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## **Assessment of The Impact of Shadow Education Activities on Social Justice in The Turkish Education System**

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**Abstract.** The purpose of this study is to determine the effects of shadow education activities on social justice in the Turkish education system based on the opinions of school administrators and teachers. The research is a qualitative study using a descriptive survey model conducted to determine the current situation regarding how and in what direction shadow education activities affect social justice in Turkey, based on the opinions of school administrators and teachers working in public primary and secondary education institutions. The study utilized the case study design from qualitative research designs. Content analysis was used in the analysis of the data. The study group consisted of a total of 40 participants, including 25 male and 15 female participants, who were school administrators and teachers working in public primary and secondary education institutions in the central district of Kastamonu province and the districts of Daday, Devrekani, and Seydiler during the 2022-2023 academic year. Of these participants, 14 school administrators (2 school principals, 1 assistant principal, and 11 vice principals) and 26 teachers formed the working group. Different sampling methods were used in the study, such as "purposive sampling," "convenience sampling," and "maximum diversity sampling." Data were collected through face-to-face, individual interviews using the interview method. A semi-structured interview form developed by the researcher was used as the data collection tool. MAXQDA 2024 qualitative data analysis software was used to analyze the data. The research results revealed that shadow education has both positive and negative reflections on the phenomenon of social justice. In this context, the positive reflections of shadow education on social justice include "Access and opportunity equality," "Academic gains," "Empowerment and self-efficacy," "Social and personal development," and "Policies that ensure social balance and access justice to shadow education." The negative reflections include "Access and opportunity inequality," "Academic losses," "Systemic and political barriers," "Social and psychosocial negativity," and "Powerlessness and self-inadequacy." Based on the findings reached under the relevant theme headings within the scope of the research, it was concluded that social policy initiatives such as educational assistance for children from families disadvantaged in accessing shadow education are necessary. It is also deemed necessary to increase budget allocations for education and implement lifelong policies that will raise families' living standards and establish social justice by minimizing class inequality and segregation.

**Keywords.** Shadow education, Social Justice, Positive and negative reflections, Socioeconomic status, Social inequality

## 1. Introduction

In today's globalized world, where equality and justice in access to information have gained importance, many governments have adopted the principles of the "1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights". In the 21st century, characterized as the age of information and communication, equal and free access to information for every individual is a fundamental human right.

Among the principles of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", it is stated that everyone has the right to education at basic levels such as primary and secondary education, and that education should be free. It is essential that primary education be compulsory, vocational and technical education be generally accessible, and higher education be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (United Nations, 1948).

Throughout history, the idea that education should be free and accessible to everyone has become widespread, and this fundamental idea has been declared in many different international documents. One of the documents emphasizing the principle of free and accessible education for all is the "Declaration of the Rights of the Child". Principle 7 of the Declaration (United Nations 1959, Principle 7) states:

"The child has the right to free and compulsory education, at least at the elementary level."

This states that every child should benefit from the right to education in an equal and fair manner.

Another international document, "the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights", states in Article 13 (United Nations 1966, Article 13):

"Primary education shall be compulsory and free for all. Secondary education in its different forms shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education. Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education."

These provisions declare the necessity of education being accessible and free for each level of primary, secondary, and higher education.

In addition to international documents declaring the principle of equal, fair, and accessible education, intellectual movements advocating for social justice in education have also emerged at international conferences. One such movement is the "Education for All (EFA)" initiative, which emerged at the "World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA)" held in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990. Delegations from 155 countries, 33 intergovernmental organizations, and 125 non-governmental organizations and institutes gathered at this event (WCEFA 1990a). The final declaration issued at the end of the conference (WCEFA 1990b) set forth a new commitment to the right of individuals to education. Accordingly, Article 1 of the declaration emphasizes that "every individual, whether child, youth, or adult, can benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs."

The issue of accessibility to education was also discussed at another international organization, "the World Economic Forum (WEF)", and the final declaration (WEF 2000, p. 15) stated:

"For millions of children living in poverty and facing multiple disadvantages, a firm commitment must be made to exempt education from fees and other charges and to do

everything possible to reduce or eliminate costs such as learning materials, uniforms, school meals, and transportation. Broader social policies, interventions, and incentives should be used to reduce the indirect opportunity costs of attending school."

With these statements, the idea that education should be equal, accessible, and free for everyone has been reiterated and declared to the international community on a different platform.

## 2. Literature Review

The concept of "Social Justice", emphasized in all these international agreements and documents, is one of the most discussed topics today.

**Social justice** is defined as "the ideal situation in which all individuals in society have the same basic rights, opportunities, obligations, and social assistance" (Barker, 1999). The phenomenon of "Shadow education" is one of the most important issues undermining social justice in the field of education in societies.

**Shadow education** is an umbrella term defined as "a series of educational activities that take place outside of formal education and are designed to enhance the student's formal school career" (Stevenson & Baker, 1992, p. 1639). Shadow education activities, also known as private tutoring, supplementary lessons, and private supplementary courses, are not a new phenomenon in national societies.

In past centuries, shadow education activities such as private tutoring were accepted in some societies as a precursor and alternative to schooling for certain social classes, with some families employing private tutors to provide their children with additional educational support (Bray & Kwo, 2013). Shadow education activities began to emerge in some parts of East Asia in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Harnisch 1994; Bray 1999; Zeng 1999) and have since shown a significant increase on a global scale (Bray 2009; Lee et al. 2009; Mori & Baker 2010).

Shadow education has shown significant growth in many countries around the world, reaching nearly 20% of the student population in some countries and up to 80% in others (Bray, 1999, 2010; Baker et al., 2010; Silova, 2009, 2010). A report prepared for the European Commission revealed that the increase in the rate of participation in shadow education did not occur uniformly across the European Union. The research report found that the fastest increases in the use of shadow education occurred in Southern European countries such as Portugal, Greece, and Spain, while no significant increase or change was observed in the Scandinavian countries (Bray, 2011). For example, a report published in 2010 found that in Germany, 1.1 million students, representing 14.8% of the total student population, regularly took private lessons and benefited from shadow education activities (Klemm & Klemm 2010: 7). Similarly, a survey conducted in the UK in 2008 through random telephone interviews with 1,500 parents revealed that 12% of primary school students and 8% of secondary school students received private tutoring (Peters et al. 2009: 2).

On the other hand, it has been determined that the level of participation in shadow education activities in some countries outside Europe is much higher than in European countries. For example, in a study conducted in South Korea in 2008, it was found that 60.5% of high school students, 72.5% of middle school students, and 87.9% of elementary school students took private lessons (Kim 2010: 302). Similarly, a 2009 survey of households in Egypt

found that 81% of households with children in middle school and 50% of households with children in elementary school had their children take private lessons (Sobhy 2012: 49). In Bangladesh, a household survey conducted by the government in 2008 found that 68.4% of secondary school students and 37.9% of primary school students received shadow educational support in the form of private lessons (Nath 2011: 3). For example, according to data from a 2007 study in Canada, approximately one-third of Canadian parents reported hiring private tutors for their children. The number of organizations providing private tutoring services in Canada's major cities has increased significantly over the last thirty years, ranging from 200% to 500% (Davies & Guppy 2010: 111-112). Tunisia is another country where shadow education activities are widely observed. A 2008 survey of 250 households in Tunisia found that 73.2% of households spent money on private tutoring and 90.2% of households considered these expenses a burden on the family budget. The study determined that these expenditures began in the early years of primary school (quoted from Akkari 2010: 51).

Although there is a lack of data-based research in this area in Turkey, the situation is no different. According to the results of a study conducted on households in 1994, household income and parents' educational level were found to be important determinants of children's academic achievement in Turkey (Tansel, 2002). It was concluded that there is a direct correlation between the educational level and income of parents, and that private tutoring expenses increase as the educational level and income of parents increase. This situation has led to important social consequences and has caused inequality in the intergenerational distribution of education (Tansel & Bircan, 2006).

As a result, the global prevalence of shadow education has had a wide-ranging impact not only on families with good economic status but also on middle- and low-income families, and its economic effects continue to this day.

For example, in some societies, shadow education has become a necessity for low-income families due to reasons such as societal expectations and the structure of education systems. Thus, alongside free education in public schools, shadow education activities such as private lessons and private courses have become a widespread education model (Bray & Kwo, 2013). This situation has led to **social inequalities** between families who can afford to enroll their children in multiple shadow education activities and low-income families who, due to economic constraints, cannot provide their children with the same level of shadow education as other families. It has also brought the concept of social justice into question.

High-income families are able to provide their children with easier access to higher-quality and more numerous private tutoring opportunities compared to low-income families, and they can send their children to private schools. For low-income families, however, the economic conditions make it impossible to provide their children with access to shadow education activities such as private tutoring or private courses. This situation causes a gap in academic achievement between the children of high-income households and those of low-income households in school life, leading to social inequalities. While the children of high-income families are more successful academically in school life, the children of low-income families who cannot benefit from shadow education activities lag behind their peers in terms of success.

It is known that shadow education activities in the context of private tutoring and private courses are a significant problem with far-reaching effects on social inequalities and, consequently, social justice (Bray & Kwo, 2013, p. 480). Families, regardless of their income, make large investments in shadow education activities by spending large amounts of money. As shadow education has become more widespread, middle- and low-income families in

particular have found themselves compelled to invest in private tutoring in addition to the educational opportunities provided by the public sector (Bray & Kwo, 2013). This situation seriously undermines the principle of "free education for all," which is enshrined in the "European Council's Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (Bray & Kwo, 2013).

Research showing that the concept of social justice in education and the principle of free and equal access to education for all has been undermined reveals that social inequalities have deepened. For example, research conducted in 2008 and 2009 in the Indian state of West Bengal by the organization "Pratichi Trust," which advocates for a public education system focused on developing the skills necessary to be economically and socially productive, found an increasing dependence on private tutoring in society. Observations and research conducted by Sen (2009: 13) found that the percentage of primary school students benefiting from shadow educational activities such as private tutoring had risen significantly, from 57% to 64%. It was determined that the underlying reason for this increase was not only the attainment of sufficient economic power to afford private lessons in proportion to the increase in income, but also the formation of a general belief among parents that private lessons were "inevitable" if they could be afforded. It was found that 78% of parents in society consider shadow educational activities to be inevitable and necessary, while the percentage of parents who cannot allocate financial resources to shadow education activities due to their high costs is 54%.

Comparative studies conducted in Africa confirm that shadow education has become almost a necessity within society. For example, in Madagascar, shadow educational activities, widely defined as private tutoring, are known to have become mandatory for almost all students (Andriamahavonjy & Ravelo, 2009:38). A study conducted in Egypt by Sobhy (2012, p. 47) found that families with weak economic status were pressured from the first year of their children's education to have their children take private lessons from low-paid teachers, who emphasized that this was necessary for their children to advance to the next grade. The study also observed that middle and upper-middle-class families were subjected to the same pressure and were persuaded that shadow education activities, such as private tutoring, were necessary for their children to receive a quality education. Informal private tutoring activities have become a market within and alongside the formal education system, leading to social inequality and injustice. In this context, it has been determined that shadow education activities such as private tutoring have profound effects on variables such as equality and access to education at an equal level (Sobhy, 2012, p. 48).

Shadow education has divided the student population in the West Bengal region of India into "those who can afford it" and "those who cannot afford it," eliminating the right of all children to receive basic education at an equal level (Sen, 2009, pp. 14-15). This situation has led to education being perceived as a commercial service and has been a key factor in undermining social justice by causing social inequalities in society. The results of all these studies conducted in many countries show that shadow education has various reflections and consequences on the concept of social justice.

### **3. Purpose of the Research**

The main objective of this study is to determine the impact and reflections of shadow education activities on the concept of "Social Justice" according to the opinions of school administrators and teachers. In line with this main objective, the following sub-objective was addressed:

1. How and in what way do shadow education activities affect social justice?

#### 4. Method

This study, which aims to determine the current situation regarding how shadow education activities affect social justice in Turkey based on the views of school administrators and teachers working in official primary and secondary education institutions in the Central District of Kastamonu Province and the nearby districts of Daday, Devrekani, and Seydiler, is a qualitative study using a descriptive survey model. Qualitative research involves the use of data collection tools such as observation, interviews, and document analysis, and follows a qualitative process aimed at presenting events in a realistic and holistic manner in their natural environment (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016).

The research was conducted using the case study design from among qualitative research designs. The case study design is an empirical research method used in situations where a current phenomenon is examined within its own real-life context, where the boundaries between the phenomenon and its content are not clearly defined, and where multiple data sources are available (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016).

##### 4.1. Study Group

The study group consisted of a total of 40 participants, including 25 male and 15 female participants, who were school administrators and teachers working in public primary and secondary education institutions in the central district of Kastamonu province and the districts of Daday, Devrekani, and Seydiler during the 2022-2023 academic year. Of these participants, 14 school administrators (2 school principals, 1 assistant principal, and 11 vice principals) and 26 teachers formed the working group. It was concluded that a single sampling method would not be sufficient for the purpose of the study. Therefore, different sampling methods were used together in the study to enable a detailed description of the research topic. Accordingly, the school administrators and teachers included in the study were first selected using the "Purposive sampling" method, also referred to as "Criterion sampling" in some sources (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). The "purposive sampling method" involves in-depth study of situations considered to be rich in information. In purposive sampling, the participants included in the research are consciously determined (Patton, 1987).

However, another sampling method used in the research was the "Convenience sampling" method. "Convenience sampling" is a sampling method based on including participants in the sample if they are easier to reach (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016, p. 123). The study also utilized the "Maximum diversity sampling" method, which is considered one of the purposeful sampling methods and aims to describe all dimensions of the research topic. In the "maximum diversity sampling method", participants with different positions and titles, and who are different from each other in terms of individual variables, are included in the study. The aim of "maximum diversity sampling" is to reveal what kinds of similarities or differences exist among diverse situations (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2016, p. 120). In line with this, in order to ensure maximum diversity in the research, participants who had received master's and doctoral level education, as well as bachelor's degree graduates from the teaching department, were included in the study group. Furthermore, in order to describe the different dimensions of the research topic, participants working in rural areas were included in the study group, in addition to those working in city centres.

4.1.1. *Demographic Information Regarding the Study Group.* Detailed information regarding the demographic characteristics of the school administrators and teachers in the working group whose opinions were sought, such as their "gender", "professional seniority",

“type of school they work at”, “job title”, “branch”, and “education level”, is provided in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Demographic Information Regarding the Study Group

Variables	Categories	<i>n</i>
Gender	Male	25
	Female	15
Professional Seniority	1-10 Years	5
	11-20 Years	19
	21-30 Years	15
	31 years and over	1
School Type	Elementary School	9
	Middle School	5
	High School	26
Position Title	School principal	2
	Assistant School Principal	1
	Vice Principal	11
	Teacher	26
Branch	Science Teacher	1
	History	1
	Classroom Teacher	11
	Religious Culture and Ethics	2
	Biology	1
	Industrial Automation Technologies	1
	Plumbing Technology and Air Conditioning	1
	Accounting and Finance	1
	English	12
	Turkish Language and Literature	4
	Geography	1
	Chemistry	1
	Physical Education	1
Education Level	Electrical and Electronics Technology	2
	Bachelor's Degree	26
	Master's Degree	11
	Doctorate	3

When examining the demographic data of the study group provided in Table 1, it was observed that the number of female participants was lower than that of male participants due to female participants having a heavier course load than male participants. However, female

participants provided more qualified answers to the interview questions than male participants. Again, among the participants included in the sample, participation in the study was more limited in branches other than classroom teacher and English. This was due to the shortage of teachers in these branches, resulting in a heavier course load for the existing participants and, consequently, less participation in the study. The fact that there were more participants in the sample from branches such as classroom teacher and English compared to other participants was due to the lighter teaching loads of participants in these branches and their ability to allocate time for the interview. It was determined that participants with 10 years or more of seniority were more willing to participate in the research. The heavy administrative workload of school administrators and their inability to allocate time for the study were significant factors in their lower participation compared to teachers.

#### *4.2. Data Collection Tools and Techniques*

Qualitative data collection techniques, specifically interviews, were used in this study. The interview technique is "a pre-determined, serious, question-and-answer-based, interactive communication process" (Stewart and Cash, 1985, p.7). The purpose of the interview is to gain insight into the individual's inner world and deeply understand their perspective (Patton, 1987). In this context, the interview technique was used to understand the participants' attitudes, experiences, and thoughts regarding the research topic. Accordingly, the research data was obtained through face-to-face, individual interviews with the participants.

A semi-structured interview form was used to collect data from the working group consisting of 40 participants included in the study. The semi-structured interview form was prepared in two sections: demographic information aimed at determining the participants' demographic characteristics and a section containing the interview questions. The data collection tool was prepared by reviewing sources in the literature on qualitative data collection methods. The draft interview form was first submitted to three separate expert opinions, and the necessary adjustments were made to the form. The interview form, revised in line with expert opinion, was finalized, and a pilot study was conducted prior to the main data collection process of the research.

It is ideal for the participants included in the pilot study to be as close as possible to the participant profile that will be used in the main data collection study (Glesne, 1999). This principle was also taken into account in the pilot study. In this context, a pilot interview was conducted with a total of four participants: two school administrators, one being the assistant principal and the other the vice principal, and two subject teachers, one teaching geography and the other teaching mathematics. When determining the pilot participants, a gender-balanced distribution was ensured, with two female and two male participants. Furthermore, educational level diversity was considered when selecting the pilot participants, and the pilot interview was conducted with two bachelor's degree and two master's degree participants. Professional seniority was also considered when selecting the pilot participants, and participants with different backgrounds and experiences were preferred. Accordingly, emphasis was placed on conducting pilot interviews with 2 participants who were in the early years of their careers and had 1-10 years of professional seniority, and 2 participants who were experienced and had 11-20 years of professional seniority. All participants interviewed in the pilot study were selected from high schools because no participants willing to participate in the pilot study could be found at the elementary and middle school levels. However, participants from different disciplines were sought in order to evaluate the different opinions and perspectives they could provide on the draft interview form. In this context, pilot interviews were conducted with participants

working in both quantitative and verbal disciplines, including 1 Mathematics, 1 Geography, 1 Turkish Language and Literature, and 1 English. Based on their responses to the questions, the draft interview form was revised and finalized.

#### *4.3. Data Collection*

Within the scope of the research, the necessary legal permission and ethical research approval were obtained in order to collect data from school administrators and teachers working in Kastamonu province and district centres.

The research data was collected by the researcher, who contacted individuals who met the criteria sought in the study group. Before the interview process, participants were informed about the purpose of the research and that it would be conducted on a voluntary basis. The researcher stated that interviews would be conducted at a time and place convenient for the participants, provided they volunteered to participate in the study. The researcher conducted the interviews by visiting the schools where the administrators and teachers worked, in accordance with their requests. In order to conduct the interviews, the school administration was consulted and the necessary permissions were obtained to determine locations such as laboratories, libraries, and staff rooms where participants could express themselves comfortably. Creswell (2007) emphasizes the importance of certain ethical principles that must be followed in qualitative research. In line with these ethical principles, before the interviews began, participants were informed again about the purpose of the research and told that they were free to participate or not, that they could end the interview at any time, and that the interview would be recorded with a voice recorder if they agreed. Participants were also assured that their names would be kept confidential when the research findings were reported and that the research results would be provided to them upon request.

All interviews were recorded using audio recording devices with the consent of all participants involved in the study. In order to ensure the validity and reliability of the research, efforts were made to ensure a long-term data collection and interaction process. In this context, each interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. In order to increase the reliability of the study, the data was collected objectively, without commenting on the participants' responses or guiding the participants. However, in order to keep the identity information of the participants whose opinions were sought in the research confidential, they were represented by the abbreviations [T] for classroom teachers and subject teachers, [P] for school principals, [DD] for Deputy directors, and [AD] for assistant directors, along with numbers assigned to each.

#### *4.4. Data Analysis*

“Content analysis”, one of the qualitative data analysis techniques, was used to analyse the data from this study. The main goal of content analysis is to identify concepts and relationships that can explain the collected data. Qualitative research data is analysed in four stages. These are coding the data, finding themes, organizing codes and themes, and defining and interpreting the findings (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016, pp. 242-243). Before starting the analysis of the data, the transcription of the interviews recorded on audio was completed, the data was converted into written form, and the raw data was compiled. To facilitate the interpretation and analysis of the raw data obtained, the data underwent a descriptive analysis. This determined which data would be organized and presented under which themes. Furthermore, the data obtained for each question from the interviews were categorized under the defined theme headings, making the raw data readable and interpretable.

“Content analysis” began with the process of coding the data. The codes were categorized by examining the similarities, differences, and relationships between the coded data. During the coding process, meaningful sections between the data were identified based on the concepts that emerged from the data analysis. Themes, categories, and codes were created in accordance with the conceptual framework, and the statements were reflected in tabular form. In addition, themes that clarified the codes and sub-themes related to them were created. Frequency values related to the data obtained based on the determined themes were added to the tables. In addition to this, direct quotations related to the participants' original views and thoughts on the relevant topic, linked to thematic coding, were included in the study. When including direct quotations, classroom and subject teachers [T], school principals [P], deputy directors [DD], and assistant directors [AD] were represented by abbreviations and numbers. After creating the codes and themes, the findings were interpreted.

MAXQDA 2024 qualitative data analysis software was used in the analysis of the data. The data obtained as a result of the data collection process were processed into the MAXQDA 2024 qualitative data analysis program along with themes and subcategories, and the frequency values of the participants' responses to the questions were determined. To facilitate the interpretation and analysis of the data entered into the program, all data obtained from the participants were subjected to an in-depth examination, and every piece of data that could contribute to the subject and purpose of the research was carefully considered. Using the data analysis software, the relationships between the findings were identified and interpreted by using the "Code Matrix Browser" and "Code Relationship Browser" found within the software's visual tools to examine the distribution and patterns of the codes.

#### *4.5. Validity and Reliability of Data*

To ensure the “validity” and “reliability” of the results obtained in the research, a method was followed that included cross-checking, participant confirmation, long-term data collection and long-term interaction with participants, in-depth data collection, and ensuring diversity in sampling.

In this context, in order to ensure the reliability of the data in the first stage, the interviews with the participants were conducted for a minimum of 30-60 minutes so that the participants could express themselves comfortably, free from anxiety and the influence of the researcher, and to enable them to share their views objectively. A long-term data collection process and interaction with participants were ensured to collect in-depth data.

After the data was collected, the data, which was transferred into text form and compiled to ensure its “internal validity (credibility)”, was presented to the participants for their approval. As participants did not request the exclusion of any statements from evaluation, all statements were evaluated within the scope of the research. In this way, the reliability of the data provided by the participants was ensured, and the accuracy of the data was confirmed completely and comprehensively. The study sought to increase consistency by including direct quotations from participants. To ensure the “transferability” of the research, the research design, study group, data collection tool, and data analysis processes were explained in detail, and the findings obtained at the end of the research were interpreted by comparing them with studies in the literature. The “internal reliability” of the research was ensured by checking the compatibility of the findings with the conceptual framework. Furthermore, to ensure the validity of the data, the coded and categorized data were submitted to three separate experts for evaluation, and the validity of the data was confirmed through cross-checking.

To ensure the “external validity” of the data, diversity was sought in the data sources, aiming to have participants with different views and experiences contribute to the research. In this context, interviews were conducted with teachers from different disciplines, professional seniority levels, titles, and educational backgrounds, as well as with school administrators from different disciplines, professional seniority levels, titles, and educational backgrounds.

To ensure the “transferability” of the research, key variables reflecting the research methodology, such as the research design, study group, data collection tool, and data analysis processes, were explained in detail. The findings obtained at the end of the study were interpreted by comparing them with studies in the literature. The compatibility of the findings obtained in the research with the conceptual framework was checked, and in this way, the internal reliability of the research was attempted to be ensured.

Erlandson et al. (1993) propose two methods to increase “the transferability of research findings”: one is “detailed description”, and the other is “purposive sampling”. In this context, all raw data obtained in the study to ensure the transferability of research findings were described in detail and presented under theme headings. The researcher avoided leading questions by asking the same questions to all participants using the same approach, and the data were coded in an effort to follow an objective and consistent approach in the data analysis processes.

## 5. Findings

Based on the views expressed by the participants included in the study, the findings obtained from the interviews regarding the question that formed the basis of the study, which was the evaluation of the effects of shadow education activities on social justice by school administrators and teachers, showed that shadow education activities have both positive and negative effects on “Social justice”. Participant statements were analyzed using content analysis techniques and presented under sub-themes and main categories. The coding and thematization steps were carried out using MAXQDA 2024 software; frequency (*n*) and percentage (%) values were reported to explain the relative weights of the themes.

The total frequency values of the data regarding the positive reflections of shadow education activities on social justice were determined as  $n = 25$ , and the frequency values were consistent with the sub-theme records and formed a whole. Participant codes are shown in the relevant rows in the table for transparency.

The findings regarding the positive and negative outcomes of shadow education activities on social justice are presented in two separate tables below.

**Table 2.**  
Findings About Positive Reflections of Shadow Education Activities on Social Justice

Theme	Sub-Theme	<i>n</i>	Participant Code
Access and opportunity equality	Providing equal educational opportunities	6	T4, T5, T9, T15, T23, T25
	Benefiting from free school courses	3	P1, P2, AD1
	Ensuring equal opportunity	3	AD10, T2, T26
	Providing individualized education opportunities	1	T22
	Accessibility to shadow education	1	AD3
	Free access and support	1	AD9

variety of models			
Academic gains	Contribution to academic success	1	T3
	Completing academic opportunities	1	T6
Empowerment and Self-Efficacy	Individual empowerment motivation	2	T1, T4
Social and personal Development	Development of social communication skills	1	T10
	Contributing to social and personal development	1	T7
Systemic and Social impacts	Ensuring social balance	1	AD6
	Ensuring access to justice policies	1	T18
Process-based foundations and conditions	Demand for shadow education	1	T10
	Teachers' individual assistance and student effort	1	AD6

When the findings reached based on the opinions of the participants included in the study were evaluated, the theme of "Access and Opportunity Equality" was determined to carry the majority of the findings ( $n = 15 / 60\%$ ). This suggests that shadow education primarily gained meaning among participants as an equalizing function in access to education. Although the themes "Academic gains" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ), "Empowerment and self-efficacy" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ), "Social and personal development" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ), and "Systemic and societal impacts" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ) themes appeared with more limited frequency, it was concluded that they provided a complementary framework in the context of access to shadow education. The theme "Processual supports and conditions" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ) (teacher support-student effort, demand) was determined to be a factor determining access to shadow education, distinct from the other theme clusters.

When the findings obtained within the context of sub-themes are evaluated, it is seen that the sub-theme "Providing equal educational opportunities" ( $n = 6 / 24\%$ ) under the theme "Access and Opportunity Equality" forms the center of gravity of the findings, while the sub-themes "Ensuring equal opportunities" ( $n = 3 / 12\%$ ) and "Benefiting from free school courses" ( $n = 6 / 24\%$ ) sub-themes show that shadow education has an equalizing function in access to educational activities. The sub-themes "Providing individualized educational opportunities" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ), "Accessibility to shadow education" ( $n = 6 / 24\%$ ), and "Diversity of free access and support models" ( $n = 6 / 24\%$ ) reinforce the perception that disadvantages in accessing shadow education are decreasing.

The sub-themes "Contribution to academic achievement" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) and "Completing academic opportunities" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ), grouped under the theme of "Academic gains," show that access to shadow education has an effect on students' academic achievement and gains. The sub-theme "Individual empowerment motivation" ( $n = 2 / 8\%$ ) gathered under the theme of "Empowerment and Self-Efficacy" indicates that there are positive reflections in the self-efficacy dimension and that shadow education support has effects on the student's self-perception as well as cognitive gains.

The sub-themes "Social communication skills" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) and "Contribution to social and personal development" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ), grouped under the theme of "Social and personal development," indicate that peer interaction and teacher-student communication have been strengthened. These findings suggest that they provide a complementary social-emotional framework to academic achievements.

The sub-themes "Policies ensuring access equity" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) and "Ensuring social balance" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) grouped under the theme "Systemic and social impacts" show that the participants in the study perceived that the education policies implemented strengthened the perception of equity in access to shadow education.

The sub-themes "Teachers' individual assistance and student effort" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) and "Demand" ( $n = 1 / 4\%$ ) under the theme of "Process-based foundations and conditions" reflect process-oriented stages that lead to results in education, unlike the sub-themes grouped under other main themes .

The findings obtained from the research evaluating the effects of shadow education activities on the concept of "social justice" indicate that shadow education has positive reflections on social justice.

In this regard, the positive effects of shadow education on social justice have been supported by the opinions of administrators and teachers. Some administrator and teacher opinions regarding shadow education activities providing "access and equal opportunity" on social justice are as follows:

*A student who has never been to a gym and has never seen a tennis racket in their life may encounter one for the first time when they come here. They may encounter a tool they have never seen before in their life. This gives the child the opportunity to reach it. It has a positive effect. (T4),*

*In shadow education, if those who now offer shadow education do not offer the option of providing shadow education to these or those, and if they say that anyone who wants to can come, and if the principle of equality is observed, then I do not see it as unfair for those who advance to a higher level or improve their performance to get ahead of others. (T5),*

*So ultimately, education should be for everyone and it should be equal. That means everyone should receive an equal education. And we all need to ensure these conditions are met for our students who are at a lower level. Or, for example, in small towns, where not everyone has access to social activities, extracurricular activities, private lessons, online lessons, and so on, as we mentioned earlier, there seems to be a bit of inequality because they cannot access these things in small towns, but if the school administration and parents cooperate with teachers to bring these activities to schools, equality will be achieved. That way, a better education can be provided. (T9),*

*Again, with the old system, if formal school courses (DYK) were offered to everyone in grades five, six, seven, and eight in schools, depending on interest and demand in schools, this is very important, sir, depending on interest and demand. Is the course opening for 8 people here, as far as I know? Well, 8 is a good number. If it won't happen with 8 people, if 8 people don't gather, then I think we should communicate with other schools so that those who are interested and willing can benefit from this education system. I mean, if we have 7 people and can't open the course, we should send them to another school and try to complete the number,*

*but I believe that the person who wants this education should benefit from this educational opportunity, sir. (T15),*

*Actually, I think it positively affects social justice. Because it provides opportunities to students who don't have them. The state creates equality and equal opportunity with this policy. I think it has a positive effect in this regard. (AD10),*

*Social justice? If we think of disadvantaged individuals in terms of social justice, this is an extra activity offered to put these individuals in an advantageous position. At this point, it also offers positive discrimination in terms of social justice, or a positive contribution for these children, for our children, yes. (T26),*

*We provide one-on-one education for this, or let's consider the DYK process in middle school. In light of that formal school courses (DYK) process, it is clear how much a tutoring center cost today. If the process is carried out properly at school and this service is rewarded, it naturally benefits the family economically. (P2).*

Some views of administrators and teachers regarding how shadow education activities provide "empowerment and self-sufficiency" in terms of social justice are as follows:

*When a person encounters something, they have never encountered before, they feel happy. That is, they feel motivated because they believe they can achieve it and do it. (T4).*

Some administrators and teachers' views on how shadow education activities provide "academic gains" in terms of social justice are as follows:

*Frankly, I think it provides justice in the sense of bringing students who are falling behind up to the same level as other students. (T6),*

*One of the biggest advantages of shadow education is increasing the number of questions. Since the work is always exam-oriented (T3).*

Some administrator and teacher opinions regarding shadow education activities providing "social and personal development" in terms of social justice are as follows:

*Students will express themselves better here as well. They will ensure that educational activities reach a higher level. (T10),*

*It positively impacts social justice. Why does it have an impact? Because children can participate in any competitions there. For example, they go to competitions such as folk dances. There, they can learn to be happy even when they come second, to congratulate the winner, and not to be sad when they come second. (T7).*

Some opinions of administrators and teachers regarding the "systemic and social impacts" of shadow education activities on social justice are as follows:

*It depends on the type of activity. Since remedial courses are open to everyone, it is actually a matter of ensuring social justice. (AD6),*

*The shadow education activities currently carried out at the school support justice. There is no problem in that regard. (T18).*

Some administrator and teacher opinions regarding the "processual foundations and conditions" that shadow education activities provide for social justice are as follows:

*But that's how I see it. We've been experiencing this for years. When you consider formal education plus the supplementary training courses provided, plus the efforts and hard work of our fellow teachers here, plus the help they give when students come to ask questions during their free periods, students can actually achieve things very efficiently without specifically entering the shadow education system. So it's not a matter of "it absolutely must be done." Therefore, within the social justice umbrella, in my opinion, there isn't a particularly unfair environment because the state already provides more than enough. (AD6),*

*Educational demands, yes. They will positively address and reflect social justice. (T10).*

On the other hand, the total frequency values of the data regarding the negative reflections of shadow education activities on social justice were determined as  $n = 37$ , and the frequency values were consistent with the sub-theme records and formed a whole. Participant codes are shown in the relevant rows in the table for transparency.

**Table 3.**

Findings Regarding the Negative Impacts of Shadow Education Activities on Social Justice			
Theme	Subtheme	<i>n</i>	Participant Code
Access and opportunity inequality	Related to income level opportunity inequality	5	AD3, AD4, AD5, AD6, T25
	Related to income level access inequality	4	AD7, AD8, T11, T12
	Economic deprivation and barriers to education access	3	AD9, T2, T24
	Families' economic deprivation	2	P1, P2
	Deepening inequality	2	AD11, T3
	Inequality in access to education	2	T1, T16
	Social inequality	2	DD1, AD1
	Lack of opportunity	1	T15
	Time and economic inequality	1	T13
	Household income imbalance	1	AD2
Opportunity and inequality of opportunity	Opportunity and achievement inequality	1	T20
	Opportunity inequality	1	T21
	Opportunity inequality created by education policies	1	T19
		1	T16

	Economic deprivation and inequality in access to education	1	T21
Academic Losses	Achievement gap	2	AD5, T3
	Student readiness deficiencies	1	AD1
Systemic and Political Barriers	Normalization	1	T8
	Lack of supervision	1	AD1
Social and Psychosocial Negative Factors	Class division	1	T18
	Social hierarchy and discrimination	1	AD5
	Financial burden on families	1	T25
Powerlessness and Self-inadequacy	Students' apathetic attitude	1	AD1

Table 3 presents the findings based on the participants' views, categorized as follows: The theme "Access and opportunity inequality" emerged as the most prominent, with a total frequency of  $n = 28 / 75.7\%$ , highlighting its negative implications for social justice. When examining the sub-themes under the "Access and opportunity inequality" overarching theme, the prominent sub-themes were "Opportunity inequality related to income level" ( $n = 5, 13.5\%$ ), "Access inequality related to income level" ( $n = 4, 10.8\%$ ), "Economic deprivation and barriers to access to education" ( $n = 3, 8.1\%$ ), "Economic deprivation of families" ( $n = 2, 5.4\%$ ), "Deepening inequality" ( $n = 2, 5.4\%$ ), "Inequality in access to education" ( $n = 2, 5.4\%$ ), and "Social inequality" ( $n = 2, 5.4\%$ ). When the prominent findings are evaluated, it is seen that shadow education activities determine families' socio-economic status in terms of access to shadow education opportunities and that income-based inequalities erode opportunity equity. It has been concluded that access restrictions and inequalities in shadow education stratify disadvantages. In this context, inequalities must be eliminated to ensure social justice.

The sub-themes "Achievement gap" ( $n = 2, 5.4\%$ ) and "Student readiness gap" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ) under the theme of "Academic losses" show that the readiness gap among students hinders continuity in learning gains. The increase in achievement differences among students leads to the conclusion that inequalities in access to shadow education negatively affect teaching outcomes. In this context, sustainable shadow education support can compensate for learning losses and reduce academic inequalities among students.

On the other hand, under the theme heading "Social and Psychosocial Adversities," the sub-themes "Class division" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ), "Social hierarchy and discrimination" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ), and "Financial burden on families" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ) reveal that the school climate is based on segregation and discrimination. It shows that the financial burden on families weakens students' sense of belonging to the school and their motivation to attend school. This situation can be remedied by establishing an inclusive school climate and providing students with social-emotional support.

When evaluating the sub-themes "Normalization" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ) and "Lack of control" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ) under the theme of "Systemic and Political Barriers" reveal that political constraints such as "Lack of Oversight" have negative effects on social justice, and that weakening political standards leads to inequalities being perceived as normal. It was concluded that the oversight gap weakens equal access opportunities to shadow educational support resources.

When evaluating the sub-theme "Students' indifferent attitude" ( $n = 1, 2.7\%$ ) under the other main theme "Powerlessness and Self-Inadequacy," it is shown that the indifferent attitude displayed by students negatively affects their learning performance and the cycle of participation in shadow educational processes. Guidance and individualized feedback efforts can restore students' motivation to strengthen their commitment to shadow education.

When examining the findings obtained from the research evaluating the effects of shadow education activities on the concept of "social justice," it was concluded that shadow education also has negative repercussions on social justice.

In this regard, the negative effects of shadow education on social justice have been supported by the views of administrators and teachers.

Some administrators and teachers' views on how shadow education activities contribute to "access and opportunity inequality" in social justice are as follows:

*In my opinion, to put it briefly, of course it has a negative impact. If your economic situation is good, you take private lessons. You go to private tutoring centers. All kinds of resources are made available to you. If you are not successful, you go to a private university. So, I think it is all related to the economic situation of the parents. Of course, it is a practice that eliminates justice. (AD4),*

*I believe it completely eliminates social justice because children from families with serious economic disparities are receiving the same education in the same classroom. Now, some children are trying to complete their schoolwork at home, perhaps in a room with a stove, while other children are already beyond that—they have their own room, their own desk, and can work as late as they want. No one complains about high electricity bills or excessive gas bills. Plus, on top of that, they also take private lessons. Some children have their teacher come to them without even leaving their room. There is no time wasted. Of course, a child who receives individual education at a tutoring center or through private lessons always has a slightly different approach to their knowledge, trying to complete it themselves. Because they have the chance to fill in the gaps one-on-one, they are always one step ahead. (AD5),*

*Of course, what we are basing this on is that these children are students who cannot benefit from private lessons, tutoring, or whatever else. When you look at it in terms of "social justice," the children who go to tutoring centers are, when you look at it, from a slightly higher economic group. When you look at those who take private lessons, you see that they are from a slightly higher group. I think this undermines social justice. (T25),*

*Of course, this shadow education may be a disadvantage for those who cannot afford it, as it may involve private lessons, courses, and so on. There may be a downside there, but ultimately, not everyone is in the same situation, and therefore not everyone can benefit equally from every form of support. However, if equality is ensured, there is no problem, but if it is not ensured, then of course, an injustice arises. (AD7),*

*Here, I am very sensitive, perhaps I talk about it too much. So, when it comes to social justice, those with financial means can benefit more from educational activities, but those without financial means can access education to the extent they can through the state, schools, and public education centers. However, those with financial means can benefit more from these opportunities. I think this negatively affects social justice. (AD8),*

*Yes, speaking of social justice, as I mentioned earlier, in a place where only those who can afford it can go and those who cannot afford it cannot take private lessons, there can be little talk of social justice. So, looking at it from this angle, if shadow education activities are entirely like this, i.e., if they involve a financial burden, and if we consider that there are families who cannot access them, then unfortunately, we can also talk about social injustice here. (T11),*

*But since there are students who cannot attend private lessons and private education courses, this will also have a slightly negative impact on equality. (P1),*

*It leads to social injustice, first and foremost, meaning inequality increases and escalates. Because not everyone can afford private lessons or a coach for their child. In that sense, it has a negative impact. (DD1),*

*I think the private sector, for its own sake, should definitely regulate private courses or private tutoring if it's being offered. Here, social justice is completely... it's not being distributed, it's not being provided, and a huge injustice is emerging. (AD1).*

*This brings us to the issue of unequal opportunities in education. Families who are financially well-off can afford to send their children to these study centers and private places, setting aside a certain amount of money for them. But others cannot. So, swimming lessons are paid for in most places, study centers are paid for, there are foreign language courses. They are paid for. How should I put it? Archery is paid. The Provincial Sports Directorate offers it, but there are those who do it. There are also those who take these courses privately on their own. All of these need to be organized within a plan that ensures equality for all individuals. Equal opportunity needs to be created. (T16),*

*So, in reality, social justice means that those who have money can send their children to these activities, while those who don't have money can send them to formal school courses (DYK) courses and Primary school development program (IYEP) courses at school. But is there another solution to this? Believe me, I don't know either. (T1),*

*I can say that private lessons and private schools have been a real hammer blow in terms of undermining social justice. Students with money are lucky academically, even if they are smart. Please don't get me wrong. Let's say they are lucky even if they are not academically successful. If they are academically successful, then yes, they are successful. On top of that, if they come from a wealthy family, they receive even more support and are even luckier. Now let's consider the other child. They are academically successful, eager to work, and intelligent. Yes, they are lucky, but they don't receive enough support, and the other child is always one step ahead. So, can you talk about social justice here? Unfortunately, no. (AD11),*

*It has a very positive effect, and I want it to have a positive effect, but it may not have a very positive effect because a student who has the means can use it better and more effectively, while a student who does not have the means cannot make up for that deficiency even though they have sufficient capacity. (T3).*

Some administrator and teacher opinions regarding how "academic losses" in shadow education activities undermine social justice are as follows:

*Of course, a child who receives individual education through private lessons at a tutoring center or at work always approaches the subject matter a little differently, trying to complete it themselves. Because they have the opportunity to fill in the gaps one-on-one, they are always one step ahead. (AD5),*

*A student who cannot benefit from shadow education activities may be negatively affected by this, no matter how knowledgeable they are, because they cannot learn to use their time effectively. (T3),*

*Even if there are fewer students, it has a negative impact. They attend classes, but there is no productivity. They receive instruction from the teacher, but they think it is good, yet is their teacher aware of this? Is the school administration aware? No, their institution is not aware. This child thinks they are doing well there, but they are not doing anything. (AD1).*

On the other hand, some administrators and teachers expressed the following views regarding how "systemic and political barriers" negatively affect social justice in shadow education activities:

*Social justice, meaning equality, meaning accepting that the child exists, that they are the way they are. Well, social justice, of course, is a bit difficult at first, acceptance is difficult, but both from the family's perspective and the child's friends' perspective, after acceptance happens over time, that social justice also finds a common balance, let's say... Acceptance occurs, meaning it settles into a balance both for the family and the child's friends (T8),*

*I don't know about these activities, I mean, why does the state allow them to happen? It seems like it doesn't allow them, but somehow, they happen anyway. There is no control whatsoever. So, there is no data on this either, because no one knows who is doing what. What news is there...? (AD1).*

Some opinions of administrators and teachers regarding how "social and psychosocial disadvantages" in shadow education activities negatively affect social justice are as follows:

*On the other hand, there are situations where private tutoring or cram school attendance is not possible for every student. This undoubtedly causes very intelligent students to remain in the background despite their capacity, causes some students who lack the means to remain in the background, and causes average students to come to the forefront by working very hard, perhaps even causing some of our students to be lost, I think. I mean, even though they are very intelligent, I don't know. Maybe he needs to be an engineer. He might have to become a skilled worker in industry, for example, or a baker. If he were in another family, he could receive supplementary education, like private lessons at a tutoring center. He could do that, meaning he could reach a different level. He could become a white-collar worker, for example. (T18),*

*These children get into better universities. They can find better-paying jobs. Their standard of living automatically becomes higher. Naturally, this is something that completely eliminates social justice... I mean. (AD5),*

*I clearly think it undermines social justice in this sense. So perhaps the most negative part is in terms of education, this part a little more, that is, sometimes we see people rubbing salt in the wound. The family really can't afford it, but just because the child wants it, or because there's*

*hope that the child might be better off, the parents sacrifice themselves. I think that's very damaging. (T25).*

The views of administrators and teachers regarding how the situation of "Powerlessness and Self-Inadequacy" in shadow education activities undermines social justice are as follows:

*This kid thinks he's doing well there, but he's not doing anything. You see him failing so badly this time that you can't make it work at that school, or he starts not doing what he used to do at school. This time, at school, he says, "Never mind, I'll go to class, I'll go to the tutoring center. I'll focus on my private lessons; I won't come to the school course. I won't take the test at school," and so on. I think this is a dangerous issue because none of them are experts, and this is the inevitable result. (AD1).*

## **6. Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations**

This study, which evaluates the effects of shadow educational activities on the concept of social justice in the Turkish education system, concluded that while shadow educational activities have **positive effects on social justice**, they predominantly have negative effects. Based on the views expressed by the school administrators and teachers included in the study, it was determined that shadow educational activities provide **access and equal opportunities**, and that this has **positive reflections on the phenomenon of social justice**. In this context, participants believe that offering equal educational opportunities in shadow educational activities, allowing students to benefit from free school courses, and ensuring equal opportunities in education are among the positive reflections on social justice. However, it has been concluded that factors strengthening social justice include students **achieving academic gains, becoming more motivated and gaining self-efficacy, and contributing to their social and personal development process by improving their communication skills with their peers, and that policies ensuring justice and social balance have positive reflections on social justice**.

On the other hand, it has been determined that shadow education activities have predominantly **negative reflections on social justice**, according to the views of administrators and teachers. Based on the views expressed by the school administrators and teachers included in the study, it has been concluded that shadow education activities significantly create **access and opportunity injustices**, and that this situation is a major problem that undermines social justice. However, it was also determined that other factors negatively affecting social justice include **systemic and political barriers**, such as **deficiencies in the supervision of shadow education activities** and **the normalization of these activities in society**, which contribute to academic losses due to achievement differences among students caused by unequal access to shadow education and deficiencies in students' readiness. On the other hand, it has been concluded that **social and psychosocial disadvantages**, such as the negative impact of **social hierarchy** and **class divisions** within society on access to shadow education activities and the **financial burden** that shadow educational activities place on families, are another important problem that undermines social justice. Furthermore, the findings indicate that students' indifference toward formal schooling due to the importance they attach to shadow educational activities leads to their **disempowerment and self-inadequacy**. For students without access to supplementary educational support outside of formal schooling, this situation undermines social justice.

A review of the literature reveals that shadow education activities have both **positive and negative implications for social justice**. Studies in the literature confirm that **families'**

**socioeconomic status is a key factor in unequal access to shadow education and the failure to establish a sense of social justice.**

Shadow education activities cause **access and opportunity inequality** and negatively impact the sense of social justice by leading to opportunity inequality related to **families' economic deprivation and income levels**, as confirmed by studies in the literature. For example, a study conducted in Greece in 2018 found that inadequate English language education in the Greek formal secondary education system directed students and parents towards private shadow education support resources, and that this situation led to social inequalities and inequities in access to shadow education. The study concluded that students from more privileged socioeconomic backgrounds generally had higher levels of English language proficiency certification (Tsiplakides, 2018). Families with high socioeconomic status provide their children with higher quality educational opportunities and possess high levels of economic, social, and cultural capital (Ball et al., 1996). In contrast, it has been determined that students with a lower socioeconomic background have lower English language proficiency certificate levels. This situation confirms that it leads to social inequalities and undermines the concept of social justice. It also confirms the fact that it causes social and psychosocial negativities such as “class segregation”, which is one of the findings obtained as a result of our research. In the Greek study, it was concluded that children from low socioeconomic families had lower English language proficiency certificate levels, and it was determined that this situation also led to the emergence of social class inequalities (Tsiplakides, 2018).

On the other hand, the findings obtained as a result of the research indicate that shadow education has positive reflections on "Social Justice," In the context of “systemic and social impacts”, "Policies that ensure Access Justice" are implemented, providing students with "Equal educational opportunities" and thus establishing **Access and Opportunity Equality**, as confirmed by the policies implemented by the Ministry of National Education since the 2014-2015 academic year. In this context, the Ministry of National Education launched an education support program in the 2014-2015 academic year to enable students with limited financial means to attend private schools. In line with this, educational support was provided to 250,000 students lacking financial means in 2014 and to 301,777 students in 2017 (Tosun, 2021). However, among the research findings, in the context of “Access and Equal Opportunity”, in order to facilitate access to shadow education for children from families lacking financial means and to ensure equal opportunity, the Ministry of National Education started offering free support and training courses within middle and high schools starting in the 2014-2015 academic year, free support and training courses were started to be offered in middle and high schools to enable them to benefit from school courses. Furthermore, the scope of free school courses for students with limited financial means was expanded, and starting from the 2018-2019 academic year, the Primary School Development Program (İYEP) support was also offered at the primary school level (Tosun, 2021).

Considering the findings obtained at the end of this study, although there are policy efforts to ensure equality and social justice in the provision of shadow education services within the Turkish education system, these efforts are insufficient, elements that undermine social justice prevail, and their negative reflections are more prominent.

It is considered necessary to undertake certain studies to establish a sense of “Social justice” in access to shadow education. In this context, due to the direct and strong relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement, disadvantaged student groups should be supported in gaining equal access to shadow education through social policy

initiatives such as educational assistance. Budget resources allocated to education should be increased for shadow educational support to ensure social justice and equality. Furthermore, in order to prevent social class inequalities such as **class segregation**, which is one of the findings of the research, financial support packages should be offered to families for their school-age children, and lifelong policies should be developed to raise families' living standards and minimize class inequalities.

Furthermore, in order to minimize achievement differences among students, equal access to shadow education should be provided to prevent academic losses. All public and private institutions providing shadow education services should be inspected at regular intervals, and the effectiveness of shadow education should be monitored.

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