance/283768/how-much-money-teachers-get-paid-in-south-africa-vs-other-countries/>, accessed 22 June 2020.

- is an additional source of income for teachers, thereby helping to retain them in the profession;
- permits governments to stretch their budgets because the teachers can supplement their incomes through the private channel;
- provides employment for tutors in commercial enterprises; and
- can keep young people productively occupied in meaningful activities during school vacations and other breaks.

On the other side, shadow education:

- maintains and exacerbates social and urban/rural inequalities;
- has corrupting elements, especially when teachers provide private tutoring to their existing pupils;
- contributes to inefficiencies in schooling, especially when teachers put less effort into their regular classes in order to devote more effort to their private lessons;
- creates stress for students from excessive study burden; and
- takes away some of the best teachers who choose to work in tutorial centres instead of schools.

Also worth stressing, nevertheless, is that shadow education is constantly evolving – perhaps even more rapidly than mainstream schooling. Entrepreneurs driven by their search for market niches seek new ways to serve clients, e.g. through use of technologies and through offer of services in convenient locations. In turn, the evolutions in shadow education change the relationships with schooling. When Paviot (2015, p.168) commenced her research, she had in mind private supplementary tutoring as an activity operating in parallel with schooling. This model may still be applicable in some settings but, as noted by Paviot, for many families it has become part of the overall processes of schooling and daily life. As such, the public and private are intertwined in ways that policy makers must discern and manage.

These processes must also be viewed within wider perspectives on the roles of the state and private sector. UNESCO's commentary on SDG4 (2017, p.8) asserts that "the state is the main duty-bearer in protecting, respecting, and fulfilling the right to education." The commentary does add that civil society, teachers and educators, the private sector, communities and families all have important roles in

realizing this right, but reiterates that “the role of the state is essential in setting and regulating standards and norms”. Indeed this is an appropriate framework that for the focus of the present report underlines the need for state regulations, monitoring and perhaps oversight of shadow education. At the same time, changing patterns need to be viewed within the wider purview of the evolving place of private education. Akkari (2010, p.43) observed that tensions relating to privatisation contribute to “a crisis of legitimacy that reconfigures the role of the state and transforms the relationships between different social groups in relation to schooling”.⁴ Thus, the expansion of shadow education requires policy approaches to fit agendas that differ significantly from those in earlier decades.

In conclusion, the focus of the 2021 GEM Report on non-state actors indeed makes a significant contribution to understanding of SDG agenda. It shows not only the contributions of these multiple actors but also a range of issues needing attention in ongoing agendas. Shadow education is a major component of provision by non-state actors. The author hopes that the present study will help to bring the theme out of the shadows for active discussion in which policy makers and others at all levels – from international agencies to Ministries of Education and down to individuals schools, communities and even families – can perceive with greater clarity the issues at stake and identify appropriate balances as they move forward.

⁴ Akkari was writing about the Maghreb countries (i.e. Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco), but the remarks have wider applicability.

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Notes on the Author

Mark Bray is a Distinguished Chair Professor and Director of the Centre for International Research in Supplementary Tutoring (CIRIST) in the Faculty of Education at East China Normal University, Shanghai. He is also Emeritus Professor holding the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong. He commenced his career as a secondary school teacher in Kenya and then Nigeria, and holds a Masters degree in African Studies from the University of Edinburgh. He also completed his doctorate at that university about universalisation of primary education in Nigeria while teaching in its Centre of African Studies. He subsequently taught at the Universities of Papua New Guinea and London before moving to the University of Hong Kong in 1986. Between 2006 and 2010 he took leave from Hong Kong to work in Paris as Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). He commenced his work in Shanghai in 2018. Professor Bray is known for his pioneering research on the theme of shadow education, and his books on this theme are available in 24 languages. E-mail: mbray@hku.hk

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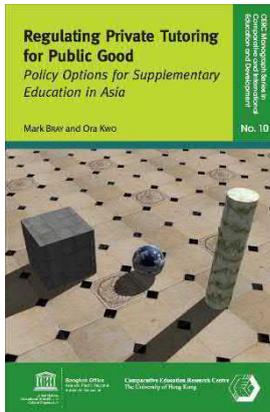
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Comparative Education Research Centre
Faculty of Education,
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong, China.

Fax: (852) 2517 4737
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**CERC Monograph Series in Comparative and
International Education and Development No.10**



Regulating Private Tutoring for Public Good
Policy Options for Supplementary Education in Asia

Mark Bray and Ora Kwo

Publishers: Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) in collaboration with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

ISBN 978-988-17852-9-9

2014; 93 pages; US\$16/HK\$100

Recent years have brought global expansion of private supplementary tutoring alongside regular school systems. This expansion has far-reaching implications for the nurturing of new generations, for social and economic development, and for the operation of school systems. Some dimensions are positive while other dimensions are problematic.

Supplementary tutoring is especially visible in Asia. The formats of tutoring range from one-to-one provision to large classes. Some tutoring is provided by teachers and by specialist companies, while other tutoring is provided informally by university students and others.

Using a comparative lens, this book examines possible government responses to the expansion of private supplementary tutoring. In general, the book suggests, the sector should be given more attention. The work shows wide diversity in the regulations introduced by governments in the Asian region. It notes not only that these governments can learn much from each other, but also that policy makers in other parts of the world can usefully look at patterns in Asia. The book also stresses the value of partnerships between governments, tutoring providers, schools, teachers' unions, and other bodies.

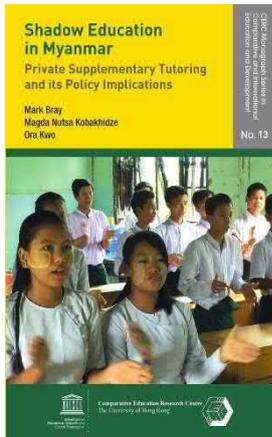
Mark BRAY is UNESCO Chair Professor in Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, and is a former Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning.

Ora KWO is an Associate Professor and a member of the Comparative Education Research Centre in the Faculty of Education at the University of Hong Kong.

This book is also available in Chinese and Korean.

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

**CERC Monograph Series in Comparative and
International Education and Development No.13**



**Shadow Education
in Myanmar**
*Private Supplementary Tutoring
and its Policy Implications*

Mark Bray, Magda Nutsa Koba-
khidze and Ora Kwo

Publishers: Comparative Education
Research Centre (CERC) and United
Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
Organization (UNESCO)

ISBN 978-92-9223-649-6 or
978-988-14241-8-1

This book presents the first detailed empirical study in Myanmar of a phenomenon that is of increasing visibility and significance in high-, medium- and low-income countries across the world. Private supplementary tutoring is widely called shadow education because it reflects curriculum changes in schools.

Among the students sampled for this study, over 80% were receiving shadow education; and among the teachers sampled, nearly half were providers. Other tutoring was received from informal providers and through registered companies.

The study exposes the significance of this phenomenon for the lives of students, the work of teachers, and the broader society. It has far-reaching implications for the educational reforms on which the Myanmar government has embarked. The study also has much of interest for international comparative analysis.

The authors are members of the Comparative Education Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong. They conducted the research with funding from UNESCO's office in Myanmar and with support from the Yangon University of Education.

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

Across the African continent, households are devoting increasing expenditures to private supplementary tutoring. Such tutoring is widely called shadow education, because it mimics school systems. As the curriculum changes in the schools, so it changes in the shadow.

Much tutoring is delivered by regular teachers in public schools, who earn extra incomes through this activity. Other suppliers of tutoring include companies of various kinds. The tutoring may contribute to students' achievement, but it exacerbates social inequalities, diverts resources from other uses, and can contribute to inefficiencies in education systems.

Drawing on comparative analysis, this study examines the policy implications of shadow education. The analysis contributes to wider discussions on non-state actors in the education sector, particularly in the context of the fourth of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG4).

Mark Bray is Distinguished Chair Professor at East China Normal University (ECNU) in Shanghai, where he is also Director of the Centre for International Research in Supplementary Tutoring (CIRIST). He also holds the UNESCO Chair in Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, and is a former Director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

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