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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to understand supplementary tutoring for rural school children in Bangladesh in the overall context of out-of-school study of academic subjects. Characteristics of the tutors both free and remunerated, cost involved in supplementary tutoring, reasons behind seeking tutoring support and reported impact of such support were also explored. Data were collected from 905 students living in four rural locations in two sub-districts. The findings revealed that most of the children were involved in out-of-school study; only a third took no support from tutors, over 26% received it for free, and almost 42% received it on payment. Supplementary tutoring providers were the parents, siblings, relatives, neighbours, teachers of own and other educational institutions, and the coaching centres. Household members and few others from all the categories provided it free of charge. Free providers were less educated and younger compared to the remunerated providers. A wide range of cost was involved. The parents reported a positive impact of remunerated supplementary tutoring on the academic performance of the students. The provision is however a source of intergenerational inequality among the students. Schools increased responsibility to the students of poorer families especially the first generation learners, in-school additional tutoring through community teachers and community or state financing of such initiative can be considered to reduce such inequality.

Key words: Out-of-school study, private tutoring, cost, equity, quality education, Bangladesh

INTRODUCTION

Out-of-school study on academic subjects beyond official school hour is not a new phenomenon (Bray, 1999; Kwok, 2001; Kim, 2005). It does not happen only due to the students' wish or their interest in education rather it is a demand of the schools that their students would study at home to better prepare themselves. The schools often demand this through offering home tasks and asking the students to study the texts that have already been taught in school or to cover additional contents from the textbooks. This is usually driven by an argument that if the students keep practicing the contents of their textbooks, they will be able to memorise those easily and ultimately would do better in the examinations. Parental interest in doing their children better in the examinations so that they can compete better for higher education or in the job market also enhances such arrangement. Thus, out-of-school strategies to enhance in-school success are quite commonly used by the students and their families (Bray and Kwok, 2003).

As a consequence of these overlapping motives, payment-based shadow education system has evolved; however, provision of free of cost support also exists (Biswal, 1999; Kwok, 2001; Foondun, 2002). Studies show that remunerated supplementary tutoring in academic subjects has a long history; it is a huge industry in a number of countries in Asia (for instance, Japan and South Korea) and spreading fast in other regions of the world including North America, Europe and Africa (Bray, 1999; Foondun, 2002; Bray and Kwok, 2003; Dang, 2007; Paviot *et al.* 2008). Incidence of remunerated supplementary tutoring is emerging in the low income countries like Bangladesh and Cambodia and increasingly reported as a major enterprise in the Eastern Europe after the collapse of socialism and introduction of market economy (Nath, 2008; Silova *et al.* 2006; Bray and Bunly, 2005; Popa and Acedo, 2006). Although spread among the students of all the grades, researchers observed that it is especially prominent at the transition points at which students are selected for the next level of education. For instance, before the end of primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schooling; including university entrance (Bray, 2006; Tansel and Bircan, 2004, 2006; Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantinou, 2005).

A general impression about additional tutoring support lies with the poor quality of school education; however, evidence shows that students of better schools, well-performing students, children of educated parents and well-off families are more likely to avail such support (Nath, 2008; Paviot *et al.* 2008). International literature including evidence from Bangladesh shows that such private supplementary tutoring increases inequities in educational opportunities and performance which in turn creates job market inequities (Nath, 2008). Nonetheless, it enhances learning among those can afford it, however it is likely that most evidence on this have strong self selection bias. Another important implication of private supplementary tutoring is livelihood of the tutors. It adds additional income for the mainstream teachers and other professionals (Bray, 1999, 2006). Often, it is the only income source for those studying at tertiary level or waiting for a suitable job after completing university degree.

Not much policy documents, government statistics or research on the issue of private supplementary tutoring exist in the context of Bangladesh. The *Education Watch*¹ studies collected information on this but did not carry out adequate analysis to focus on it (Chowdhury

¹ *Education Watch* is a civil society initiative to monitor primary and basic education in Bangladesh. Incepted in 1998 and so far 7 reports have been published on various issues under primary and secondary education and literacy status of the population.

et al. 1999, 2001; Ahmed and Nath, 2005; Ahmed *et al.* 2006). Considering the relevant parts of all the *Education Watch* databases, I analyzed trends, socioeconomic differentials, costs of private tutoring and its impact on learning outcome of the tutees at primary level (Nath, 2008). This not only ignored the other levels of schooling (secondary and above) but also information about the tutors². Again, the earlier study only analysed remunerated supplementary tutoring isolating the overall extent of out-of-school study in academic subjects. The other studies mentioned in this paper also suffer from similar limitations owing to consideration of different definitions. The aim of this paper is thus to explore the place of remunerated supplementary tutoring in the overall context of out-of-school study of the rural school students in Bangladesh. An additional aim was to understand the characteristics of the tutors of both the types– free providers and remunerated. Equity issues were also explored in the context of quality education.

DATA AND METHODS

Plan Bangladesh and BRAC collaborated in a research on school culture in four rural government primary schools (Nath and Mahbub, 2007). The schools were located in two districts far from the capital city Dhaka. Duration of fieldwork of the research was eight months starting from the mid of 2005. As part of the research, household surveys were conducted in the catchment areas of the study schools. Later a new research was planned on out-of-school study of the students. Although new data had to be collected through a separately designed questionnaire, identification of students for this research was extensively based on the household survey data of the first research.

The household survey in the catchment areas of the four schools identified 957 households with 4,136 individuals. Of them, 1,528 were aged 4-20 years; of whom 944 were currently enrolled in schools– from pre-primary to grade X. These students were the targeted population for this study. All of them could not be traced and interviewed. Of the 905 students interviewed, 426 were boys and 479 were girls. Of these students, 102 were in pre-primary, 547 in primary and 256 in secondary classes (Table 1).

A structured questionnaire incorporating both close and open ended questions was used. All the interviews were held at the premises of the students' houses. The students were the principal respondents for an important part of the questionnaire; however, they sought help from their guardians in providing information, whenever necessary. A part of the questionnaire was exclusively for the guardians. Six trained interviewers did the fieldwork in November 2005. Two senior researchers from the Research and Evaluation Division of BRAC supervised and monitored the fieldwork.

Table 1. Study sample at a glance

Level of education	Sex		Both
	Boys	Girls	
Pre-primary	45	57	102
Primary	267	280	547
Secondary	114	142	256
All	426	479	905

² There are three levels of school education in Bangladesh viz., pre-primary, primary and secondary. Pre-primary education has no fixed duration (it may be one to four years but one year in majority cases), five years duration of primary education is compulsory and free, and the duration of secondary education is also five years, however not compulsory.

The definition of supplementary tutoring considered in this study needs to be clarified for which we borrowed extensively from Bray (1999, 2003). Tutoring which covers only the academic subjects, additional to the provision of mainstream education, occurring outside the official school hour was considered as out-of-school study; and if it occurs on payment, it was considered as remunerated supplementary tutoring.

FINDINGS

SPREAD OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL STUDY

The first question placed to the students whether, in general, they study beyond the official school hour which follows the contents taught during the school hour. Most of the students (96.7%) reported that they studied at home or any other places outside official school hours. Three-quarters of the pre-primary students, 99.3% of the primary school students and all the secondary school students reported this. No gender difference was observed in this regard at the aggregate level or by level of education. The figures especially for the primary and the secondary level students seemed to be very high. However, a portion of the students clarified that they did not study at home throughout the year but only before the mid-year or annual examinations.

To see the density of such study one week's (prior to interviewing them) account was considered. They were asked to mention the place and duration of study against each day of the reference week. A wide variation was observed; starting from one hour per week to 84 hours. As reported, the students studied 20.4 hours per week beyond school hour, which was on average, about three hours per day. Duration of time varied by level of education of the students; for instance, it was nine hours per week for pre-primary, 18.3 hours for primary and 28.5 hours for secondary students. Although there was no gender difference at the aggregate level, the girls of pre-primary appear to be putting in more out-of-school hours studying compared to pre-primary boys, while an opposite scenario was seen among the rest two groups of students.

SUPPORT IN OUT-OF-SCHOOL STUDY

The students were asked to provide detailed information of support they received for out-of-school study during the academic year 2005. Some of them, especially the young, provided information with the help of their parents, though most provided it independently. Of the students under study, about a third received no support from anybody during the reference year, 26.2% received support free of cost and 41.5% received supplementary tutoring on payment (Table 2). The proportion of students having no support in out-of-school study reduced significantly with the increase of their level of education. On the other hand, remunerated supplementary tutoring increased with the increase of students' level of education. The percentage of students who had no support in study at home was 43.1% among pre-primary students, 34.4% among primary and 23.4% among secondary school students. Remunerated supplementary tutoring was availed by 5.9% of the students of pre-primary, 37.8% of those of primary and 63.7% of those of secondary classes. Grade-wise analysis shows that a quarter of the students of class I had paid supplementary tutor, which increased to 49% among those at class V and to 79.2% among those at class X.

Table 2. Percentage distribution of students by various forms of out-of-school study, level of education and sex

Status	Level of education			All
	Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary	
<i>All</i>				
No Help taken	43.1	34.4	23.4	32.3
Help taken without payment	51.0	27.8	12.9	26.2
Help taken with payment	5.9	37.8	63.7	41.5
<i>Boys</i>				
No Help taken	37.8	32.6	20.2	29.8
Help taken without payment	55.5	23.6	11.4	23.7
Help taken with payment	6.7	43.8	68.4	46.5
<i>Girls</i>				
No Help taken	47.4	36.1	26.1	34.4
Help taken without payment	47.3	31.8	14.1	28.4
Help taken with payment	5.3	32.1	59.8	37.2

Clear gender discrimination was observed. In general, the girls were more likely to have no support at all or a free provision for out-of-school study compared to the boys (34.4% vs. 29.8% and 28.4% vs. 23.7% respectively). On the other hand, the boys were more likely to get remunerated supplementary tutoring than the girls (46.5% vs. 37.2%). Such type of gender discrimination was observed irrespective of level of education of the students. About a third of the girls and 43.8% of the boys at primary level and nearly 60% of the girls and 68.4% of the boys at secondary level availed remunerated supplementary tutoring.

School type-wise analysis shows that 38.1% of the government school students, half of the non-government school students, and 37.5% of the kindergarten students had paid supplementary tutors. On the other hand, none of the ebtedayee madrasa students and 3.4% of the NGO-run non-formal school students had paid private tutors in the study areas. Again, 48% of the higher madrasa students, 50% of the junior secondary school students, and 69% of the non-government secondary school students had paid supplementary tutors during the study year.

The situation was analyzed with respect to various levels of parental education of the students and food security status of their households (Appendix A). Parental education was measured by years of schooling completed by them separately and the food security status was measured through verbal reporting of the household heads in a four point scale considering overall income and expenditure during the study year 2005. The points in the scale are: always in deficit, sometimes in deficit, breakeven, and surplus. Later, first two categories were consolidated due to few cases in one category and named as deficit. Thus, three categories of households' viz., deficit, breakeven and surplus were used in the analysis. As the status of parental education or the food security status of the households increased, the tendency to avail remunerated supplementary tutoring or free tutorial support increased and simultaneously the incidence of no support decreased. Forty-two percent of the students from deficit households had no incidence of tutorial support, which reduced to 28.6% for those from breakeven and 21.4% for those from surplus households. The increase of incidence of remunerated supplementary tutor was respectively 33.6%, 42% and 52.7% for the above categories of food security. Proportion of the students received free tutoring was mostly equal in all the three categories of households (24-29%).

The first generation learners counted for 40.6% of all students under study. Forty-seven percent of them did not get any tutorial support for out-of-school study, which was only 22% for the other students (Appendix B). Again, a third of the first generation learners and 47% of the other students availed remunerated private tutor. Free tutorial support was also more among

the other students than the first generation learners (30.7% vs. 19.6%). Gender difference disfavouring the girls was prominent among the first generation learners, 53.3% of which had no supplementary tutorial support at all.

The non-Muslim students were more likely to receive tutorial support free or on payment compared to their Muslim counterparts (Appendix C). However, the gap was more in case of availing free tutoring support. Gender discrimination against girls was found among the non-Muslim students.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY TUTORS

We found three broad categories of people involved in out-of-school tutoring. They are the household members, the relatives and neighbours, and the professional teachers. The household members included the parents and the siblings, relatives and neighbours, and the professional teachers including the teachers of the students' own institutions, other institutions and coaching centres. Of all students under study, 28.5% took supplementary tutorial support from the members of their households, nearly a quarter from the relatives and the neighbours, and 31.6% from the teachers (Table 3). A portion of the students received help from multiple sources. Seeking tutorial support from the family members decreased with the increase of level of education of the students but an opposite trend was observed in case of other two categories of tutors.

Table 3. Percentage of students received support in out-of-school study by type of support provider and level of education

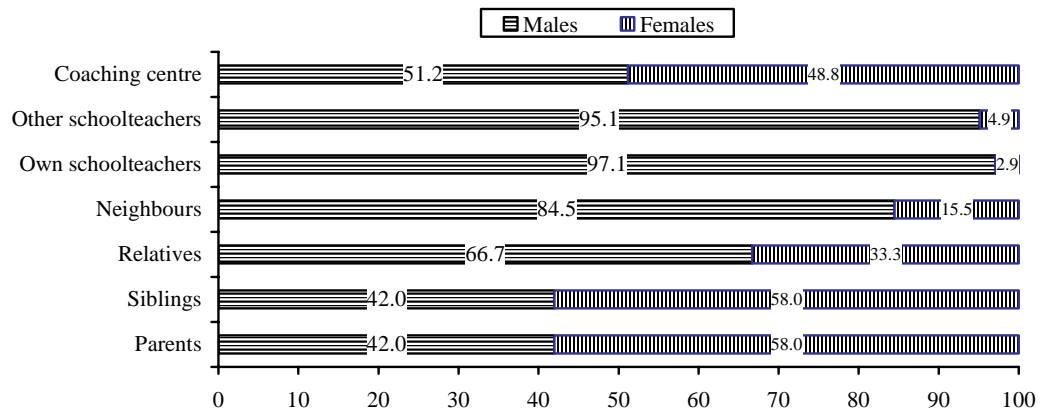
Support provider	Level of education			All	Level of significance
	Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary		
Family members	53.9	29.7	18.0	28.5	p<0.001
Relatives and neighbours	8.8	23.4	34.0	24.8	p<0.001
Teachers	2.9	29.4	47.3	31.6	p<0.001
All	56.9	65.6	76.6	67.7	p<0.001

Note: Some students were supported by multiple providers

Nearly 54% of the pre-primary, 29.7% of the primary and 18% of the secondary students received support from their family members (p<0.001). On average, 14% took help from the parents and 16.5% from the siblings indicating some students were supported by both. On average, the mothers and the sisters were ahead respectively of the fathers and the brothers in providing tutoring support but their contribution was more among the students of the first two levels of education not for those in secondary. Parental help regarding out-of-school study gradually decreased with the increase of the level of education of the students – 41.2% of pre-primary, 12.1% of primary and 7.4% of secondary students received help from their parents (p<0.001).

Nine percent of the students took support from the relatives and 17% from the neighbours. Support from the relatives and neighbours increased with the increase of level of education of the students. On average, this rate was 8.8% for the pre-primary students, 23.4% for primary and 34% for the secondary students (p<0.001). Separate analysis for the relatives and the neighbours also shows similar trend. Nearly 30% of the boys and 20.3% of the girls sought tutoring support from the relatives and neighbours. Although, no gender difference was observed in seeking support from the relatives, the boys were significantly ahead of the girls in seeking support from the neighbours. Two-thirds of the tutoring provider relatives and 84.5% of those neighbours were males (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Sex distribution (%) of out-of-schools tutoring providers



In case of seeking help from the teachers, 11.3% of the students received it from the teachers of their own schools, 9.5% from the teachers of other educational institutions and 14.3% from the coaching centres. Half of the teachers of other educational institutions were the teachers of local colleges. The girls were more likely to consider their own schoolteachers as out of school tutors, but the boys were in favour of the teachers from other educational institutions. However, no gender difference was observed in case of coaching centres. Over 95% of the schoolteachers (both own school and other educational institutions) and half of the teachers in the coaching centres were males (Figure 1).

Of the students took tutorial support free, 81.4% received it from their family members, 16.5% from relatives and neighbours and 14.3% from the teachers. Over 12% took such support from multiple sources. Not much variation was observed between the boys and the girls.

On the other hand, those received remunerated supplementary tutoring, 35.4% received it from their relatives or neighbours, 52.9% received from the teachers of own or other educational institutions including coaching centres and 11.7% received from both the sources. There was no gender difference in case of receiving tutoring support from multiple sources; 42.4% of the boys and 27.5% of the girls received it from their relatives or neighbours, and 45.5% of the boys and 61.2% of the girls received from the teachers. Over 17% of these students also received free tutoring support from their family members.

DURATION OF TUTORING

A wide variation, in terms of type of tutor and students, was found in the duration of receiving out-of-school tutoring. It ranged from one month to 12 months. Those received tutorial support from the family members, over 95% of them received it for 10-12 months. The relatives provided tutorial support to 51% of the students for 1-3 months, nearly a fifth for 4-6 months, 5.7% for 7-9 months and 23% for 10-12 months. Those received tutorial support from the teachers, 47.6% received it for 1-3 months, 17.8% for 4-6 months, a quarter for 7-9 months and 9.4% for 10-12 months. Majority of the students (60%) took supplementary tutoring six days a week and 22% received it each of the days. Duration of remunerated supplementary tutoring varied from half an hour to five hours per day. This was one to two hours for majority of the students – one hour for 45% of the students, one and half hours for 11.6% of the students, and two hours for 27.3% of the students.

The average duration of engagement of the students in out-of-school study was 10.3 tutor months during the reference year; a third of which was remunerated and two-thirds free (respectively 3.4 and 6.9 tutor-months). This was 12.8 tutor-months for those received free out-of-school study and 8.8 tutor-months for those had it on payment. Those students received remunerated supplementary tutoring had to pay for 5.6 tutor-months and they received free tutoring for 3.2 tutor-months. This means that of the total out-of-school study time of those received remunerated supplementary tutoring paid for 63.4% of their total study time and they received free tutoring for the rest of their study time.

We did not see much variation between the boys and the girls in average tutor-month engagement in out-of-school study. Whereas, the boys were engaged in 36% of their tutor-months in remunerated tutoring, it was 30% for the girls. On the other hand, among those received remunerated supplementary tutoring, 38% of the boys tutor-months and 34% of that of the girls were free of cost.

When the data were segregated by level of education we observed that the average supplementary tutor-months decreased with the increase of level of education; however, a reverse relationship was observed with remunerated tutorial support. The average supplementary tutor-month was 13.1 for pre-primary, 11.5 for primary, and 7.4 for secondary level students. Of these total supplementary tutor-months, respectively 3%, 33% and 50% were remunerated. These percentages were respectively 25%, 63% and 68% when we considered only those students received remunerated supplementary tutoring. A kind of gender difference was observed in this case. Proportion of remunerated tutor-month in respect to total tutor-month was more among the boys of secondary schools compared to their girl classmates. Two different scenarios were observed in case of primary school students. When only the students receiving remunerated supplementary tutoring were considered in the analysis an opposite result was found but a similar result when all primary students were considered. Not much gender variation was observed in case of pre-primary students.

AGE, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION OF THE TUTORS

The age of out-of-school tutoring providers ranged from 8-70 years with a mean of about 29 years. A quarter of them were below 20 years, 35% between 20-29 years, 22% between 30-39 years, and the rest of 40 years and above (Table 4). The free providers were younger than the remunerated providers irrespective of the level of education of the tutees. On average, the mean age of the free providers was 26.2 years and the remunerated providers 31.3 years. Otherwise, when the data were categorised by type of tutees we saw an opposite scenario among the free provider relatives and neighbours but a similar scenario among the teachers.

Table 4. Percentage distribution of private tutors by their age

Age (in years)	Without payment	With payment	All
< 20	38.4	13.3	25.1
20-29	28.1	41.2	35.0
30-39	17.5	25.9	22.0
40-49	10.3	6.0	8.0
50+	5.7	13.5	9.9
Mean (in years)	26.2	31.3	28.9

Years of schooling completed by the tutors engaged in out-of-school teaching varied from a single year of schooling to masters degree. Consolidating all types of tutors, it was seen that 10.3% of them had primary education, 21.6% studied in secondary schools but did not complete it, 18.3% was secondary completers, 26.5% was higher secondary completers and 23.2% had bachelor/masters degree (Table 5). On average, they had 10.5 years of schooling.

The household members who acted as tutors were less educated than others. They had, on average 7.6 years of schooling, the relatives and neighbours had 11 years of schooling, and the teachers had 12.4 years of schooling. Among the household member tutors, the parents were more educated than the siblings. On the other hand, the neighbours were more educated than the relatives. Again in the teachers category, the tutors in the coaching centres were less educated than the teachers of various educational institutions.

The tutors who provided tutorial support free of charge was less educated compared to those who provided it on payment. The average years of schooling of the former group was about nine years and of the later group 12 years. Over 68% of the later group of providers were higher secondary school completers or having a bachelor or a master degree. On the other hand, over half (56%) of the former group of providers were primary educated or secondary incompletes.

Table 5. Percentage distribution of private tutors by their level of education

Education level	Without payment	With payment	All
Primary	21.7	0.4	10.3
Incomplete secondary	34.2	10.7	21.6
Secondary completed	16.0	20.4	18.3
Higher secondary completed	14.5	37.0	26.5
Bachelor/Master	13.6	31.6	23.2
Mean (in years)	8.9	11.8	10.5

Majority of the tutors were the students of various educational institutions. They accounted 40.5% of the total number of out-of-school tutors. The teachers of various educational institutions were in the second position. About a quarter of the tutors main occupation was teaching. Over 12% of the tutors were housewives and 8.7% were simply private tutors. Among others, about 5% were involved with agricultural activities, 4.1% with service, and nearly 2% with small business (Table 6). Although we did not collect any information on training of the private tutors, there is no possibility of having teacher-training except the teachers of various educational institutions. If on average, 60% of them were trained (DPE 2007, BANBEIS, 2007), it can be said that over 80% of the private supplementary tutors were non-trained.

Table 6. Percentage distribution of private tutors by their main occupation

Occupation	Without payment	With payment	All
Teacher	14.7	34.6	25.4
Private tutor	2.4	14.3	8.8
Student	40.1	40.9	40.5
Service	4.6	3.6	4.1
Business	2.0	1.9	1.9
Agriculture	8.6	0.8	4.4
Housekeeping	22.6	3.4	12.3
Others	5.0	0.6	2.6

Although agriculture and housekeeping were mainly accounted for the household member tutors, a small portion of the teachers also mentioned these as principal occupation. Over 42% of the household member tutors were students. Among the relatives and the neighbours, 18.7% were private tutors and 52% were students. On the other hand, 53.3% of the teachers were basically the teachers of various educational institutions and 31.4% were students.

Majority of the tutors (77.4%) who provided the service free of charge were students (40.1%), housekeepers (22.6%) or teachers of various educational institutions (14.7%). Otherwise, the students (40.9%), teachers of various educational institutions (34.6%) and the private tutors (14.5%) occupied the large share of the remunerated out-of-school tutoring services.

TIME AND PLACE FOR TUTORING

A half of the students took the out-of-school tutoring in the morning before going to school, 36.2% received it in the evening and a fifth received in the afternoon. Over 95% of the household member tutors taught the students in the evening and 15.4% taught in the morning. This means that a portion taught both in the morning and in the evening. Nearly half of the relatives and neighbours taught before official school hours, 34.4% after school hours, and nearly a fifth in the evening. Over three quarters of the teachers provided supplementary tutoring in the morning before school starts, 23.2% provided after school hours, and only 3% in the evening.

Regarding the place for private tutoring, 42.2% of the pupils had it at his/her home, 36.5% in the schools, nearly a fifth at the tutors' homes, and 2% at the classmates' homes. Nonetheless, all tutoring provided by the household members, whether it is the parents or the siblings, held at home. In case of the relatives and the neighbours, it occurred at the tutors' homes in 43.3% of the cases and 35.2% at the pupils' homes. Although the first choice of the relatives was the pupils' home and second choice was his/her own home. A reverse scenario was observed in case of the neighbours. In addition, a fifth of them provided tutoring in a nearby school. Nearly 79% of the tutoring provided by the teachers held in school and another 17.2% held at tutors' home. Schoolteachers providing supplementary tutoring to their own students generally provided it in the schools (87%) and 11.6% at their own homes. When they provided it to the students of other educational institutions half did so at their own places, 38% in school and 12% at students home.

SUBJECTS TAUGHT BY PRIVATE TUTORS

In majority of the cases (63%) the out-of-school tutors taught all the subjects, 23% taught mathematics and 9% taught English. Nearly 94% of the household member tutors taught all the subjects. No difference was found among the two types of household member tutors (parents and siblings). Two-thirds of the neighbours and relatives taught all the subjects and 31% taught mathematics. The relatives were more likely to teach all the subjects and the neighbours' mathematics. Among the teachers, 39% taught all the subjects, 32% mathematics and 19% English. A big difference was observed among the schoolteachers and the teachers in the coaching centres. About 18% of the schoolteachers taught all the subjects, whereas it was 69% among the teachers of the coaching centres. Over 47% of the schoolteachers taught mathematics and 27% taught English; these rates were 9.6% and 8.4% respectively for the teachers of coaching centres. No difference was observed among the own schoolteachers of the students and the teachers of other educational institutions.

COSTS FOR THE REMUNERATED TUTORS

The amount of payment per remunerated tutor ranges from Tk. 5 to Tk. 600 per month; however, the majority of the students paid Tk. 100 per tutor. On average, the students, who had on payment private tutors, had to pay Tk. 464 for the whole year – Tk. 473 for the boys and Tk. 455 for the girls. The cost increased with the increase of level of education. For instance, Tk. 325 for the students of pre-primary classes, Tk. 418 for the primary school students and Tk. 529 for the secondary school students. Although, the cost per pupil was mostly equal for the boys and the girls of primary classes, it was significantly more for the boys than the girls of

secondary classes (Tk. 574 vs. Tk. 486; $p < 0.001$). The students from the deficit households spent Tk. 280, those from breakeven households spent Tk. 372 and those from surplus households spent Tk. 524 ($p < 0.001$).

A fifth of the students who received tutoring support from their relatives or neighbours did not have to pay for the service (15% boys and 28.9% girls; $p < 0.01$). Those had to pay spent on average Tk. 388 per year. They, on average, studied for 4.7 months during the year. Again, 15% of the students who received tutoring support from the teachers of own or other educational institutions including coaching centres received it free. Those who had to pay, spent on average, Tk. 437 per year. Average duration of study of these students was six months and for the non-payers was eight months. On average, each student spent Tk. 465 per year for private supplementary tutoring.

PARENTAL OPINION REGARDING SUPPLEMENTARY TUTORING

A question may arise as to why parents feel the need of remunerated supplementary tutoring for their children. Such a question was asked to those parents whose children sought remunerated tutoring support. It was an open-ended question (not pre-coded). The parents provided multiple answers and mentioned seven causes in total, some of which were overlapping (Table 7). Majority of the parents (54.6%) said that they have provided such provision to help their children in preparing home tasks for the schools. Nearly 34% of the parents were unable to look after their children’s study at home due to lack of time or they thought that they were not enough qualified to do so. A third of the parents provided such support with the hope of better performance of the students in the examinations. However, 29.2% specifically mentioned that they kept private tutor to remove their students’ weaknesses in some specific subjects like English and mathematics. Nearly 30% of the parents provided private supplementary tutor to make the students more attentive to education. Moreover, nearly a fifth of the parents thought that their students were, in general, weak in study and more than a fifth’s understanding was that the schools did not provide adequate care.

Table 7. Percentage of students by causes behind seeking remunerated private supplementary tuition

Causes	% of students
The parents are unable to help their children’s study	33.9
To make the student more attentive to study	29.6
For better performance in the examinations	33.4
The student is weak in study	19.6
Study in school is inadequate	21.4
To help student to prepare home tasks for the schools	54.6
To improve skills in some specific subjects like English and maths	29.2

Note: Multiple responses counted

An attempt was made to see whether the reasons of having private tutoring differ among three different categories of households based on food security status. We identified three major reasons for each category based on the parental opinions. Helping children in preparing home tasks came out as the major cause of supplementary private tutoring in all the three groups of students. Skills development in specific subjects was the second important cause of private tutoring for the students of breakeven and surplus households. The parents of the breakeven households mentioned that they did not have time to help their children and the parents of surplus households opined that they wanted overall improvement of their children through providing private tutors. On the other hand, the parents of deficit households mentioned that they were unable to help owing to their lower educational background of them and their children were in general unwilling to study at home thus to make them interested to education they sought help from private tutors.

Ninety percent of these parents opined that such a provision positively impacted on education of their children. According to 91.6% of such parents, their children became attentive in study at home due to the provision of remunerated private supplementary tutoring (Table 8). Forty percent of the parents said that it improved their children's skills in English and mathematics, what they actually wanted. Nearly 37% mentioned that their children showed better performance in the school examinations due to such support. About 10% of the students became regular in school after providing private tutor.

Table 8. Percentage of students by type of improvement due to support of the private tutors

Type of improvement	% of students
Showed good performance in examinations	36.9
Became attentive in study at home	91.6
Improved skills in English and maths	40.1
Became regular in school	9.9

Note: Multiple responses counted

According to the parents, the provision of remunerated supplementary tutoring could not show any positive impact on 10% of the students. The major reason for such a negative result was due to the parents/guardians inability to monitor the process. Over 42% of the parents (among those who reported no impact) opined that if they could see whether the private tutor is doing his/her duties or the student is attentive in education, a positive impact might happen (Table 9). The parents of the 35.6% of the no improvement students could arrange remunerated private tutor only for a month. According to them, if they could arrange it for more duration, a better result might come out. In case of a third of the students, the parents blamed them for their inattentiveness in education.

Table 9. Percentage of students by reasons of not taking support from private tutor

Reasons	% of students
Scarcity of money	57.0
Elder siblings can help	18.0
Too young for supplementary tutoring	28.5
Parents/guardians can help	17.5
The students themselves can study	8.1
The student has no interest	3.3
Happy with schooling, no need of private tutor	7.0
Scarcity of good private tutor in the area	5.0

Note: Multiple responses counted

The private tutor had to be replaced for 10.5% of the students. The reasons included irregular attendance and out migration of the private tutors. Some thought that home based tutors are better than coaching centres and some replaced private tutor to gain skills on specific subjects.

The parents of 44.8% of the students, who had to pay for the private supplementary tutoring, had to face some difficulties in order to arrange money for the payment. Forty-three percent of the students paid late in some occasions. Late payment occurred mainly for those who faced difficulty in arranging money.

Majority of those who had no private tutor said that they could not afford it due to scarcity of money. Tutoring support at home whether by the parents/guardians or the elder siblings was thought to be good enough in case of 35.5% of the students. Again, for 28.5% of the students, the parents thought that they were too young for private remunerated

supplementary tutoring. The other reasons for not taking private tutor's support were the students themselves can study alone, the student had no interest to private tutoring, education in school was good enough, and scarcity of good private tutor in the areas. School type-wise analysis was made. At the primary level, 50-60% of the parents of the formal schools including the madrasas mentioned about scarcity of money. This reason was mentioned by only 4.3% of the parents of the students of non-formal schools. Nearly 70% of the parents of non-formal school students said that education in school was good enough, so that they did not feel the need of hiring private tutors. Such analysis was not done for other levels of students owing to small sample size.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Demands from mainstream school education to study at home and intention to prove competence in competitive market collectively created an environment for study beyond official school hours. Moreover, due to many interactive reasons like over crowded classrooms, lack of facilities in schools, lower quality of teachers and lack of appropriate remuneration package of the teachers weakened schools capacity in quality teaching and hence created demands for out-of-school supplementary tutoring. Although it is a growing global phenomenon and densely evident in East Asian countries, not much research has been done on this and in many cases it did not get much attention of the policy makers (Bray, 2006; Bray and Kwok, 2003). Even the government educational statistics do not keep proper accounts of this in most of the countries including Bangladesh. Though widespread, it is often discussed in popular discourse with a tone of negativity.

Existing studies on private supplementary tutoring dealt with those provided by financial gain of the tutors. However, there are cases that it occurs free of cost too. In this study we tried to explore the place of remunerated supplementary tutoring in the context of overall study outside official school hours. Any tutoring on non-academic subjects was not counted. This allowed us to compare our findings with those of others and at the same time to see the private supplementary tutoring in a broader context. My earlier study considered only the students of primary level (Nath, 2008), but this study added pre-primary and secondary as well. Knowing the characteristics of the tutors and its relationship with the modes of supplementary tutoring (remunerated and free) is an addition to the previous Bangladeshi literature on this issue. However, this study is limited only in four rural areas and thus cannot be generalized for the whole country as the previous one.

Our exploration found that out-of-school study in academic subjects was widespread. It was common to almost all the students of primary and secondary levels and to three quarters of those in pre-primary. A third of all students – proportionately decreasing with the increase of level of education, did not receive any help in their out-of-school study during 2005. Majority of them self-studied and a section did not study at all. A quarter of the students – again proportionately decreasing with the increase of level of education, had it with the help of tutors without any financial benefit to them. Majority of these tutors were household members. Over 40% of the students received private tutoring on payment to the tutors. The proportion of such students significantly increased with the increase in the level of education of the students. All these information shows that proportion of students active in out-of-school study in academic subjects outside the official school hours, proportion of them studying with the help of tutors and more specifically proportion of them studying with the help of tutors' on payment increased with the increase of level of education. Like any other social and educational phenomenon demand for remunerated supplementary private tutoring was more among the well-off segment of the population in terms of parental education and household food security status. However, it is not insignificant among those who are poor or first generation learners.

The boys were more likely to get such support than the girls, the non-Muslims more than the Muslims and second generation learners less than the first generation learners. Considering costs of private supplementary tutoring and its positive impact on examination results, Nath (2008) shows that well-off parents were more capable of investing more on supplementary tutoring; such investment positively impacts on learning achievement of their wards. Thus, the provision of private supplementary tutoring increases inequality among the students through providing more to those already have more. Studies in other countries also came up with the similar findings (Bray, 2006; Bray and Kwok, 2003; Paviot *et al.* 2008)

Less than a third of the students received supplementary tutoring from the teachers of their own school, other educational institutions, and coaching centres. The second group of tutors were the family members of the students (parents or siblings) and the third group were the neighbours and the relatives. The family members occupied 82% of the supplementary tutoring of the pre-primary students, which was fully free. An equal share of the family members and the teachers was found in the primary students supplementary tutoring, who occupied about 72% of total supplementary tutoring at this level. On the other hand, the teachers occupied 47.6% and the relatives and the neighbours 34.2% of total supplementary tutoring at the secondary level. Full share of supplementary tutoring by the family members, a small portion of that of the relatives and neighbours and a smaller portion of that of the teachers was free of cost.

Two important issues emerged. Firstly, there is still a provision of family support in the out-of-school study. Secondly, the other tutors, majority of who do it for extra income, also provided free tutorial support to a part of the students. The reason of reduction of the density of family members' support for higher levels lies in lower level of education of the majority family members who are incapable to look after the studies of the students of higher grades. Again, the educated parents' suffer from scarcity of time due to their involvement in income activities outside home. This actually increased dependency on other providers and hence costs of private supplementary tutoring as well. Education is thus became a commodity that one can buy according to his/her financial capability. Parents' willingness to pay for education, if they have adequate resources, has also increased. Wide range of costs per students in supplementary tutoring signifies these (Nath, 2008). However, a good portion of the students from the deficit households also received private tutoring. Because of their lower economic capacity they could afford much lower amount compared to the other two categories of students. This, in one sense indicates willingness to pay for out-of-school tutoring among the poorer section of the population. These parents, as they said, needs someone at home to help their children because they were unable to do so owing to their no or lower educational qualifications. Otherwise, a significantly positive correlation between cost of private tutoring and learning achievement of the pupils was seen in my earlier study (Nath, 2008). Considering all these information collectively, it can be said that children of these poorer families need tutorial support at home but their capacity to pay for private tutoring is unable to catch up with their well-off counterparts. The case of non-formal schools at the primary level can be remembered at this stage. Incidence of private tutoring was below 5% there. Nearly 70% of the parents of these schools, those did not provide private tutoring, opined that they were happy with the teaching-learning provisions in the schools thus they did not feel the need of extra tutoring support at home. Actually these schools provide extra care to the slow learners and inspire the students in group learning after official school hours. This means that if the schools are responsible enough, private supplementary tutoring can be avoided. Choice for free private tutees depends mostly on the economic weakness, merit and strong will in study of the students. Sometimes the coaching centres do it for the meritorious students intending to attract others. Although small in size, this provision indicates social responsibility of the private tutors. How can this provision be spread to the poorer section of the students can be a question for further exploration. As long as the first generation learners are there in the schools, it is not possible to meet their learning needs without increasing the responsibility of the schools.

Gender imbalance was observed in both the tutors and the tutees. The girls, irrespective of level of education were more likely to have no or free supplementary tutoring and the boys opposite i.e. more likely to get into remunerated supplementary tutoring than the girls. Again, expense of such tutoring was also more for the boys compared to the girls. These reflect societal values and attitudes towards the girls. Positive relationship of learning achievement with incidence of private tutoring and its costs (Nath, 2008; Paviot *et al.* 2008) and such discriminatory activities against the girls ultimately badly impacts on their school performance. On the other hand, among those received tutoring support from the family members, 58% received it from the mothers or the sisters. Again, a third of the relative tutors were also females. Fathers, brothers and the male relatives were less likely to engage in supplementary tutoring. On the other hand, the female teachers and neighbours had least tendency to act as private tutors. However, a half of the tutors in the coaching centres were females. Possibly, going to non relatives' houses to provide private tuition or asking students to come to the house is socially difficult for women—that's why they did so through coaching centres. Their household chores might act as a constraint too. One plausible reason might be 'free' character of it. Another reason might be the fact that the females are unable to go out for extra income due to family burden and social insecurity. Whatever the reasons are, a gender imbalance compared to the sex-ratio among the schoolteachers was seen among the supplementary tutors. Note that 36.3% of the primary schoolteachers and a fifth of those in secondary schools are females (DPE, 2007; BANBEIS, 2007).

A significant difference was observed in the characteristics of the free providers of private tutoring and the remunerated private tutors. The remunerated supplementary tutors were more educated and elder than the free tuition providers. Majority of the former group of tutors were males and involved with educational activities as their principal occupation. Except their gender identity all other characteristics of the remunerated supplementary tutors were favourable to better teaching. So there are certain reasons why the students of the remunerated private tutors did better, students of the free providers did mediocre and those had no tutor did worst in the school performance. Reflection of positive impact of remunerated supplementary tutoring was found in the parents' opinion. Nine in every 10 parents opined that their wards became attentive in study at home or became regular in school after providing remunerated supplementary tutoring. The other improvements noticed by the parents laid in the improved performance of their wards in the examinations and skills in some specific subjects what they wanted to. For majority of the remunerated supplementary tutors it was a source for extra income additional to their principal occupation.

Teaching was the principal profession of only a quarter of all private tutors (34.6% among the remunerated tutors) indicating this job market is mainly dominated by the non-teachers, majority of who were the students at various levels. National statistics shows that proportion of trained schoolteachers would not exceed 60% (DPE, 2007; BANBEIS, 2007); however, it is only 15% among the private supplementary tutors (21% among those remunerated). If teacher training has a positive role in better teaching, why do the parents buy supplementary tutoring with higher price from the non-trained persons? A comparative investigation of process of in and out-of-school tutoring is required to have better understanding of these issues.

It is evident from the parents opinion that if the teachers in the schools offer home tasks or ask the students to study at home which they intend to assess the following day, someone is required to guide them or to look after whether the students do these properly at home. Owing to a number of reasons, if the parents are unable to do so, they depend on supplementary tutors. This strongly shows that the schools, in general, are not able to create self-motivation among the students to study at home as per schools demand. A conscious engagement of private tutor to reduce weakness in some specific subjects and thus do well in the examinations is also prominent. It seems that as long as the students are not taught to do their study at home

independently or unless the schools take overall responsibility of students' improvement private supplementary tutoring is obvious. The second option requires improving the quality of overall teaching learning system. As remunerated private supplementary tutoring gives better return, it may sustain because of competitive market even if the schools provide better education. A more competitive and tighter job market is one reason, but there are others. The changing employment pattern of adults, the caregivers of children, which is becoming more demanding, more insecure and casual is also important. All these however ultimately increase gaps in society by giving more to those who already have more. This obviously should not be the objective of any education provision. Challenge is thus to make it pro-poor through extending social support to those had no opportunity to avail supplementary tutoring.

Solution of this issue probably lies in socio-political policies of the country. It is understood that the demand for private supplementary tutoring has created owing to many factors related to socio-political realities as well as policies of the country. Some of these are directly related to school systems and some related to other demands of life including after school job market situation. Without aiming an equitable society to a large extent where education provisions have strong role in its construction and changing social, political and educational policies in the same direction, one cannot equally reach the benefit of education provision to all. However, for the time being, a social support mechanism for the students of poor families can be thought. A complete market based approach to this will invariably be anti-poor. School based quality assessment system can be adopted first. The gap between expected and existing quality be fulfilled through introducing extra contact hour by the existing teachers or involving part time community teachers. Financial support for this may be sought preferably from the wealthy people of the community; if not possible, public money can be utilised at least until the students complete basic school education. Training of these community teachers would also be needed to ensure.

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Appendix A. Percentage distribution of students by various forms of out of school study, parental education and household food security status

Status	Status in out of school study		
	No help taken	Help taken without payment	Help taken with payment
<i>Fathers education</i>			
Nil	46.1	21.7	32.2
Primary	26.8	30.4	42.8
Secondary	13.1	31.1	55.8
<i>Mothers education</i>			
Nil	40.5	21.7	37.8
Primary	23.0	28.4	48.6
Secondary	11.8	42.5	45.7
<i>Household food security status</i>			
Deficit	42.3	24.1	33.6
Breakeven	28.6	29.4	42.0
Surplus	21.4	26.0	52.7

Appendix B. Percentage distribution of students by various forms of out of school study and parental education and sex

Status	First generation learner			Second generation learner		
	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both
No Help taken	40.0	53.3	47.1	23.0	21.3	22.1
Help taken without payment	16.5	22.3	19.6	28.5	32.6	30.7
Help taken with payment	43.5	24.4	33.2	48.4	46.1	47.1

Appendix C. Percentage distribution of students by various forms of out of school study and religion

Status	Muslim			Non-Muslim		
	Boys	Girls	Both	Boys	Girls	Both
No Help taken	34.8	37.1	36.0	16.4	28.2	22.9
Help taken without payment	22.6	24.6	23.6	26.7	37.3	32.6
Help taken with payment	42.6	38.3	40.3	56.9	34.5	44.6