

## Bitter Realities Related to Shadow Education: Motives of Shadowing in Education

**Arun Kumar Kshetree, PhD**

[arun.kshetree@bumc.tu.edu.np](mailto:arun.kshetree@bumc.tu.edu.np)

<https://orcid.org/0009-0006-9658-9308>

**Tilak Bhusal, PhD**

[tilak.bhusal@bumc.tu.edu.np](mailto:tilak.bhusal@bumc.tu.edu.np)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6691-7896>

Butwal Multiple Campus, Butwal

**Article History:** Received 25 May 2025; Reviewed 20 August 2025; Revised 05 October 2025; Accepted 25 November 2025

### Abstract

Shadowing in education has been developed in Nepal since the inception of the formal education. It has cultural and traditional basis as our education system developed with Gurukul Shikshya where the education was possible living with the Gurus and serving them to learn and adopt their culture and get educated. This paper is a survey study that focuses on the reasons of getting shadow education by the university level students who gave information on the basis of their experiences of getting shadow education during their school education days. The information was gathered from 400 students studying in different universities in Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu through a questionnaire. The students stated the major reasons of getting shadow education and the most common and on the face, the reason was the academic development but the students also have different reasons for being closer to the teachers with other intentions as well, like getting support in exams, getting clues about the important questions, getting better marks in practical examinations etc., which are supposed to be unethical practices in academia. Thus, it is recommended that there should be some controlling mechanism for the teachers and students for not being unethical and keeping shadow education as pure and systematic as the formal education. [This paper is a part of a research conducted with the funding by University Grants Commission (UGC) Nepal with Faculty Research Grant (FRG).]

**Key Words:** Shadow Education, Academic achievement, Private tutoring, Mainstream education, Supplementary education,

### Introduction

The history of traditional education in Nepal is distinct, as it was deeply influenced by Hindu philosophy, where disciples lived with their Gurus and learned both skills and culture under the Gurukul Shikshya system. This model, to some extent, resembles today's practices of shadow education or private tutoring, as it established the idea that being closer to the teacher could

lead to better learning. In Nepal, attending tuition classes has almost become a common culture, even in schools regarded as high quality. Shadow education refers to various forms of learning support provided outside the formal school or college context. The term has been widely used by researchers to describe academic activities designed to supplement and strengthen students' understanding of school subjects. Stevenson and Baker (1992) are credited with introducing the term as a metaphor, suggesting that such practices mirror and follow mainstream schooling much like a shadow follows its object. Bray (1999) emphasized the significance of the word "shadow," noting that private supplementary education imitates the formal system, and any change in curriculum, structure, or pattern within schools directly influences shadow education. Later, Bray (2007) further explained that the metaphor of the shadow is particularly suitable to represent private tutoring, as highlighted in discussions at the Policy Forum.

Private supplementary tutoring exists only because mainstream education exists, and its size and form are shaped by changes in the formal education system. While societies tend to focus more on mainstream schooling, shadow education remains less visible and often less clearly defined. Private tuition is provided in diverse ways: by secondary school students, university students, graduates, and qualified teachers, as well as through organized businesses and commercial chains. What was once a way for educated individuals—often young people—to earn additional income has developed into a full-fledged industry. The growing supply and demand reinforce one another, making tutoring accessible across socioeconomic groups, from low-income families who can afford a small fee to the wealthy who can pay for premium services. Traditional tutoring usually involved one tutor and a small group of students, but the rise of the internet has enabled distance or online tutoring wherever connectivity is available.

In Nepal, shadow education also takes the form of cram schooling, widely practiced under labels such as bridge courses, entrance preparation classes, teacher service preparation, and public service commission classes. As Bray (2013) notes, the history of private supplementary tutoring is likely as old as formal schooling itself. The practice of seeking extra help—either to keep up with peers or to extend learning—has long existed. In earlier times, however, tutoring was modest in scale and limited to wealthier families. Today, shadow education has expanded across income levels and has become a global phenomenon. Defining shadow education remains complex and debated. Buchman et al. (2010), for example, developed an indicator of test preparation that included four levels: (0) no preparation of any kind; (1) use of test prep books, software, or videos without other forms of preparation; (2) completion of a high school course, alone or alongside category 1 methods but without further preparation; (3) participation in a private course, either alone or in combination with categories 1 and 2, but without private tutoring; and (4) use of a private tutor, either alone or in combination with any other form of preparation. They included all these activities under shadow education without distinguishing between public and private sources.

This approach has been contested. Grodsky (2010) argued that shadow education should be understood as belonging to the private sphere, emphasizing that its economic costs often prevent disadvantaged families from participating. Alon (2010), while commenting on Buchman

et al.'s work, acknowledged the importance of distinguishing between public and private sources. Unlike Grodsky, however, she considered both types part of shadow education, highlighting that the distinction is analytically significant for understanding its economic dimensions and effectiveness. Bray (2013) observes that the origins of private supplementary tutoring are likely as old as formal schooling itself. The practice of seeking extra support for children and young learners—either to keep pace with peers or to advance further—has a long history. In earlier centuries, however, such tutoring was relatively small in scale and limited mainly to affluent families. In contrast, shadow education today has expanded across a wide range of income groups and has emerged as a global phenomenon.

As Byun et al. (2014) note, shadow education—defined as paid, private supplementary tutoring or coaching designed to provide additional academic assistance outside of school, particularly for examination preparation—has become one of the fastest-growing industries worldwide. This rapid expansion has raised concerns among policymakers, primarily because of its implications for educational inequality. While shadow education contributes significantly to student learning, Bray (2021) highlights that enrolment rates across continents are rising alongside the financial pressures they impose on households. Even in countries where current participation remains relatively low, the study warns against complacency, emphasizing that such modest enrolment levels should instead be seen as an opportunity to guide and regulate the sector before it becomes deeply entrenched in cultural and educational practices.

Javadi and Kazemirad (2020) argue that shadow education has become a global phenomenon and an unavoidable learning pathway for many students. It challenges the traditional, standardized model of factory-like schooling by offering more personalized forms of learning. Beyond merely imitating formal education, shadow education also exposes its weaknesses, serving as a mirror to highlight gaps and shortcomings. Despite growing research attention, its scope, features, historical development, and functions remain underexplored. For this reason, they emphasize that shadow education deserves recognition as an emerging area of curriculum studies, warranting closer examination of where, how, what, and with whom students learn. Their study introduces a new conceptualization of shadow education and one of its integral components '*the shadow curriculum*' which focuses on enhancing individual students' success within formal education. The article first outlines the forms and features of shadow education and then elaborates on the concept and characteristics of the shadow curriculum. Unlike public schooling, shadow education grants students and parents greater agency in making decisions about courses, learning materials, and even instructors (Kim & Jung, 2019). As Kim and Jung (2019a, p. 16) highlight, "in an era when shadow education is reshaping student learning and arguably the whole landscape of education in many countries worldwide, shadow education, and more specifically shadow curriculum, should emerge as a new research area in the field of curriculum studies."

Earlier, Buchmann, Condrón, and Roscigno (2010, as cited in Javadi & Kazemirad, 2020) defined shadow education as tutoring and additional classes outside formal schooling aimed at improving students' chances of graduating from high school and entering college. More recent

research confirms that shadow education is not only expanding but is also among the fastest-growing industries worldwide. Jansen et al. (2023) further emphasize that participation in shadow education functions as an after-school activity primarily designed to boost academic performance. Bray (2014), in his study *The Impact of Shadow Education on Student Academic Achievement: Why the Research is Inconclusive and What Can Be Done About It* published in the *Asia Pacific Education Review*, raised a fundamental question for stakeholders: does private supplementary tutoring actually enhance student achievement? While strong affirmative claims are common, the evidence is not straightforward. For instance, Crotty (2012), writing as a journalist, asserted that private tutoring is “a highly effective way to ensure academic excellence.” Similar blanket statements often emerge from the tutoring industry itself. Surprisingly, some parts of the academic community have also advanced such views. Baily (2012, p. 382) argued that “the benefit of private tutoring is unarguable,” while Ünal et al. (2010, p. 5513) stated that tutoring “undoubtedly has positive outcomes for individuals.”

Bray (2014) cautioned that such conclusions require more critical examination, since the outcomes of tutoring depend on multiple factors including the type, intensity, quality of tutors, and student motivation. Echoing this, Byun (2014, p. 40) observed that empirical findings have been “inconsistent, contradictory, and even confusing.” Moreover, shadow education may detract from rather than supplement learning. In some contexts, teachers who tutor their own students outside regular classes may intentionally reduce effort or curriculum coverage during school hours to create demand for their private services (Bray, 2009; Dawson, 2010). Even where teachers are prohibited from offering private tutoring, its prevalence can lead them to assume that students have external support, thereby reducing their own instructional efforts (Bray, 2014).

Building on this complexity, Liang et al. (2022) reported mixed effects of shadow education on student well-being. Their study found that students who participated in shadow education showed higher levels of well-being compared to those who did not. At the school level, a competitive climate significantly influenced student well-being. However, tutoring linked to schoolwork pressure or parental support had no significant effects. Notably, an interaction between competition climate and time spent in shadow education negatively impacted well-being, suggesting that the relationship between tutoring and student outcomes is multifaceted and context-dependent.

Thus it is clear that the shadow education is just the shadow of formal education system and the students normally take shadow education for the sake of academic development. The students have various reasons for going to tuition classes or coaching centers. It is necessary to know why the students want to take shadow education and why the parents want their children take shadow education. This paper intends to analyze the reasons for taking shadow education. Thus the main objectives of this paper is to analyze the reasons for taking shadow education by the students on the basis of the responses given by the bachelor level students of different universities in three major cities of Nepal; Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu as they are the major educational centers of the nation.

## Review of Literature

For the study, many of the research articles and reports were studied which supported shaping up the present study. A phenomenological research conducted in Bangladesh by Islam et al (2018) concluded that the students there were attracted towards taking private tuition due to academic credentials, peer pressure, role of English in Bangladesh and parental involvement etc which seem to be highly influential factors that influence school students to participate in shadow activities. Similarly, Kim & Yung (2019) concluded that access to private tutoring, or shadow education, plays a significant role in widening disparities in educational attainment among language learners from diverse family backgrounds worldwide. In ESL/EFL contexts, many students turn to English private tutoring (EPT) with the expectation of achieving strong results in high-stakes examinations as a pathway to university admission. The study highlighted how one participant invested in EPT as a means of overcoming educational inequalities. For this learner, tutorial classes were not only a source of academic support but also a space to build social networks with peers from prestigious schools, ultimately viewed as a step toward acquiring economic capital and escaping poverty.

Private tuition has emerged as a global phenomenon that continues to expand rapidly. A report by Global Industry Analysis (2014) projected that the private tuition industry would reach a value of US\$196.3 billion by 2020. In some countries, household expenditures on private tutoring have grown remarkably; for example, in South Korea and Turkey, such spending accounted for 2.1% and 1.44% of national GDP, respectively. In India, the industry was valued at INR 2,370 crore in 2013 and was expected to rise to INR 4,000 crore by 2015 (ASSOCHAM, 2013). Similar upward trends have been observed in China and Sri Lanka (Glewwe & Jayachandran, 2006). Given this worldwide growth, shadow education has increasingly been recognized as a “third education sector,” alongside public and private schooling (Dang & Rogers, 2008 as cited in Jansen et al., 2023).

Research also highlights the influence of students’ socioeconomic status (SES) on participation in shadow education. Kim and Lee (2010) note that parental income often serves as the main indicator of social background, and Byun et al. (2014) emphasizes that parents tend to invest in tutoring with the expectation of improved learning outcomes. Numerous studies have explored the link between shadow education and academic achievement, producing mixed results. For instance, some studies in South Korea identify modest positive effects, often related to test preparation, while others report small negative effects (Guill & Bos, 2014) or subject-specific outcomes (Zhang & Xie, 2016). A smaller number of studies, such as Smyth (2008), found no significant effects at all. These inconsistencies may be partly explained by methodological differences, particularly in how researchers address self-selection bias (Dang & Rogers, 2008, as cited in Jansen et al., 2023).

This rising demand for private tuition has clear implications for efforts to achieve equity in access to education and high levels of learning for all. However, equalization of access to schooling alone, in the absence of good quality teaching and learning, is not enough. The parents’ wishes to give their children every advantage that they can have may be the key reason for the growth in uptake of private tuition. The parents of all socioeconomic levels are

striving to provide their children with extra tuition. In some cases, this supplements attendance at government schools, which may be a cheaper option than sending a child to private school; while in other cases it is in addition to private school attendance, including attendance at private schools of all fee levels. It is important to gain an understanding of growth in private tuition, including an understanding of the profile of students who take private tuition and the reasons for this. Bray (2021) categorizes the impacts of shadow education into two domains: academic achievement and ethics and social values. A central question, he notes, is whether shadow education truly improves students' examination performance and related outcomes. This is difficult to determine with precision, as it would require comparing groups of students with and without access to shadow education under strictly equivalent conditions of quality and intensity. Nevertheless, most students and families who participate perceive it as beneficial to academic achievement—an expectation that largely motivates their investment. At the same time, many also feel compelled to engage in tutoring simply because it has become a widespread practice among peers.

From a systemic perspective, however, shadow education may not only supplement but also undermine formal schooling. In urban contexts, for example, some of the most capable teachers may leave schools to work in more lucrative tutorial centers. Those who remain in schools but also provide private tutoring often devote greater energy to their paid lessons, where performance directly affects income, than to their regular classes, where salaries are fixed regardless of quality. Additional concerns arise from the heavy burdens placed on children and adolescents, who often face long school days followed by evenings and weekends filled with extra tutoring.

## Methodology

The present paper is the part of a survey research of the influence of shadow education on students' achievement that was carried out in three major emerging education hubs of the nation; Butwal, Pokhara and Kathmandu. The study was conducted on the basis of the information of the university level students who were asked about their participation and role of shadow education during the school time. On the basis of the questionnaire to the students and another for the teachers who are involved in providing shadow education the information was gathered. There were 400 informant students from different cities and different universities. All the analysis done and the results as well as conclusions and recommendations are based on the participant students as informants. The table below shows that the number of informants from different cities.

**Table 1:**

*Places of the Informants*

SN	Place of Informants	No of Informants	Male Informants	Female Informants	Remarks
1	Butwal	148	82	66	
2	Pokhara	89	40	49	
3	Kathmandu	163	80	83	
	<b>Total Informants</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>198</b>	

Regarding the institutions of the informants, the table number 2 shows the number of students from different universities and academy in different cities. As the table number 2 shows the present study is based on the information from the responses of the students studying in different colleges and institutions affiliated to different universities. There were 90 male students and 102 female students from TU including NATHM for the present study. Likewise, we gathered information from 112 students (50 male and 62 female students) studying different programs in colleges affiliated to Pokhara University. The table number 2 also shows that there were 20 male students and 12 female students studying in the colleges affiliated to Purvanchal University whereas there were only 12 male students studying in the college affiliated to Nepal Sanskrit University. In the same way there were 52 informant students from Lumbini Buddhist University among which there were 30 male students and 22 female students.

**Table 2:**

*Informants from different Universities*

S.N.	University/Academy	Boys	Girls	Remarks
1	Tribhuvan University	90	102	
2	Pokhara University	50	62	
3	Purvanchal University	20	12	
4	Sanskrit University	12	0	
5	Lumbini Buddhist University	30	22	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>198</b>	

To analyse the informant students according to the study area they were admitted to when the information was gathered, the following table number 3 shows that there were informants from seven different areas of study.

**Table 3:**

*Areas of study wise distribution of the informants.*

S.N.	Study Area	Boys	Girls	Total	Remarks
1	Science and Technology	25	17	42	
2	Engineering	30	16	46	
3	Health Science	20	40	60	
4	Management	50	47	97	
5	Education	40	45	85	
6	Social Science	20	18	38	
7	Law	17	15	32	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>400</b>	

In the same way the table number 4 shows that there was a huge number of students taking shadow education. It was found that about 70 percent of the informant told that they were involved in different kinds of educational activities outside their regular classes in the school. This shows that the trend of not being dependent only on the regular school classes and activities has been a bit different at present as the students have many alternatives for their educational development and achievements.

**Table 4:**

*Students getting education from the places other than their schools*

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Boys</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Girls</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Positive	140	35	134	34	
Negative	62	15	64	16	
<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>		<b>198</b>		

### **Ethical Consideration**

We tried to maintain the research ethics for this study as it was conducted with the oral consent of the research informants about not mentioning their names and other private information. It was also mentioned on the questionnaire provided to them about the aims and objectives of the study as well as publication of the articles mentioning pseudo names wherever and whenever necessary.

## **Results and Discussion**

On the basis of the analysis and interpretation of the information gathered from 400 university level students from three major education hubs of Nepal some results and findings were made which are related to the reasons of getting shadow education by the students. The analysis was made on the following areas.

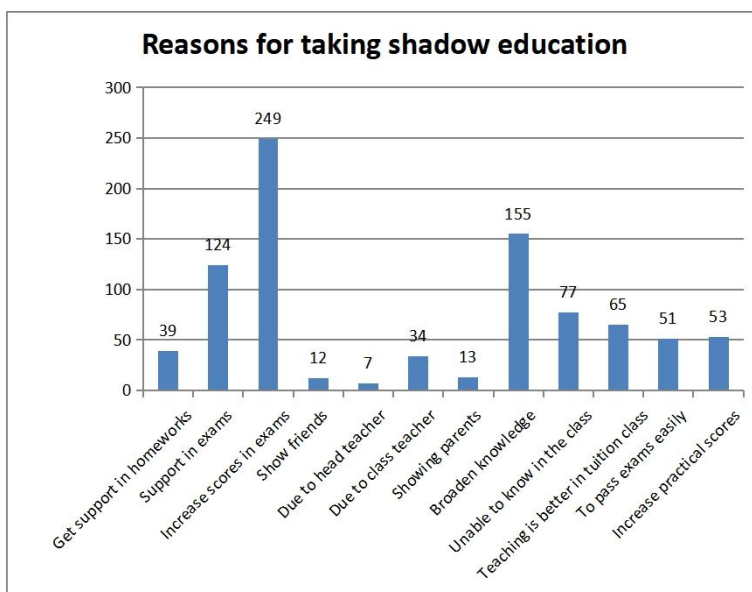
### **Shadow Education for Better Academic Achievement**

In most cases, participation in shadow education is motivated by the desire to secure higher marks or competitive scores in examinations and tests. Many students initially attempt to achieve good results on their own, but when they feel they may not succeed, they turn to various forms of shadow education such as coaching classes or private tuition to enhance their chances. In this study, students were asked whether their involvement in shadow education was primarily aimed at improving academic achievement. The findings revealed that 156 boys and 160 girls believed that shadow education activities indeed contributed to better academic performance.

However, a notable group of respondents expressed different views. Specifically, 46 boys and 38 girls indicated that they did not participate in tuition or coaching solely for academic achievement. For these students, shadow education also served other purposes, particularly in fostering stronger relationships with teachers. Such relationships were perceived as advantageous in several ways, including receiving guidance on likely examination questions, gaining support during examinations, or obtaining higher marks in practical assessments. Respondents also explained their reasoning for viewing shadow education as supportive of their academic progress. They believed that investing time in tutoring, rather than engaging in leisure or other non-academic activities, would help them learn gradually and steadily, leading to improved achievement. Additionally, they emphasized that the teachers' attitudes toward students tended to become more favorable when the latter participated in tuition classes. This, in turn, was seen as beneficial for obtaining academic advantages such as important exam tips, support during assessments, and assistance in securing better practical scores.

## Reasons for Getting Shadow Education

Many students in Nepal and other countries of the world are involved in different kinds of shadowing activities for various reasons. When we used to be students in the schools also there were many students joining the tuition and coaching classes with many reasons mainly with the intention to increase the marks. A question was asked to the students in the present study questionnaire to find out the reason for attending the tuition and coaching like shadowing activities. The results from the responses of the students have been presented in the figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Reasons for taking shadow education

The figure number 1 shows that there are various reasons for joining tuition and coaching like shadowing activities. It shows that 39 students replied that they were getting shadow education to get support in accomplishing home works given to them. Many children have to suffer much mainly because there is nobody to support them in their home works and they have to join the coaching or tuition and even some parents manage for home tuition for their children. In the same way, 124 students responded that they started the shadowing activities for setting support in the internal and final exams. The tuition teachers are blamed for practicing some unfair activities in the examinations and even the class tests; they are biased for those who take tuition with them giving clues for the questions asked, clarifying the questions during the exam and even providing more scores than what they actually secure, for the students who take tuition classes and coaching classes with them. Many students join the shadowing activities with the intention of getting support from the teachers.

On the other hand the main aim of studying is to broaden the knowledge and increase the scores in the exams and the students when they realize that they need some support for these they take tuition, coaching like shadowing activities. In the figure no 1 further shows that 249 students responded that they have taken tuition and coaching like activities for basically

increasing the scores in the final exams as well as internal examinations as Crotty (2012) explains. On the other hand, 155 students replied that they joined the tuition and coaching like shadowing activities with the aim of broadening the knowledge. Thus the main aim of studying broadening the knowledge and increasing the exam scores was selected by most of the students as the reason for taking shadowing activities of education which can be supposed to be normal and natural.

In the same way, some students want to show their friends that they are also trying well to study in the class and they take some form of shadow education. In this study 12 students responded that they joined tuition and coaching like activities for showing their friends that they are also studying well. Sometimes the school administration, head teachers and class teachers or subject teachers suggest their students to join tuition and coaching like activities for their progress and some students and parents take such suggestions positively and some take it negatively. In the present study, seven students replied that their head teachers suggested them to take shadow education and 34 students wrote that their subject teachers or class teachers suggested them to join the tuition and coaching like activities. Sometimes the students like to convince their parents that they are trying hard to study and so they take tuition and coaching like activities. In the present study, 13 students responded that they joined shadow education to convince their parents that they are studying well. In Nepal the parents worry too much about the study of their children and they always force their children to study all the time without considering their interest as well as their special abilities and skills which may hinder their proper development. This habit of the parents also forces the children to show that they are trying their best to study as Buchman et al. (2010) describe, it shows that the students are preparing for their exams, though they are not much interested in the studies.

There are other various reasons for taking shadowing activities which include the fact that the students feel difficulty in understanding what is taught in the classes and thus they are compelled to join the tuition and coaching like shadowing activities. In the present study as well 77 students i.e. about 20 percent of the students responded that they were getting shadow education activities mainly because they were unable to understand well in the class. Some students think that their teachers teach better in the tuition or coaching classes than in the regular classes in the schools. In the figure no 6 above 65 students replied that they took tuition and coaching like activities mainly because of the belief that their teachers teach better in the tuition or coaching classes than in the regular classes. Some students want to pass easily in the examinations and with the intention of getting some unfair supports from the teachers in the exams they join the tuition and coaching classes. In this study, 51 students i.e. 25 percent of the students responded that they joined tuition and coaching for passing the examinations easily without much effort. One very common reason for joining the tuition and coaching activities is to secure better scores in the practical examinations. Many tuition teachers are blamed for being biased in giving practical scores. They are blamed for not giving good marks for those who do not take tuition from them and they provide good marks for the students who do not actually deserve the scores only because they take tuition and coaching classes from them. This trend still

continues even up to bachelor level studies as well. In the present study 53 students responded that they joined the tuition and coaching like activities with the aim to increase scores in practical examinations as their overall scores will be poor if they do not get better scores in practical parts by not joining tuition and coaching like shadowing activities of education. The students in many situations blame the teachers that they did not give better marks for them only because of the fact that they were unable to take tuition and coaching classes with the teacher who handled their practical exams and this compelled the students to join such shadowing activities which is really not good.

Some students on the other hand, gave their own reasons for joining tuition and coaching like activities. They gave the reasons like they wanted to become extra ordinary student in the class, some wrote that they wanted to secure more marks in comparison to their friends and some students responded that they wanted to finish the course in time so that they can make their studies more systematic to prepare for the examination. The students replied in various ways to the question how the tuition and coaching classes supported their learning and increasing the scores in the different subjects basically English, mathematics and accountancy. The students replied that the scores were increased and the grades were better in the decisive examinations because of the tuition and coaching like shadowing in their English, mathematics and accountancy like subjects. According to the informants, participation in shadow education contributed to their academic achievement in several key ways. First, tuition and coaching classes provided a space where students could freely ask questions they could not raise in regular school settings, thereby gaining a clearer understanding of subject matter. These classes also helped in resolving doubts and offered repeated practice opportunities, which students believed, directly improved their performance. By working through a variety of extra question sets, they felt better prepared and more confident during examinations, an advantage not commonly available in formal classroom contexts.

Students also reported that shadow education fostered a more positive mindset toward learning. Exposure to continuous practice, coupled with exam-focused strategies, such as tips and tricks for solving different types of questions, enhanced their confidence. Tuition centers frequently emphasized revision of important content likely to appear in examinations, thereby streamlining preparation. For weaker learners, tutors often began with the basics, simplifying even complex concepts to make them accessible. Another advantage noted was the pace and focus of tuition classes. Many students found that courses were completed in a relatively short time with an emphasis on essential material, while frequent revision supported retention. Teachers also provided additional study materials and notes, which were considered valuable resources for improving scores. Importantly, students highlighted the personalized attention they received in tuition classes, which created an environment where they felt comfortable interacting with teachers. This encouraged even normally reserved students to ask questions, clarify doubts, and engage more actively in the learning process. Thus, it is clear that the shadowing is good and it supports the learning of the students and increases their knowledge and the scores in the decisive examinations. The unfair and unethical concerns regarding the shadowing practices that were

revealed in the study need some awareness in the teachers and parents for not continuing such practices for increasing practical scores, getting help in the examinations being close to the teachers and misusing the teachers' closeness during examinations need to be controlled.

## Conclusion

The students were found to be practising shadow education for basically improving academic achievement; 79 percent informants responded that they joined different shadowing activities for academic achievement whereas 21 percent of the informants replied that they have joined these activities not only for academic achievement but they mentioned that they wanted to make the relation to the teachers better which would be beneficial for them in different activities like class tests, practical exams and other problems in their school. There were different reasons for taking shadow education in different subjects. Only 22 percent student reported that their mathematics teachers did not finish their courses in time whereas 18 percent students replied that their English teachers did not finish their courses in time and 17 percent students reported that their account teachers were not honest to complete the courses in time which compelled them to take shadow education activities. There were 16 percent students who blamed the teachers as they did not teach well and finish courses in time which compelled them to take tuition and coaching classes. Only 8.5 percent students blamed the teachers that they failed them in the tests and internal exams to force them to take tuition and coaching classes.

Students have replied various ways of getting support from the shadowing activities most of them showed the simplified teaching, repetition of important contents and interactive classes with personalized care to the students for their learning. Thus the study conducted with the aim of finding and analyzing the causes of taking tuition like shadowing activities in education with the information gathered through a questionnaire, from 400 students studying in different universities in Nepal gave some idea about some of the realities of getting shadow education which need to be controlled by the authorities in education sector and it needs to be regulated by the concerned authorities. Shadowing in education is very much beneficial activity which is done with the aim of improving the academic level of students. But there were other various expectations from the teachers as the students join tuition and coaching centers. This needs to be controlled by ethics and authorities.

## References

- Alon, S. (2010). Racial differences in test preparation strategies. *Social Forces* 89(2).
- ASSOCHAM. (2013). Private coaching poaches mainstream education. <http:// ASSOCHAM.ORG/NEWSDETAIL.PHP?ID=4050>
- Baker, D., & Le Tendre G. K.(2005). *National differences, global similarities: World culture and the future of schooling*: Stanford University Press.
- Bray, M. (1999). The shadow education system: private tutoring and its implications for planners. *Fundamentals of Educational Planning*. UNESCO
- Bray, M. (2010). Researching shadow education: methodological challenges and directions. *Asia Pacific Education Review* 11(1)

- Bray, M. (2013). Benefits and tensions of shadow education: Comparative perspectives on the roles and impact of private supplementary tutoring in the lives of Hong Kong students'. *Journal of International and Comparative Education*:2(1)
- Bray, M.(2021). Shadow education in Africa private supplementary tutoring and its policy implications. *Comparative education research centre*. The University of Hong Kong
- Bray, M. & Chad L. (2012). Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia. Asian Development Bank.
- Byun, Soo-yong, Park, H. & Kim, K (Eds.)(2014). Shadow education and academic success in Republic of Korea. *Korean Education in Changing Economic and Demographic Contexts*
- Choi, Y. (2016). Who benefits most from shadow education? University of California.
- Grodsky, E. (2010). Commentaries: learning in the shadows and in the light of day. *Social Forces*.
- Ho Yung, K. W. (2019). Investing in English private tutoring to move socially upward: a narrative inquiry of an underprivileged student in Hong Kong, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
- Islam, M. & Hoque, Kazi & Hoque, Shams. (2018). Societal Factors of Private Tutoring in English: Evidence from Bangladeshi Higher Secondary Students. *Journal of Studies in Education*. 8. 92. 10.5296/jse.v8i4.11890.
- Jansen, D, EIFFERS, L & JAK, S (2023). A cross-national exploration of shadow education use by high and low SES families, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 32:3 DOI: 10.1080/09620214.2021.1880332
- Javadi, Y. & Kazemirad, F. (2020). Worldwide shadow education epidemic and its move toward shadow curriculum. *Journal of language teaching and research*, 11 (2) <http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/jltr.1102.09>
- Kim, Y. C., Gough, N., & Jung, J.-H. (2018). Shadow education as an emerging focus in worldwide curriculum studies. *Curriculum Matters*, 14, 8–30. <https://doi.org/10.18296/cm.0027>
- Kim, Y.C. & Jung, J-H. (2019) Shadow Education as Worldwide Curriculum Studies. Palgrave Macmillan Cham. DOI <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03982-0>
- Liang, H., Wang, Z. and Wu, W. (2022). The effect of shadow education on Hong Kong student wellbeing: Evidence from PISA 2018. *Front. Psychol.* 13:860179. 10.3389/fpsyg.2022.860179
- Pratham. (2011). *Annual Status of Education Report*. Pratham. Available online: [http://www.pratham.org/aser08/ASER\\_2010\\_Report.pdf](http://www.pratham.org/aser08/ASER_2010_Report.pdf)
- Stevenson, D. L. & Baker, D. P. (1992). Shadow education and allocation in formal schooling: transition to university in Japan. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97 (6)
- Zhang, W. & Bray, M. (2020). Comparative research on shadow education: Achievements, challenges, and the agenda ahead. *Eur J Educ.* <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12413>