

Private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius: Policies, practices and parents' perceptions examined from an ecological systems perspective.

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Declaration

I, Laura Ciero Paviot, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Since 1990 the Education for All (EFA) movement has acted as a worldwide commitment to the delivery of primary education as a basic human right. Reducing inequalities in terms of school access and academic achievement became a major concern in developing countries where education reforms were inspired by the EFA initiative. This was the case in Kenya and Mauritius, although evidence from the SACMEQ I (1995) and II (2000) survey studies reveals that these two countries presented the highest incidence of private tuition in the southern and eastern Africa region. In turn, such findings raise concern because they appeared to challenge the EFA objectives of quality and equality.

The aim of the present thesis is to examine the phenomenon of private tuition in relation to the provision of primary education of good quality to all pupils (EFA initiative) in Kenya and Mauritius. Drawing on Bronfenbrenner's theory on the ecology of human development the micro, meso and macro systems are examined as the three levels of the ecological environment of private tuition. In this way, attention was focussed on two critical points: (a) the position of parents in relation to the provision of paid extra lessons and (b) the potential tensions between the different ecological levels regarding the notion of educational equality put forward by EFA (the macro level), the national educational policies implemented for primary school (meso level) and the pupils' school context (micro level). Survey data from Grade 6 pupils who participated in the SACMEQ III (2007) study reveals that paid extra lessons are delivered inside public (government) schools by pupils' school teachers outside official hours. In addition, interviews with a sample of sixty parents reveal that in Kenya, private tuition is perceived not only as an important academic support but also as a safe environment where pupils are supervised by responsible adults, whereas in Mauritius private tuition is perceived as crucial for academic advancement. In conclusion, it was found that in both countries private tuition represents an integral component within their mainstream education systems.

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Statement

1. Introduction

When I enrolled in the IoE EdD International Programme I was working at the IIEP-UNESCO where my main responsibilities consisted of providing technical and logistical support to an international research and training programme whose main objective was to monitor the quality of education in African countries. More specifically, I was involved in the design and implementation of a cross-national study of the quality of education which was conducted in fourteen countries in the southern and eastern Africa region. This large-scale study of the quality of education was conducted by a consortium of ministries of education called SACMEQ (Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality).

SACMEQ aims at providing continuous assessment and monitoring of quality of education and learning achievement. As a result, it generates informed policy suggestions that can be followed by policy makers in order to improve the provision of basic education. In the following statement I will explain the ways in which the different components of the EdD Programme (Taught Courses, IFS and Thesis) have contributed to my professional development and learning.

2. What is the relationship between my professional work and the EdD (international) programme?

In the context of my professional work I realised that in certain African countries – such as Kenya and Mauritius – there was a high incidence of extra academic lessons based on school subjects being delivered outside school hours (private tuition). However, very little was known about the socio-cultural mechanisms that supported this phenomenon, its implications in terms of educational policy and planning, its quality control mechanisms, the potential academic inequalities that it might foster and its impact on pupils' achievement and school life.

For this reason, I found that in order to better understand the phenomenon of private tuition, it was essential to undertake supplementary research activities capable of revealing the driving forces of these extra lessons and evaluating the implications in terms of their potential benefits or damages to both a) the school pupil and b) the school system. Similarly, I realised that I needed to enhance my research skills by employing other research methods in order to explore more in-depth specific aspects of this phenomenon.

3. The four taught courses

As a researcher working on educational issues, I found that the first part of my doctoral programme was very stimulating and rich in terms of ideas, concepts and perspectives. The assignments required at the end of each course represented a good opportunity to reflect on and examine unexplored

aspects of the research activities that I intended to conduct for both my Institution Focused Study (IFS) and doctoral thesis.

3.1 Foundations of Professionalism

This course provided a context to examine theoretical perspectives and relevant literature on the nature and meaning of professionalism in educational settings. The concepts learned proved to be crucial to support my Institution Focused Study (IFS) because they enabled me to examine SACMEQ, the organisation for which I had worked, in light of key ideas. These ideas included the meaning of professionalism and the concept of a profession as a SACMEQ member, and the range of challenges to professionals in the area of educational research.

3.2 Methods of Enquiry I

The assignments on Methods of Enquiry I and II supported further reflection on different implications including the advantages and limitations of the approach that I intended to use for my thesis. The first course on Methods of Enquiry provided me with the tools to define and present a clear theoretical framework for my research and justify the ideas that supported my initiative.

Through this course, I also realised that the power relations between researcher and respondents, as well as the particular socio-cultural contexts in which the phenomenon of private tuition took place, were crucial points to be discussed in my thesis. The ideas and debates proposed during this

course supported further thinking about method, procedures and analyses of information gathered in the context of my thesis. Similarly, it enabled me to reflect on other related issues such as: a) the conception of a theoretical framework, b) a clear rationale, c) a suitable approach for the conduct of my research project, and d) a coherent design.

3.3 Methods of Enquiry II

During the second course on Methods of Enquiry, I was requested to undertake a small research project. This experience represented my first attempt to conduct a pilot project using a qualitative approach. Through this project, I was able to explore parents' reasons for providing extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours to primary school pupils. Similarly, I put the focus on better understanding the perceptions and ideas of a group of four African people (former SACMEQ colleagues) regarding these extra lessons. This was a fruitful experience because I could test my skills as a researcher, asking questions and prompting the respondent without leading him or her to a particular response. With regard to the data analyses, I understood the importance of relating my findings to the wider literature on the topic. This point was a particular consideration in the framework of my IFS and thesis.

Similarly, the assignment that I prepared for this taught course functioned as a starting point for my thesis because it enabled me, firstly, to conduct a pilot study in order to test whether I was on the right lines conceptually (Robson,

2002); in this respect, my intention was to grasp the mechanisms by which the phenomenon of extra tuition was operating in African countries and learn about its potential causes. Secondly, I was able to verify the relevance of interviewing parents. My original idea was that parents played a major role in supporting their children's academic education (Hoover-Dempsey and Sadler, 1997; Redding, 2000). For this reason, I explored the extent to which focussing my research on parents' beliefs and perceptions could be an effective way of revealing their motivations for offering private tuition to their children.

With regard to the conceptualisation of the research problem, this assignment enabled me to define relevant research questions and translate my general research aim into appropriate questions to my respondents. In addition, through the analysis and interpretation of research findings I understood the importance of being cautious when making comparisons between countries, as these comparisons could generate intellectual problems. Such intellectual problems could be originated by two critical concepts relating to a) context – which involves the notions of the local, social issues affecting the education sector, and b) transfer – which implies the reproduction of certain ideas, policies and even practices copied from one country and implemented in another (Cowen, 2006). This proved to be a critical point that deserved careful thinking in the context of my thesis. Also thanks to this assignment, I identified the strengths and weaknesses of the design of my research and I expanded my knowledge and practice of different techniques and methods for collecting data through interviews.

3.4 Specialist Course in International Education

Through this course I had the opportunity to reflect on policy issues, the origins of which can be associated with different views on development such as the Human Capital and the Capability Approach. I found that in the framework of my Institution Focused Study (IFS), these notions of development could be extended to SACMEQ as a developmental organization that implemented cross-national studies of the quality of education. In turn, such notions and ideas were borrowed to reflect on SACMEQ's mission and *raison d'être*.

4. Institution Focussed Study (IFS)

In the framework of this assignment I presented SACMEQ, the organisation for which I worked, as an international consortium that provided professional support to ministries of education of African countries with the purpose of informing policy-making. In doing so, I examined the extent to which SACMEQ reflected different notions of professionalism. For example, the delivery of specialised knowledge could be interpreted as a form of professionalism (Talbert and Mc Laughlin, 1994). Similarly, it could be claimed that SACMEQ's activities might be interpreted as a means for developing its members' professionalism through a strategy focused on the relations of power and rewards supported by specific and technical knowledge (Sachs, 2001). Based on these ideas, the main purpose of the IFS study was to examine SACMEQ employees' perceptions concerning

issues of professionalism and SACMEQ's impact on educational policy-making.

5. Thesis

Research activities undertaken during the Taught Courses and IFS enabled me to better plan and implement further research based on parents' perceptions concerning the delivery of private tuition to their children. Through this new research experience, during which I carefully planned the data collection phase, designed an interview schedule, identified and trained a team of data collectors and later on analysed the data, I expanded my knowledge as a researcher and was confronted with specific issues relating to the type of method chosen. The difficulties encountered and the solution to those difficulties are explained and discussed in Chapter 3 of my thesis.

Concerning the international and comparative dimension of my thesis, I examined the phenomenon of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius drawing on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory on the ecology of human development. In this way, the micro, meso and macro systems were examined as the three levels of the ecological environment of private tuition. Similarly, attention was focussed on the potential tensions between the international notion of educational equality disseminated by EFA (the macro level), the national educational policies implemented for primary school (meso level) and the pupil's school context (micro level).

5.1 Research skills acquired and enhanced

In the framework of my thesis, I applied different techniques for gathering and analysing data of a qualitative nature. Furthermore, through the implementation of a mixed method approach, I learnt how to provide a response to my research questions using quantitative or qualitative methods in some cases, and a combination of both methods in other cases. In addition, I could focus my research study on two phases. The first phase included secondary analyses of survey data generated by the SACMEQ III (2007) international study of the quality of education. In this way, I could provide a detailed description of the coverage, nature and modalities of private tuition at a national level in Kenya and Mauritius. In contrast, the second phase aimed at capturing individuals' perceptions, aspirations and values concerning the type of education provided to their children. Therefore, through the combination SACMEQ data (quantitative method) and parental interviews (qualitative method), I was able to examine the phenomenon of private tuition from a three-level perspective which comprised the micro, meso, and macro levels of discussion.

List of abbreviations

| | |
|--------|---|
| CPE | Certificate of Primary Examination |
| EFA | Education for All |
| IIEP | International Institute for Educational Planning |
| ILO | International Labour Office |
| KCPE | Kenya Certificate of Primary Education |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| SACMEQ | Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization |

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Private tuition and its ecological environment

The idea of ecology understood as the interrelationship of actors in a given environment could be applied to the phenomenon of private tuition (Mischo, 2014). In this way, and borrowing Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory on the ecology of human development, the individual learner with his or her cognitive, motivational, emotional and volitional competences is placed at the innermost level of the educational environment which is known as the micro level (Mischo, 2014). Mischo (2014) interpreted the microsystem of private tuition as consisting of the tutor and the learner (in the case of one-to-one individual lessons) or other learners (in the case of group lessons). The learner's parents were considered to be important actors in another microsystem closely related to the individual learner. The interactions between these two microsystems (learner-tutor and learner-parents) were considered as a mesosystem embedded within the macrosystem. The latter was characterised by more general social beliefs, such as ideas about education, learning, and education policy (Mischo, 2014).

However, in the context of this thesis the ecological environment of private tuition is interpreted differently because my conception of private tuition differs from the phenomenon described by Mischo (2014). In his conception, private tuition takes place outside the school environment in a private institution or at the student's home and its modality might vary from one-to-one lessons to group lessons.

In my conception – which is based on the educational context found in Kenya and Mauritius – private tuition is understood as supplementary academic lessons whose modality is dependent on the pupils' school environment. In addition, in Mischo's (2014) conception, other important actors such as national ministers of education, ministry officials and analysts were ignored, as well as the important role played by international organisations in the production of ideology and social beliefs that shape the main objectives of education systems. For this reason, in the framework of this thesis, the ecological environment of private tuition studied in Kenya and Mauritius was comprised of: (a) the microsystem which included the pupil, his or her school experience and parents, (b) the mesosystem in which the role of national educational policies were examined from an education system perspective and (c) the macrosystem which was represented by UNESCO global initiative known as Education for All (EFA). In this way, the ecological environment of private tuition presented in this thesis enabled me to focus my attention on two critical points: (a) the position of parents in relation to the provision of paid extra lessons and (b) the potential tensions between the notion of educational equality put forward by EFA (macro level), the national educational policies for the primary school (meso level) and the pupil's school context (micro level).

1.2 Country profiles

Brief description of Kenya



Map 1: Kenya (Source: UNDP <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/KEN.html>)

Kenya is situated in East Africa and is bordered by Uganda to the west, Tanzania to the south, the Indian Ocean to the south-east, Somalia to the east, Ethiopia to the north-east and Sudan to the north-west (see Map 1 above). It has a land mass of approximately 581,313 square kilometres. Its population – with a gross domestic product (GDP) of 32,483 (million current US\$) and an annual growth rate of about 5 percent – is estimated to be 40 million (United Nations, 2013a). Kenya has been characterised by showing few possibilities of growth due to its weak economy and different internal and external factors that have had negative effects, resulting in a slow annual growth (Mukudi, 2004a and b; ILO, 2013).

From a social point of view, it is important to note that nearly 97 percent of the population is constituted from 42 African communities, each with its own mother tongue. The remaining three percent of the population consists of descendants of immigrants from Asia, Europe and elsewhere (Oucho, 2002; Wasanga et al, 2012). English and Kiswahili are both official languages. Kiswahili is taught and examined as a compulsory subject at primary and secondary school levels. English is the medium of instruction in Kenya's education system, with the exception of the first three years (Wasanga et al, 2012).

Kenyan education system

The system of education in Kenya is referred to as 8-4-4 which corresponds to 8 years of primary school, 4 years of secondary school and 4 years of university. Transition from one level to the next depends on performance in the national examinations known as the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). Since the chances to enter secondary level are limited to a fixed number of places, the KCPE is used as a criterion for selecting the best performing students (Kremer et al, 2009; Wasanga et al, 2012).

Since gaining Independence in 1963, Kenya has made considerable efforts to implement public education programmes with the intention of supplying skilled labour capable of contributing to economic development. For this

reason, Kenya has made notable advances in the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) which was put into practice through the expansion of the national education system (Omwami and Omwami, 2010; Nungu, 2010). In a way, the expansion of the Kenyan education system was considered a success because of an important increase of primary enrolment rates (Nungu, 2010) which in 2002 was represented by 91 percent of Gross Enrolment Ratios (GER) for both boys and girls (UNESCO-UIS, 2012).

Brief description of Mauritius



Map 2: Mauritius (Source : UNDP <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/MUS.html>)

Mauritius consists of three main islands and some smaller islands in the Indian Ocean. The main islands are: Mainland Mauritius, the island of Rodriguez, and the island of Agalega. The smaller islands are uninhabited (see Map 2 above). It has a land mass of approximately 1,969 square kilometres. Its population – with a gross domestic product (GDP) of 9,729

(million current US\$) and an annual growth rate of about 4 percent – is estimated to be 1,299,000 (United Nations, 2013b). The economic performance of Mauritius has been one of the most remarkable in sub-Saharan Africa. This explains why it is considered to be an upper-middle income country. In terms of growth performance, this small island is compared with East Asian tigers. The economic success of Mauritius is founded on the transformation of an agro-based economy into an export-oriented manufacturing economy with a strong sector based on tourism (United Nations, 2001; Marock, 2011).

Mauritius is a multiracial, multilingual, and pluricultural country. Its population is made up of descendants of labourers from India, slaves from Mozambique and immigrants from Asia, Africa and Europe (Bunwaree et al, 2005). The official language is English but the most commonly spoken language is French and the common lingua franca is Creole which is used in daily interactions by 80 percent of the population. However, the language spoken at home can be Bhojpuri, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telegi or Mandarin, among others. At primary school level children study English and French and some pupils also study an Asian language (Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011).

Mauritian education system

The system of education in Mauritius is patterned after the British model and is referred to as 6-5-2 which corresponds to six years of primary school, five years of lower secondary school and two years of upper secondary school

(see Figure 2, Annex 1). As in the case of Kenya, success in the end-of-primary national examination, known as Certificate of Primary Education (CPE), is an essential condition for ensuring transition to the mainstream secondary school level (Bunwaree et al, 2005; UNESCO-IBE, 2010; Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011).

Basic education has long been recognised as the pillar of Mauritius' social progress. For this reason access to education at primary level has been considered a national priority and, therefore, substantial resources have been allocated to education which is fee-free and compulsory from the ages of 5 to 12 years (Rughooputh, 2004; Government of Mauritius, 2011). The gross enrolment ratio for primary and secondary school groups is estimated to be nearly 94 percent (Government of Mauritius, 2011).

Summary of chapter 1

The purpose of this first chapter was to set the scene of my thesis. A brief presentation of the socio-economic and educational contexts of Kenya and Mauritius was presented in order to examine the phenomenon of private tuition through the implementation of an ecological systems approach. This approach comprised three levels of discussion: the macro, meso and micro levels.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 The phenomenon of private tuition

Educational experts from international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank pointed out that the delivery of paid extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours has become a major component of education systems in numerous countries (Baker et al, 2001; Dang and Rogers, 2008a). In this light, private tuition has been interpreted as a kind of educational phenomenon that functions in parallel to mainstream education and shows a noticeable prevalence, not only in developed countries such as Japan (Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Roesgaard, 2006), Korea (Kwak, 2004), Hong Kong (Kwok, 2004) or the United States (Buchmann et al, 2010), but also in less industrialised countries such as Kenya (UWEZO, 2011) and Mauritius (Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007).

The prevalence of paid extra lessons also was confirmed by findings from international research studies such as SACMEQ where it was revealed that the highest incidence of paid extra lessons was concentrated in Kenya and Mauritius (Paviot, et al, 2008). However, it is important to consider that even if this parallel form of schooling is claimed to be taking place on a considerable scale worldwide (Heyneman, 2011; OECD, 2011; Wolf, 2002;), this does not mean that the nature and mechanisms of this phenomenon are

identical regardless of the socio-cultural and economic contexts in which private tuition takes place (Wolf, 2002).

Researchers and educationalists from different parts of the world have investigated the prevalence and characteristics of paid extra lessons at different levels of the education system, such as primary level (Wolf, 2002; Nath, 2008; Paviot et al, 2008), secondary level (Stevenson and Baker, 1992; Kim, 2005) or both levels simultaneously (Marimuthu et al, 1991; Kwan-Terry, 1991; Aurini, 2003; Ireson, 2004; Ireson and Rushforth, 2011; Kwok, 2004; Mischo and Haag, 2002; Smyth, 2008). However, there are several different definitions of paid extra lessons and their conceptualisation appears to be problematic for comparative purposes. Some researchers considered the provision of paid lessons as a kind of 'shadow education' because it mimics mainstream education, follows mainstream school curricula, changes every time that the mainstream changes, and functions as a new type of educational business (Buchmann, 2002; Aurini, 2003; Kwok, 2004). Similarly, Baker et al (2001) understood 'shadow education' as a large scale use of structured lessons supervised during outside school learning in the form of tutoring, review sessions, or cram schools such as 'Juku' in Japan. Expanding on this notion, Mischo and Haag (2002) interpreted these extra lessons as a method of teaching in which one student or a small group of students received personalised instruction irrespective of the tutor – which could be a private instructor, a volunteer, a parent, or a computer. In contrast, Wolf (2002) used the term 'Extra School Instruction' (ESI) to denote teaching and coaching activities in mathematics and science taking place outside of

the regular school structure but excluded the extra support given by school teachers, whereas Foondun (2002) and Assad and Elbadawy (2004) described a similar situation including school teachers as a type of tutor delivering extra lessons. Other researchers and academics put the accent on those paid extra lessons delivered by tutors working in private companies or 'Tuition Centres'. In this case, tutors delivered their support as a supplement to regular schooling, especially for secondary students who aspired to admission at university level (Bray and Silova, 2006; Smyth, 2008) whereas still other authors examined the incidence of paid lessons delivered at tuition centres, not only to secondary school students but also to primary school pupils (Aurini, 2003; Davies, 2004).

Such diversity in the interpretation of extra lessons, appears to confirm that even if the examination of paid extra lessons suggests different drivers, mechanisms, nature and types of providers, researchers and academics appear to insist on using the same terminology to make reference to different kinds of paid extra lessons.

2.2 Private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius

In the framework of the present thesis I will employ the term 'private tuition' in order to refer to a specific educational situation in which primary school pupils receive extra lessons delivered by their own primary school teachers for a financial gain. In this respect, it is relevant to note that private tuition

delivered by mainstream teachers outside school hours is considered a form of corruption. In other words, mainstream teachers providing paid tuition to the pupils who already fall under their responsibility in their school classes are considered as professionals showing misconduct that must be judged by the criminal court system (Heynemann, 2004; 2009; Hallak and Poisson, 2007). However, the role of parents should not be neglected as it has been stated that the demand for private tuition is the result of parents' fear of leaving their children with little chance of succeeding in national examinations and being admitted at the secondary school level (Parsuramen, 1990; Buchmann, 2000). For this reason, the next sections of this thesis will focus on parents' perceptions, aspirations and beliefs in order to examine these and other root causes that might fuel the prevalence of paid extra lessons.

Another important aspect that is critical in my definition of private tuition includes the place where these lessons are delivered. Research findings from previous studies stated that in Kenya and Mauritius, private tuition was characterised as being delivered in the pupils' own school classrooms (IPAR, 2004; Foondun, 2002). Nevertheless, it would appear that, depending on parental demand, paid extra lessons might also be delivered in the pupil's or the teacher's home, in a garage, or another rented room (Foondun, 1992). However, in the context of this thesis, attention will be given to those cases where private tuition is delivered at pupils' own public (fee-free) school, in order to receive paid supplementary school support on a regular basis during the week, weekend and/or holidays. As regards the time of the year in which private tuition was most popular, it would appear that in Kenya paid extra lessons were particularly popular during pupils' school holidays (Daily Nation,

2012f; Waweru, 2009) whereas in Mauritius the highest demand for private tuition was during the school term (Hollup, 2004).

Concerning the monetary cost of private tuition, it would appear that in both countries, families from lower socio-economic backgrounds – where several siblings attend school – might find it difficult to afford the monthly tuition fees for all their children. Buchmann (2002) highlighted this point by stating that in households where financial resources are severely limited, parents might be less willing to provide private tuition to the children who are less academically able but who, in turn, might need it the most. In addition, Wanyama and Enjeru (2004) claimed that given the possibility that parents may not be able to afford the fees for private tuition, there was a likelihood that children from poor households might drop out of school, which would contribute to both an increase in the percentages of pupils leaving school and an increase in the percentages of pupils being engaged in child labour.

In the case of Kenya, it has been claimed that people value education, which might explain why private tuition has persisted in spite of official bans stating that the Government does not allow teachers to deliver paid extra lessons in primary and secondary schools (IPAR, 2004; BBC NEWS 2008). At the same time, Buchmann (2000; 2002) argues that demand for tuition appears to be rooted in the Kenyan competitive education system which is based on high-stake national examinations that seek to discriminate ‘good’ pupils from ‘weak’ pupils at the end of the primary school level and provide opportunities

to pursue secondary education only to the best performers. Following this idea, it would appear that the objective of primary national examinations in this country is to reduce the number of students eligible for secondary education (Eisemon and Schville, 1991). However, it is important to note that these claims contradict the Kenyan government's national education policies, whose aims are to promote social inclusion and the provision of equal opportunities to all Kenyans to access education of good quality (Ministry of Education, 2005; 2008; 2009).

Given its incidence, the phenomenon of private tuition began to be systematically examined at different points in time. For example, in 1995 a Kenyan survey that included 600 households produced evidence about students' participation in private tuition and their educational experiences (Buchmann, 2002). This study revealed that students perceived private tuition as an extra opportunity that helped them to boost their academic achievement. In addition, it was found that students' parents were likely to favour their most proficient children by sending them to these extra lessons. It also revealed some relevant information concerning the following factors:

(a) Students' sex: It was found that students' sex was a significant predictor indicating that families were more willing to provide private tuition for their sons than for their daughters. In light of this, it is important to consider that previous research conducted in the African region analysed and discussed the barriers that prevented female pupils from receiving education. A combination of factors such as early marriage, negative attitudes about girls' intellectual capabilities, and the traditional gender division of household labour were identified as some the main reasons that prevented girls from

attending school or finishing their studies (Assaad et al, 2007; Buchmann, 2002; FAWE, 2006; Mungai, 2012). Following these arguments, it has been claimed that girls' participation in paid tuition could be affected by the same gender stereotypes (Buchmann, 2002). At the same time, studies describing the phenomenon of private tuition in other developing countries found that female pupils were less likely to receive private tuition than their male counterparts because their parents preferred to invest in their sons' education on the grounds that boys were more likely to seek paid employment that required educational qualifications (Aslam and Mansoor, 2011; Lee, Park and Lee, 2009).

(b) Parents' educational background: Better-educated parents were more likely to invest in private tuition than less well-educated parents. This is linked to the idea that parents' education levels influence a child's academic performance at school (Davies, 2004; Duru-Bellat, 2004) because better-educated parents tend to value education and provide more educational opportunities to their children (Ireson and Rushforth, 2005; 2011; OECD, 2006; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004). Similarly, it was claimed that parents' appreciation of education was reflected in the number of books that can be found in their homes (Southgate, 2009). Following this idea, it would appear that the higher number of books found in the home, the better the chances of pupils of receiving private tuition (Southgate, 2009).

(c) Students' home location: Students living in urban areas were more likely to receive private tuition than students from rural areas. In addition, other research studies highlighted that the provision of private tuition was associated with school location because extra lessons were more likely to be

provided in urban areas where parents tended to be better off socio-economically and therefore were more able to afford the provision of extra support (Eilor, 2007; Foondun, 2002; UNESCO, 2004; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

(d) Students' socio-economic background: Kenyan children from wealthy families appeared to be far more likely to receive extra academic support than children from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Similarly, other studies revealed that the correlation between socio-economic background and participation in private tuition was consistent (Foondun, 2002; OECD, 2011).

(e) Students' grade repetition: Students receiving private tuition were less likely to repeat a grade than students who had had no experience of private tuition. Some researchers and educationalists have argued that grade repetition and private tuition were seen as popular strategies for increasing a pupil's chances of pursuing studies at the secondary school level. In light of this, it would appear that through grade repetition, pupils gained additional exposure to both private tuition and the school curriculum which, in turn, translated into gaining extra time to prepare for the end-of-primary school high-stakes examinations (Buchmann, 1999; Eisemon and Schwille, 1991; Foondun, 1992; Hungi and Thuku, 2010). Following this idea, it seems relevant to confirm whether these assumptions were reflected in the SACMEQ data.

(f) Students' academic performance: Students receiving extra academic support showed higher performance levels than students not receiving extra academic support. In 1995, a national survey (SACMEQ I Study) (Nzomo, *et al* 2001) revealed that in Kenya 68.5 percent of Standard 6 pupils participating in the research study were receiving extra lessons. However, it is important to highlight that this data did not reveal whether these extra lessons were paid for or not. As a concluding remark, the Kenyan researchers expressed their concern regarding the very high percentages of extra lessons registered at a national level and recommended expanding the number of research questions to be included in a future research study. In 2000, a second survey (SACMEQ II Study) (Onsomu *et al*, 2005) revealed some unexpected findings concerning the coverage of these extra lessons. Local researchers showed their concern when they realised that there was a noticeable increase in the percentage of pupils taking extra lessons. The generally high coverage of extra lessons in the SACMEQ I study (68.6 %) was echoed in the results from the SACMEQ II study. However, the second study illustrated an overall increase to nearly 87 percent of Standard 6 pupils indicating that they were taking extra lessons. Researchers found that the coverage of extra lessons could be explained by parental perceptions of their children, and their idea that extra academic lessons could help their children enhance their school performance. Another relevant finding from the SACMEQ II study revealed the proportion of pupils paying for the extra lessons delivered outside school hours. In this way, it was confirmed that that nearly 58 percent of the pupils receiving extra school support were also paying for these lessons. Once again, researchers strongly recommended

conducting further research in order to investigate the reasons behind such prevalence of private tuition in spite of a recent national policy framework of Free Primary Education, which was supposed to provide education of good quality to all children regardless of their economic status (Onsomu et al, 2005).

Linked to the above, another interesting point from the SACMEQ research confirmed some findings produced by Buchmann's (2002) research concerning the relationship between (a) parents' educational background, (b) students' socio-economic background and (c) academic performance and the provision of private tuition. However, there were some discrepancies regarding students' home location and gender. For example, the SACMEQ II Study did not find any significant difference between male and female pupils taking private tuition or between pupils coming from urban or rural areas (Paviot et al, 2008). Perhaps these discrepancies might be explained by the fact that the data collection method used in Buchmann's survey was different from the method used in the SACMEQ II (2000) survey. In the case of Buchmann's survey, data was collected in 600 Kenyan households where the mother in each household was asked questions about the household and children's schooling. In contrast, SACMEQ data was obtained through questions asked to 3299 Grade 6 pupils, their school principals (185) and teachers (523). In addition, it is relevant to note that the data concerning urban and rural areas was obtained through a question asked to school Principals, in which they had to indicate whether the school was located in a rural or urban area. Therefore, the notion of urban and rural was based on

the perception of the school principal concerning the location of his/her school's as opposed to Buchmann's study which focussed on the location of children's households. Nevertheless, further research activities of a different nature are needed in order to better understand what is actually going on regarding gender issues, implications of schools' geographical location and access to private tuition.

It is important to note that my professional involvement in the SACMEQ organisation coincided with the launch of the SACMEQ III Study which took place in 2006. Given the interest and concern of Kenyan and Mauritian researchers – as well as other researchers from other neighbouring countries witnessing the prevalence of extra lessons in their school systems – I was appointed to expand the number of questionnaire items dedicated to private tuition and became the SACMEQ focal point for issues associated with this phenomenon (Paviot, 2007). For this reason, I coordinated the design of questionnaire items that were included in the SACMEQ III Main Study. However, when reporting the findings of the SACMEQ III Study (2007), Kenyan researchers did not make use of the expanded database on the modalities, mechanisms, and pupils' perceptions of private tuition. They simply limited their analysis to the incidence of this phenomenon. The lack of further detail concerning the implications of extra lessons might be explained by the apparent good news revealed in the Kenya SACMEQ III report, as it was found that at national and regional levels, a remarkable decrease in the percentages of pupils taking extra lessons was confirmed (Wasanga et al 2012). To put it clearly, during the SACMEQ II Study (2000) nearly 87

percent of Standard 6 pupils indicated that they were taking extra lessons. This very high coverage decreased to 70 percent in SACMEQ III (2007). Similarly, a noticeable decrease of 5.8 percentage points was registered among the pupils who indicated that they were paying for these extra lessons in 2007. However, it is worth noting that out of the 70 percent of these pupils, nearly half of them indicated that they were making payments in order to benefit from this extra school support. Despite the apparent good news, Kenyan researchers reinforced their recommendations to conduct further research on private tuition in order to better inform policy-makers and formulate more effective educational policies aimed at diminishing the still high incidence of private tuition in the country (Wasanga, et al 2012).

Not surprisingly, the government's reaction to these research findings was manifested in 2008 when the Ministry of Education sent out a circular to schools banning private tuition during break time, lunch, after school, weekends and holidays. The aim of this circular was to prohibit primary school teachers from charging or accepting any fee for tuition from a student, even if the tuition was given outside official working hours (Daily Nation, 2012d). However, the circular did not have the expected effect, as parents continued to send their children to private tuition. For this reason, in August 2012 the Minister of Education, Mutula Kilonzo, officially declared that school principals who did not respect the ban on private tuition would be punished through disciplinary action (Daily Nation, 2012a). As a result, most schools were closed in August, during the holiday break. This meant that the majority of Kenyan children could not benefit from private tuition and therefore were

not well prepared for the national examinations taking place in October. The sudden school closure caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among parents and teachers who found that the Minister's decision was not fair, as private tuition was considered essential for remedial work and to give children a better chance of succeeding in end of primary examinations (Daily Nation, 2012b; 2012c).

The case of Mauritius also deserves particular attention. In this country the massive delivery of private tuition has raised concern for more than a century. It would appear that in 1911 the issue was first addressed by the Rector of the Royal College who interpreted private tuition as a phenomenon that harmed the education system. He stated:

"I quite admit the evil, but I am unable to suggest a satisfactory remedy"
(Parsuramen, 1997, p.49)

Seventy-three years later, the incidence of private tuition continued to persist. For this reason, in 1984 the Minister of Education, Armoogun Parsuramen, officially addressed the issue of private tuition in the 'Master Plan for Education'. As a result of his intervention, the matter was raised in Parliament and it was reportedly published regularly in the press which initiated a national debate. Later on, in 1988, he insisted on finding a solution to private tuition so he presented a motion to Parliament. However, no concrete solution was implemented. At that time it was reported that a research study had revealed that nearly 70 percent of the parents consulted were in favour of the delivery of private tuition to their children. This situation

prevented the government from finding a solution to a problem that was not seen as such by pupils' parents. However, private tuition continued to be a live political issue that was addressed by the government through the implementation of a number of measures that were intended to limit its effects. Some of those measures included (a) prohibition to deliver private tuition to pupils from Standards 1 to 3, (b) a limitation of the number of hours permitted in schools, (c) a parents' sensitisation campaign on the abuses of private tuition (Parsuramen, 1997).

In the meantime, the government supported the conduct of different research studies with the purpose of monitoring the evolution of this phenomenon over time. For example, in 1986 the University of Mauritius conducted further research which revealed that 73 percent of Standard 6 pupils were taking paid extra lessons (Dindyal and Besoondhyal, 2007). Similarly, it would appear that results from another study published by UNESCO in 1991 confirmed this finding and considered that private tuition had become so widespread that its prevalence involved 80 percent of the Standard 6 pupils (Foondun, 1992). Other reports discussed research findings from a socio-cultural dimension and made an interpretation of the reasons that were likely to justify the historical persistence and high incidence of these paid extra lessons. Following Foondun's claims (1992; 2002) it seems clear that private tuition finds its origins in the characteristics of both (a) the Mauritian society, which is very competitive and (b) the characteristics of their education system, which – as in the case of Kenya – is a legacy of the British colony. Since colonial times, access to good secondary schools has depended on

rank at national examinations known as Certificate of Primary Examination (CPE). Therefore, the parents who wished their children to be accepted by one of those 'five-star' schools, had no choice but to send their children to private tuition. Foondun's claims (1992; 2002) based on Mauritius' social context coincided with Buchmann's point of view about Kenya where she stated that parents' socio-economic background and level of education functioned as determinants of the delivery of private tuition. In contrast, gender issues, grade repetition and pupils' home location were not found to limit pupils' chances of benefiting from these extra lessons in Mauritius. Foondun (1992; 2002) explored other relevant points that appeared to be in constant tension. These were linked to the modalities of private tuition, teachers' role in ensuring its delivery, and government measures to ban it. However, even though his analyses included general notions of parental involvement and attitudes, he did not reflect on perceptions from an individual perspective and omitted to discuss the standpoint of key actors that are clearly at the heart of this phenomenon, these being parents and their children. Parents are responsible for making the necessary arrangements so that their children can benefit from these extra lessons, while children have to attend these lessons and dedicate their time and energy to improving their academic performance. I find that in order to grasp the drivers, social implications and effects of private tuition, it is critical to expand our knowledge, taking into consideration the individual perceptions of pupils' parents.

With regard to the SACMEQ studies, Mauritius used exactly the same survey methodology as the one used in Kenya. However, unlike the Kenyan

researchers, Mauritian experts were not surprised by the high percentages of Standard 6 pupils taking extra lessons. In the SACMEQ I report (1995) Mauritian researchers simply reported that at country level 77.7 percent of the Standard 6 pupils were taking extra lessons (Kulpoo, 1998). However, findings from the SACMEQ II Study (2000) showed a more alarming picture as a significant increase of nine percent points was noted. That is, in 2000 86.5 percent of the Standard 6 pupils who participated in the study were having private tuition (Kulpoo and Soonarane, 2005). This meant 'bad' news for the government, as it confirmed that the government policies aimed at eradicating private tuition were proving to be ineffective. In addition, findings from the third SACMEQ Study conducted in 2007 confirmed this negative tendency, as it continued to show Mauritius as the country with the highest incidence of private tuition in the southern and eastern Africa region (Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011). However, as in the case of the SACMEQ III Kenyan report, Mauritian researchers did not analyse the database thoroughly. This implies that valuable information – such as pupils' perceptions concerning the delivery of private tuition, its characteristics and reasons for taking it – might have been overlooked because the data were not properly analysed. I think that this represents an important information gap that should be filled with further analyses and discussion in the framework of my thesis.

2.3 Drivers of private tuition

Researchers and academics who have studied the phenomenon of private tuition taking place in Kenya and Mauritius have highlighted distinct reasons that appear to justify its high demand. For example:

2.3.1 Lack of regulations and control combined with teachers' malpractice:

Observed from an education system perspective or meso level, it would appear that in developing countries a combination of factors caused by the system itself stimulates the existence of private tuition. For example, it has been claimed that teachers' low salaries combined with a lack of official regulations and control have led to teachers' malpractice (Biswal, 1999). This claim appeared to be echoed in Mauritius, where it was reported that because of low salaries, teachers sought to survive through the delivery of paid extra lessons to their own students. In addition, thanks to these extra lessons, teachers could not only compensate their financial situation but also earn a second income free of taxes. At the same time, Foondun (2002) claimed that teachers took advantage and abused this situation as they practiced some form of blackmail by threatening parents with the risk of their children getting low marks if they did not attend extra lessons.

Similarly, in Kenya, Wasanga et al (2012) reported that teachers offered extra school lessons with the purpose of obtaining a second income. In another discussion paper published by Kenyan academics, it was stated that

primary school teachers were suspected of creating unnecessary demand for private tuition through different means. For example, it would seem that in some cases teachers left out crucial areas of the school programme with the intention of offering paid extra lessons while in other cases teachers would recommend further paid lessons under the pretext that the official school hours were not sufficient to cover the entire syllabus (Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Race for a good secondary school

Still, from an education system perspective, it has been claimed that in Mauritius the most important factor responsible for the provision of private tuition in primary schools was the high demand for places in prestigious secondary schools (Foondun, 2002; Moussa and Toupin, 1999). Such demand emerged as a consequence of an important increase in the population which resulted in a significant expansion of education at primary level. It would appear that at that time, secondary education failed to expand in the same proportion as primary level. This led to a situation in which passing from the primary to the secondary level was seen as a “mad race” because it stimulated fierce competition among primary school pupils who wished to obtain a place in one of the elite, or “five-star”, secondary schools (Foondun, 1992; 2002). However, in 2003, the government made an effort to build the necessary number of secondary schools so that all primary school pupils could secure a place at secondary level. Contrary to the government’s expectations, opening access to secondary schooling to all primary pupils did

not contribute to the diminishing of private tuition. Following evidence from the SACMEQ III Study (2007), it would seem that the prevalence of private tuition continued to be as high as in the past, when there was a lack of secondary school places (Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011).

Something similar appears to occur in Kenya where the most important determinant of pupils' academic progress is the passing of competitive national examinations which select the most able pupils to continue their education at secondary level. More precisely, it would appear that the score in the national examination (KCPE) determines the quality of secondary school that the child is allowed to attend. In this way, only the highest-scoring pupils gain a place at the most prestigious national schools (Buchmann, 1999). Nevertheless, it is important to note that in Kenya there was a remarkable expansion of secondary schools in the decades following Independence. However, it has been reported that half of the pupils completing primary school were left behind and pushed out of the education system because there was no room for them to continue with their studies. For this reason, it is assumed that the strong competition for educational credentials is the origin of the high demand for private tuition (Buchmann, 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Parental aspirations

Kenya appears to illustrate the challenges that fragile states encounter in regard to education. Since Independence, the State has promoted education as the key to economic growth which pushed the Kenyan population to

develop a tremendous faith in education. From a micro level perspective – which takes into account the perceptions and experiences of individuals – it would appear that a large number of people started to view formal schooling as the means to obtain better chances in the future and an improved quality of life (Buchmann, 1999). This explains the quick expansion of the school system which was supported by the people. However, the country's slow economic growth could not support the rapid expansion of the education system (Buchmann, 1999; 2000; ILO, 2013; UNDP, 2010). For this reason, fifty years after Independence, it would seem that Kenyans did not see the expected results and felt deceived by the increasing costs of schooling, the declining quality of education and increasing unemployment rates among educated people (Buchmann, 1999). However, there still persists a popular enthusiasm for education whose origins are claimed to be rooted in its colonial past (Buchmann, 1999; Somerset 2009). In this respect, it is important to consider Kenya's historical background in order to grasp the extent to which parents' faith in education, together with their values and aspirations, have played a crucial role in the construction of a national education system.

Before Independence in 1963, the provision of education segregated racial groups through different school systems for pupils of European, Asian and African origin. However, few African pupils had access to even four years of primary school (Somerset, 2009). In these circumstances, the denial of academic education during the colonial period caused a massive demand for access to educational opportunities among Kenyans (Buchmann, 1999). This

explains why when Kenya gained Independence, the first president, Kenyatta, introduced the call for 'Harambee' which in Kiswahili means 'Let us pull together', with the purpose of accelerating the expansion of the Kenyan school system. In this way, local communities – especially pupils' parents– began to raise funds and build schools. These 'Harambee' schools supplemented the government's provision of schools and offered educational opportunities to children who otherwise had little chance of attending school (Bold et al., 2011; Buchmann, 1999; Dore, 1997). In this way, the 'Harambee' or self-help initiatives driven by parents' enthusiasm for education have contributed substantially to the development of the Kenyan school system (Somerset, 2009). This might also explain why, at the present time and after the '2003 Free Primary Education Initiative' – which was supposed to abolish most of the costs incurred by pupils' parents (Somerset, 2009) – parents continue to take on most of the financial burden of primary education through the provision of physical facilities such as classrooms, libraries, textbooks, chalk, and pupils' uniforms (Mungai, 2012).

Concerning parental expectations and beliefs, Claudia Buchmann (2000) claimed that parents viewed their children's academic opportunities with expectations for future financial returns because educated individuals were seen as having a greater chance of obtaining a good job and assisting their family. In other words, it was found that parents sent children to school to support their social mobility and secure their own economic welfare. However, it is relevant to note that the stagnant economy in Kenya was not able to absorb the growing numbers of secondary school and university

graduates (Buchmann, 2000; UNDP, 2010). As a result, the demand for jobs fuelled fierce competition for educational credentials. In this context, it would appear that private tuition was regarded not only as a valuable educational resource but also as an inevitable route for improving children's chances of economic advancement (Buchmann, 2002).

Unlike the Kenyan socio-economic context, the Mauritian competitive economy was characterised by being a "development success story" (Bastos and Divino, 2009, p.1). In such a context, educational attainment appears to be considered critical because young people need a university degree, preferably obtained at an elite institution, to qualify for jobs offering better incomes, benefits and opportunities for advancement. For this reason, Yi (2013) claimed that under these circumstances, parents and students were more likely to opt for private or supplementary education in the form of extra lessons.

Similarly, in a competitive society such as Mauritius it would appear that there is an ingrained belief stressing that advancement is achieved when each individual strives to maximize his or her own welfare (Parsuramen, 1990). Following this idea, it might seem evident that private tuition does not emerge as an autonomous entity. On the contrary, it is dependent on the nature of the society in which people live (Parsuramen, 1990). In the case of Mauritius, it would seem that its society is based on the market economy which, in turn, appears to determine social behaviour. Perhaps for this reason, Parsurament (1990) claimed that the rapid economic growth

experienced in Mauritius has, in a way, sharpened the competitive spirit of the Mauritian citizens to such extent that personal achievement prevails over collective welfare. Given this context, education appears to be considered as a fundamental value because it represents the basis for social mobility. Another reason that might explain parental concern about their children's education is that parents are willing to make additional investments in education because, given Mauritius' history of slavery and indentured labour, education represents the only instrument available to avoid the cycle of poverty (Mauritius Times, 2013a). Therefore, parental concern about their children's social mobility could be considered as a potent driver that pushes parents to organise private tuition sessions – right from the early grades at primary school level – so that their children can excel academically and enrol later on for the most prestigious local secondary schools (Bunwaree, 2001; Mauritius Times, 2013a; Republic of Mauritius, 2010).

Following this line of argument, Foodun (1992) emphasised that education is understood as a necessity by the population, which views academic achievement as the only way to obtain not only economic and social status, but also success in life. In turn, it would appear that this interpretation of the importance of education is the main reason why the education system has become so competitive. Nevertheless, it is relevant to note that competition among pupils began under British rule, when pupils had to pass a test at the end of primary school in order to attend one of the only two secondary schools that existed at that time (Foondun, 1992). As in the case of Kenya, the school system in Mauritius expanded significantly after Independence as

the population increased. However, the secondary school sector did not expand proportionally, which meant that a percentage of pupils leaving primary school could not find a place to continue studying at secondary school. This would explain why parental expectations were focused on their children attending a 'good' secondary school (Foondun, 1992; 2002). Linked to this point, a more recent study revealed that parents considered their children's education to be a crucial priority that required their attention and support because they wished to provide their children with all the opportunities that they did not enjoy when they were children (Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007).

However, it is important to consider that the driving forces discussed above were observed at a time when neither the Kenyan nor the Mauritian government had enforced the new regulations and policies aimed at the prohibition of (Daily Nation, 2012d) or limitation of paid extra lessons delivered outside school hours at primary schools (L'express, 2011; Meetarbhan, 2009). For this reason, it would be relevant to undertake further research in order to understand why the Ministries' initiatives did not prove to be effective in these countries (Ogle, 201; Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011).

Perhaps educational policies' lack of effectiveness in banning private tuition should be examined in light of the critical role that parents appear to play, as it has been widely acknowledged that parents encourage their children's school activities through their involvement which, in turn, benefits children's

learning and school success (Epstein, 1987; Hoover Dempsey and Sandler, 1997; Redding, 2000; Griffith, 2001; Park, 2008). Epstein (1987) proposed a typology to explain different levels of parental involvement. Among these levels, this author described parental support taking place not only at school but also at home. Linked to this idea is the provision of private tuition which is claimed to be perceived by pupils' parents as part of their parental role (Ireson and Rushforth, 2014). The provision of private tuition understood as part of parents' role was investigated in other research studies revealing that parents supported private tuition because they perceived it as having a positive effect on their children's school performance (Davies, 2004; Lee, Park and Lee, 2009). For this reason, further research should be focused on parents' perceptions in order to learn more about parents' aspirations and their reasons for not respecting official school regulations while insisting on providing private tuition to their children.

Positive and negative aspects of private tuition

Depending on the lenses that we use to observe the phenomenon of private tuition, distinct aspects appear to present positive and negative implications. Among its positive aspects it has been claimed that private tuition represents a very positive phenomenon because of the additional resources and significant investment it brings to education. For this reason, private tuition is considered to contribute to the economic enhancement and prosperity of a nation (Heyneman, 2011; Kim, 2005). However, an alternative viewpoint is less positive about private tuition. It is argued that private tuition originated as a consequence of the mismanagement of certain parts of the education system which has resulted in a waste of financial and human resources that could be put to other uses (Biswal, 1999; Dang and Rogers, 2008b; Marimuthu et al, 1991). According to this second idea, traditional education systems – which are claimed to be dominated by national examinations taking place at the end of the primary and secondary cycles – are seen to be negatively affected by private tuition because the fact that pupils have to spend their free time on extra lessons inhibits their creativity which, in turn, can damage the bases of economic development (Bray, 2003).

On the positive side, research from different countries such as the United States, Israel, India, and Japan revealed that pupils taking private tuition were performing better academically than students not taking it (Dang and Rogers, 2008; Shafiq, 2002). However, it is important to note that international surveys do not necessarily support this line of argument, as it

was found that, depending on the country, private tuition could be used as either an enrichment or remedial strategy (Baker, et al, 2001; Paviot, et al, 2008; Wolf, 2002). The enrichment strategy is associated with educational systems in which there is intense competition for future educational opportunities (as in Kenya and Mauritius). In this context, students with high performance levels take private tuition in order to gain a competitive edge. In contrast, the remedial strategy seeks to provide extra support to pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds who encounter academic difficulties. In this case, students showing low academic performance take extra lessons in order to maintain an acceptable achievement level (Baker, et al, 2001; Wolf, 2002). Therefore, viewed from an education system perspective, the phenomenon of private tuition appears to present a combination of both positive and negative implications depending on the social and educational contexts in which it takes place.

Viewed from a meso level perspective, which comprises the administration and functioning of the school system, the mechanisms of private tuition appear to play a central role, as the lack of adequate school regulations and monitoring of teachers' practices seems to give teachers the power to supply private tuition as the main suppliers (See Section 2.3.1). Similarly, Sen (2010) claims that the delivery of extra lessons outside school hours represents a significant adverse impact on school functioning. However, Dang and Rogers (2008b) argue that the question is not whether private tuition enables or undermines the role of public schooling as a provider of education. They believe that attention should be focused on whether a high

incidence of private tuition – as is the case in Kenya and Mauritius (Ogle, 2011; Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011) – might affect the quality and efficiency of public schools. In other words, it is necessary to verify the extent to which private tuition creates a situation in which only the pupils paying for private tuition benefit from teachers' attention and knowledge of the complete syllabus.

In this light, there is cause for concern in terms of social inequalities which appear to be exacerbated by private tuition (Heyneman, 2011; Sen, 2010). In a similar way, from a micro or individual's point of view, it would appear that distinct advantages and disadvantages have been identified. For example, Ireson (2004) pointed out that private tuition represents a good option for those parents who wish to reinforce their children's education but cannot afford the financial cost of sending their children to a private school. However, the major downside is that children suffer because they have to attend long hours of supplementary school lessons and become very tired at the end of the day (Ireson, 2004; Wolf, 2002). A survey conducted in India also confirmed these claims when reporting that children taking private tuition were suffering from stress and anxiety due to the intensive nature of out-of-school lessons (Sridhar, 2006). Similarly, it was found that long hours of private tuition can harm the emotional, social and physical development of children (Foondun, 2002).

In Kenya and Mauritius, newspaper articles highlighted the adverse effects of private tuition on children's physical and psychological health. In order to

mitigate these adverse effects, the press has insisted on allowing children to take some time to rest and enjoy their free time so that they can be and behave as children (Daily Nation, 2012; L'express, 2007b). Yet it is important to note that parents' reasons for reducing their children's free time and exposing their children to long sessions of private tuition still remain unknown.

Private tuition and its linkages with parental notions

It has been argued that private tutoring is a complex phenomenon which may have originated from different economic and educational forces including cultural factors (Bray, 1999; 2003). With regard to the cultural factors, it has been stated that different cultures value education in different ways, and these different values are reflected in the way parents raise their children and educate them (Phillipson and Phillipson, 2007; Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010). Therefore, it would appear that depending on people's culture, prominence might be given to distinct concepts, such as ability and effort, which in turn could be interpreted as parameters of achievement (Georgiou, 1999; Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010). It is important to consider that the notion of a student's ability has been defined as a stable entity that is difficult for the student to modify and which includes not only intelligence, but also prior learning, special aptitudes and other cognitive characteristics (Georgiou, 1999; Haertal and Walberg, 1981; Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010), whereas the notion of a student's effort has been defined as an internal and controllable act that increases commitment to a task (Boekaerts, 2002; Dweck, 2006; Yeung, 2011).

Reflecting on this idea of cultural factors, it is relevant to note that many Asian societies, particularly those influenced by Confucian traditions, tend to support the notion that all children have similar abilities. For this reason, low performance levels are attributed to insufficient effort on the part of the child. In contrast, Western societies tend to believe that children have different

abilities. Therefore, the emphasis is put on lack of ability as the main cause of low performance levels (Georgiu, 1999). In other words, cultures influenced by Confucian traditions place stronger emphasis on the idea of effort whereas Western societies place stronger emphasis on the idea of ability (Bray, 2003; Dyndial and Besoondyal, 2007; Lee, Park and Lee, 2009).

Following this line of argument, it has been claimed that private tuition is especially likely to show a high prevalence in those cultures that place emphasis on the idea of effort in relation to academic success (Bray, 2003). At the same time, this idea of effort appears to be reflected in people's beliefs, characterized by phrases such as "no pain, no gain" and "failure is the result of laziness" (Phillipson and Phillipson, 2007, p. 330). In contrast, Western societies – which have an educational culture based on Socratic ideologies – tend to recognize independence and individualism as the basis of children's education. Perhaps for this reason, Western parents appear to hold more flexible expectations and, therefore, they put less pressure on their children to succeed academically (Phillipson and Phillipson, 2007).

Viewed from a micro level point of view and insisting on the critical role of parental beliefs, some researchers and educationalists (Georgiou, 1999; Ireson and Rushforth, 2014; Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010) interpret parental beliefs in effort, not only as way of educating children, but also as a key determinant of their children's future school performance. Based on this idea, it would appear that those parents who believe that students' effort is

the primary cause of academic success are more likely to expect that future performance can be improved if the student increases the level of effort they dedicate to their school work. In contrast, those parents who attribute academic achievement to students' ability tend to believe that past performance is a reliable indicator of future academic achievement. Therefore, if a child has not reached a good academic level in the past, parents who stress the idea of ability are less likely to expect an improvement in their child's future school performance (Yamamoto and Holloway, 2010).

Based on the key role that parental beliefs appear to play in relation to pupils' academic achievement, Ireson and Rushforth (2014) conducted further research in England and explored parental beliefs about learning and achievement because they considered these to be particularly relevant to the provision of extra lessons. For this reason, they implemented a five-item scale and administered it to pupils' parents with the objective of studying parental beliefs relating to notions of ability, effort and self-discipline in achievement. Interestingly, it was found out that English parents who placed a high value on effort and self-discipline were more likely to provide several forms of private tuition.

Unfortunately, the limited research conducted in the African continent concerning the high prevalence of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius did not explore parental beliefs as a relevant factor to be considered in the discussion of the causes and effects of this phenomenon. For this reason, I

find it relevant to expand our knowledge on these two African countries – where the incidence of private tuition is very high – taking into consideration the beliefs that motivate parents to provide private tuition to their children.

Importance of access to and quality of education

Observed from a macro level perspective in which certain ideological patterns can be confirmed worldwide, it is important to note that in the course of the twentieth century, basic (or elementary) primary education – interpreted as at least six years of formal schooling – has been considered not only as a human right but also as one of the universal Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1948; Farrell and Hartwell, 2008). Since 1990, the Education for All (EFA) movement has acted as a worldwide commitment reinforcing the emphasis on education as a basic human right and seeking to meet the learning needs of every citizen in every society. This major initiative was launched and led by UNESCO and supported by the international community, governments from developed and developing countries, as well as civil society partners (UNESCO, 2007).

The major objectives of the EFA movement were set in the six EFA goals that are intended to be achieved by all countries (especially the developing ones) by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007). However, it is important to note that a particular emphasis was placed on two key educational issues: (a) access to school and (b) quality of basic (or primary school level) education. At the same time, these educational principles based on access and quality were

echoed in the United Nations Millennium Summit which were included in its agenda for action, adopted by all 189 Member States of the United Nations (United Nations, 2001). Following these principles, the international community together with local stakeholders renewed their commitment and promoted the importance of education as a powerful tool in making a difference to people's lives (UNESCO, 2006; Green et al, 2007; JICA, 2011; USAID, 2011; World Bank, 2011). Such difference to people's lives could be explained by the belief that education not only benefits society but also meets the aspirations of students and their parents (Lauder, et al, 2006).

In addition, at an institutional or meso level, this global political will advocating for access to and quality of education was clearly reflected in the official educational policies supported by the Kenyan and Mauritian governments. In concrete terms, in 2009 the Minister of Education, Hon. Amb. Prof. Sam Ongeru, introduced a new policy for basic education and stated that:

“The government is committed to providing quality education to all citizens as a basic human right and affirms itself to the principle contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). As the ministry in charge, we are committed to achieving all the targets in the agreements and conventions to which Kenya is a signatory, such as the Jomtiem Declaration on Education for All (1990); the Dakar Declaration of Education for All (2000); the Millennium Development Goals (2000) that call for increased access to quality basic education ...” (Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 1)

The above statements were also reflected in the Kenyan Strategic Plan (2008-2012) where it was highlighted that the Ministry's goals sought to “ensure that all children, especially girls, have access to and complete quality

primary education” (Ministry of Education, [Kenya], 2008, p. 5). In a similar vein, in 2006 the Mauritian Minister of Education and Human Resources, Mr. Dharam Gokhool, stated that:

“My government is committed to carrying out fundamental reforms in education with a view to providing World Class Quality education to enable young Mauritians to be employable in new sectors of the economy, to have more fulfilling jobs and also to be competitive at the international level” (Mauritian College, 2006, p.2).

The Minister’s commitment to provide education of good quality to all primary school children was reiterated in the 2008 National Report of Mauritius, where it was stated that the overall goal of the primary education sector was to “sustain equitable access to quality education, ensuring that all learners attain high levels of achievement in Literacy, Numeracy, Information and Communications Technology and Essential Life Skills as a basis of lifelong learning” (Ministry of Education [Mauritius], 2008).

The emphasis put by both governments on the importance of providing a basic education of good quality appears to be the guiding principle that inspires Kenyan and Mauritian decision-makers to support the necessary political and administrative efforts to achieve this goal. However, educationalists and academics pointed out that one of the reasons for the very high incidence of private tuition is parental demand. This has been explained by the fact that most pupils’ parents feel disappointed by the quality standards that formal schooling provides. Thus parents wish to compensate for the poor quality of basic primary education with the provision

of paid extra lessons which are expected to reinforce pupils' learning (Buchmann, 1999; Foondun, 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004; Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007).

In other countries, such as Canada, the causes of parental demand in terms of their children's educational choices have been investigated through evidence from a national survey, which revealed that parents who supported private tuition were more desirous of sending their children to a private school. However, given their lack of financial resources, private tuition was seen as a convenient and affordable alternative to private schooling. For this reason, it was claimed that private tuition might be interpreted as a "school choice by default" for many parents (Davies, 2004).

Unfortunately, very little research on parental perceptions and the causes of their educational choices has been conducted in Kenya and Mauritius. Therefore, limited information is available concerning parental choices and their perceptions. For this reason, it is relevant to explore (a) the extent to which decision-makers' political commitment is confirmed (or not) by the key actors (pupils' parents) who send their children to public schools and, at the same time, are willing to pay for private tuition, and (b) the extent to which access to education of good quality is being restricted (or not) for those primary school pupils whose parents cannot afford the cost of extra lessons.

Idea of equality in education and the existence of private tuition

From a macro level perspective, reducing inequalities in terms of educational access and achievement has become a major concern of worldwide educational reforms inspired by the EFA movement (UNESCO, 2000). More precisely, the level of educational inequality has been defined as the strength of the impact of social background on educational achievement (Mostafa, 2010). In this respect, private tuition appears to play a central role. As discussed earlier, Kenyan and Mauritan educationalists found that children from wealthier families were more likely to benefit from extra lessons than children from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Buchmann, 2002; Foondun, 1992, 2002). Thus families with the necessary financial resources were more able to provide not only a greater quantity but also a better quality of extra school lessons. Furthermore, as regards achievement levels, children receiving extra academic support are assumed to have better chances of succeeding at school than those children not benefiting from it (Bray, 2006).

From an individual (and micro level) point of view, this situation implies that children from low-income families have less chance of reaching a good academic level which, in turn, puts them in a vulnerable situation. In other words, pupils who do not perform well at school run the risk of being left behind progressively and find themselves excluded from the school system because they are not able to keep up with their counterparts who benefit from

paid extra support (Bunwaree, 2001; Bray and Lykins, 2012; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

In addition, from a political point of view, it seems curious that while governments make an effort to provide education of good quality to all primary school children, pupils' families make an effort to provide paid extra lessons for their children. For this reason, it has been claimed that private tuition appears to undermine the expected effects of the Education for All initiative, especially in the African countries (Bray and Suso, 2008). Researchers investigating the phenomenon of private tuition in other parts of the world have claimed that private tuition represents an increasingly important educational process through which inequality issues – understood as unequal opportunities to access education – might be manifested (Kwak, 2004; Buchmann et al 2010). Therefore, I find it of paramount importance to conduct further research in order to capture the 'equality' dimension of private tuition perceived by parallel form of schooling.

2.4 Research questions

As has been pointed out in this review, the phenomenon of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius appears to indicate several knowledge gaps in the literature. Such gaps were used as starting points to define seven research questions underpinning the present thesis, as follows:

(1) What are the main features of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius?

- (2) What are the driving forces supporting its prevalence?
- (3) What are the positive and negative aspects?
- (4) What do parents believe about the importance of ability, effort and self-discipline in academic achievement?
- (5) What do parents think about the quality of education delivered at the elementary school level?
- (6) What do parents expect for their children and what does it take to achieve these expectations?
- (7) What do parents think about the idea of equality in the provision of private tuition?

Summary of chapter two

This section has discussed research evidence and claims made by different educationalists on the phenomenon of private tuition taking place in Kenya and Mauritius observed from three different perspectives referred to as 'micro, meso and macro' level perspectives. In addition, it highlighted the importance of filling the gap in the literature and responding to seven research questions by analysing and interpreting data from an international survey on the quality of education (SACMEQ III Study) through which it is important to examine critical aspects of private tuition, such as its intensity, frequency, activities performed, the number of pupils receiving these lessons, gender and socio-economic differences of pupils benefiting and not benefiting from it, as well as pupils' motivations for taking it. In addition, it is worthwhile examining parents' reasons for providing this extra support to their children and taking into considerations parents' aspirations, perceptions and views of educational quality and equality.

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

3.1 Origins of my interest in private tuition

I was employed by the IIEP-UNESCO and worked for this organisation from 2002 to 2012 holding different positions as programme assistant, researcher and consultant in education. In 2004 I became a member of a research team at the IIEP-UNESCO that was responsible for implementing a programme – known as the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) Programme – whose main objectives were (a) to monitor the quality of education delivered at primary school level and (b) to provide training on the conduct of national surveys in order to examine quality issues and school functioning (Ross and Makuwa, 2009).

As a member of the SACMEQ Programme, I participated in the 2004 SACMEQ International Research Conference at the IIEP-UNESCO, in Paris. The main purpose of that conference was to invite researchers from different parts of world, especially Africa, to use the SACMEQ I and II Databases, analyse and interpret the data obtained through those two international surveys in order to produce a research paper to be presented and discussed during the research conference. In this context, the SACMEQ General Resear Coordinator suggested that I could make use of the data gathered from the SACMEQ I (1995) and SACMEQ II (2000) projects with the aim of discussing an educational issue taking place in the SACMEQ countries. This was the exact moment at which my professional career experienced a turning point, because for the first time I entered the field of educational research

studies. I first thought of exploring the effects of parental involvement on pupils' academic achievement.

For this reason, I co-authored a paper with other UNESCO colleagues focussing on modalities and expected academic effects of extra lessons on pupils' outcomes (See Paviot, et al, 2008). Following this research paper, educational planners and decision-makers from SACMEQ countries asked me to design a component for the SACMEQ III Project that could provide more detailed information about the delivery of extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours (see Appendix 2). The main aim here was to better understand the mechanisms and incidence of what appeared to be a parallel educational phenomenon. Within this professional context, I also had the opportunity to work as the focal point for an 'Observation Research Project on Extra Tuition' based on the SACMEQ III (2007-2011) large-scale research study of the quality of education (see Paviot, 2007). I contributed to the design of the study, the research questions, data analyses, publication and dissemination of its main findings. I also participated in the organisation and delivery of SACMEQ training activities and seminars. The 'Observation Research Project on Extra Tuition' was established to compare the incidence of extra lessons in fourteen southern and eastern African countries at different points in time. This was possible to do because data on extra lessons gathered, not only in the SACMEQ III (2007) Study, but also in the SACMEQ I (1995) and the SACMEQ II (2000) studies. Through the design and implementation of questionnaire items administered to Standard 6 pupils (See Appendix 2), important information related to the coverage, nature, and modalities of extra academic support was gathered and analysed. However,

the implementation of a cross-national study of these characteristics has shown its limitations because it has been argued that still little is known about the socio-cultural reasons that shape this phenomenon in the less developed countries (Dang and Rogers, 2008; Buchmann et al, 2010).

This claim appears to be confirmed by other educational experts and academics who pointed out that there is a need for further research in order to collect relevant data and analyse the potential effects of private tuition (Hallak and Poisson, 2007; Choi, 2011). Therefore, in the framework of the present thesis, I conducted further research of a qualitative nature in order to expand knowledge about parental perceptions of private tuition taking place in Kenya and Mauritius, where the incidence appeared to be the highest in region (see Table 1 Appendix 7). In addition, from a UNESCO Education for All perspective, I found it critical to shed some light on the implications that private tuition might have on the achievement of EFA's overarching objective which seeks to deliver education of good quality to all pupils on the African continent.

3.2 Considerations of my place of work: SACMEQ at the IIEP- UNESCO

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) was created in 1963 as an integral part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). IIEP's mission is to "assist UNESCO Member States by strengthening their capacities to plan and manage their

education systems in order to help them to achieve their goals in a sustainable manner” (IIEP, 2008, p.7). As a specialist institute focused on educational planning, the IIEP fits within the priorities of UNESCO which, in turn, is the United Nations’ lead agency for the achievement of Education for All (EFA) that supports the overarching objective of providing a high quality education for all the world’s children (IIEP, 2008).

In response to UNESCO’s central role in EFA, the IIEP worked with a consortium of African ministries to create and develop SACMEQ. This consortium began as a small experimental research project which was carried out in 1995 in one African country; it then gradually expanded into a formal inter-governmental organization that designs and conducts research across fourteen countries in the Southern and Eastern Africa region. The IIEP has accompanied SACMEQ’s important developments by moving its support for SACMEQ through three phases. First, it began from an ‘initiator role’ in the planning and implementation of an IIEP research project in one country. Then the IIEP adopted the ‘facilitator role’ in which it used the research findings as important tools for training researchers and educational planners and integrated these into a network of neighbouring countries. Finally, the IIEP became an ‘external friend’ to SACMEQ because it provided support and guidance in terms of research activities following the directions that the network of countries had selected in response to their own objectives and requests (Ross, 2006).

At the time when I started work on SACMEQ, the IIEP was moving from its role as a facilitator towards the role of an external friend of SACMEQ. For this reason, as an IIEP employee, the majority of my responsibilities and tasks consisted of providing the necessary technical and logistical support so that the SACMEQ research programme could conduct its activities successfully.

3.3 Conceptual framework

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) offers a foundation for building context into the research model at the levels of both theory and empirical work. He refers to this particular scientific perspective as the 'ecology of human development'. In his view, the concept of human development is defined as a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with their ecological environment. What I found particularly relevant about his research approach was his conception of ecological environment which is explained as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls. Interestingly, this idea of nested structures appears to stimulate investigation aimed at revealing different views of the forces influencing the development of human beings in the environments in which they live.

Following Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical perspective for research, the ecological environment is conceived as extending beyond the immediate situation directly affecting the child (or developing person). In this way, Bronfenbrenner observes that the structure of the ecological environment is based on four different levels nested within each other: (a) the micro-system

is the child's innermost level and is represented by his or her immediate surroundings or settings such as school or home; (b) The mesosystem is formed by the interrelations among two or more settings in which the child actively participates (for example, relations among the child's home, school and neighbourhood); (c) the exosystem refers to one or more settings that do not involve the child as an active participant. However, events taking place in these settings might affect or be affected by the setting in which the child participates actively. Examples of exosystems might include the parents' place of work, another school class, or activities of the local school board. In addition, (e) the fourth level or macrosystem is viewed as a manifestation of overarching patterns of ideology and organisation of social institutions common to a particular culture. These 'patterns' might be reflected in the vision of a society's political leaders, social planners, or social scientists.

Following an ecological perspective which expands along a continuum from the micro to the meso, and macro levels, Lee, Park and Lee (2009) investigated the phenomenon of private tuition in different parts of world. Borrowing Bronfenbrenner's idea of nested structures, these authors analysed factors of private tuition at three levels: (a) the micro level which described individual factors that motivate students to participate in private tuition; (b) the meso level which included the examination of factors and characteristics of a school system, and (c) the macro level which included factors outside of the education system that represented an institutional point of view.

Similarly, Mischo (2014) borrowed Bronfenbrenner's theory and analysed the phenomenon of private tutoring in terms of systems describing different levels of interpretation. In this way, Mischo's idea of the microsystem of extra lessons comprised not only the school context but also the student's family, including parental educational objectives and beliefs following their socio-economic and intellectual backgrounds. In contrast to Lee, Park and Lee (2009), who viewed the school system as the mesosystem, Mischo (2014) interpreted the mesosystem as the interactions of the student's extra lessons and his or her family. In addition, the macrosystem was viewed as the social beliefs about education, education policy and learning.

Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological environment applied to the phenomenon of private tuition and put forward different perspectives through which private tuition can be further analysed and interpreted. Similarly, and following the framework of the present thesis, I found that the employment of Bronfenbrenner's theory could be justified for the following reasons:

- (a) My professional background as a researcher working for an international organisation which seeks to enhance people's lives and influence different societies and cultures through the implementation of worldwide initiatives – such as EFA – supported a 'macro level' point of view through which patterns of ideology concerning human rights might be examined.

- (b) Similarly, my professional experience consisting of supporting the implementation of national surveys (SACMEQ studies) aimed at monitoring quality of education and the functioning of national educational systems clearly supports reflection on characteristics of the system itself from an institutional or 'meso level' perspective.
- (c) Finally, the need to provide a response to the research aim of this thesis requires me to understand what motivates pupils' parents to provide private tuition to their children. Therefore, parents' motivations, including their perceptions, aspirations and beliefs, clearly relate to an individual or 'micro level' point of view which, in turn, includes the child's home and school experience.

For this reason, the conceptual framework that guides this thesis is inspired by a three-level 'ecological' perspective and follows the specific educational situation taking place in Kenya and Mauritius which was discussed in the literature review. This educational situation could be analysed at the following levels: (a) the macro level which is represented by the EFA global initiative, (b) the meso level in which EFA goals are reflected in the national educational policies promoting quality and equal opportunities for all pupils, even though inconsistencies and tensions present in the school system appear to feed the demand for private tuition, and (c) the micro level represented by individual school experiences in which the phenomenon of private tuition emerges as a regular (and parallel) educational practice taking place inside schools.

The diagram presented below illustrates the conceptual framework of this thesis and includes three levels of discussion and understanding: (a) the macro level, represented by goals 2 and 3 highlighting the principles of quality and equality in education, (b) the meso level, illustrating national educational systems in which EFA goals appear at the heart of educational policies alongside the phenomenon of private tuition which is delivered on a large scale; and (c) the micro level, in which the point of view of pupils' parents was studied in their interaction with both the orange circle representing mainstream education – which is expected to provide free education of good quality to all children (EFA) - and the blue circle (located inside the orange 'mainstream' circle) representing the phenomenon of private tuition. At this point it is important to note that, unlike other modalities of private tuition present in other parts of the world, what appears to be particularly interesting in these two countries is the fact that private tuition not only reproduces mainstream education but it also operates inside of it. In other words, in these two countries evidence has shown that paid extra lessons were part of the pupils' microsystem because these were delivered by mainstream school teachers in pupils' classrooms.

The parental perspective appears to be particularly interesting because parents interact actively with both mainstream fee-free education and parallel paid extra tuition. Therefore, the same parents who send their children to a public school, so that they can receive and participate in the mainstream fee-free education system, appear to support their children's access to extra lessons through the payment of extra-curricular fees. In terms of equality in

the provision of basic education, this parental dual interaction with the official (mainstream) and parallel (private tuition) systems appears to be problematic. This is because very little is known about the drivers behind the phenomenon of private tuition, the impact of this phenomenon vis-à-vis the provision of universal primary education, and parental motivations justifying their simultaneous support of both forms of education. In this respect, the focus of my thesis is placed on the knowledge gap pointed out in the literature review which takes into consideration parental perspectives (the micro level in the diagram) and the potential tensions underpinning the notion of educational equality (the meso and macro levels) which, in turn, require further analysis and discussion.

Diagram 1: Conceptual framework

MACRO LEVEL

At an international level, Education For All (EFA) represents a global movement led by UNESCO aiming to meet the learning needs of all children. Emphasis on equality and quality was clearly stated in Goals 2 and 6 of EFA (UNESCO, 2003):

Goal 2: Ensuring that by 2015 **all children**, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, **have access to and complete free and compulsory education of good quality**.

Goal 6: **Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence for all** so that recognised and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential skills.

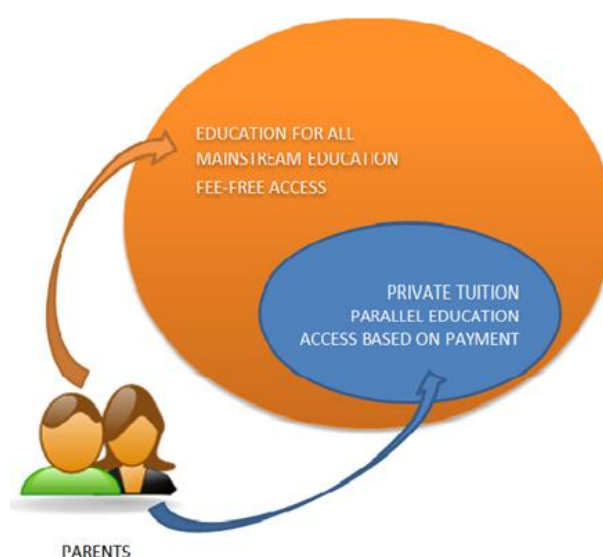
MESO LEVEL

At a national education system level, Ministries of Education from African countries such as Kenya and Mauritius included these EFA goals in their national educational policies (Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, 2009; Mauritian College, 2006)

At the same time, the massive delivery of private tuition (74.6 % in Mauritius and 44.3 % in Kenya) revealed an unofficial and parallel form of schooling.

At a school level, parents support both mainstream education (EFA) and provision of paid extra school support (unofficial system inside mainstream education) as is illustrated in the diagram below:

MICRO LEVEL



3.4 Aims and focus

The research aim supporting my thesis is as follows:

“What are the implications of private tuition in relation to the equal provision of primary education of good quality to all pupils (EFA initiative) in Kenya and Mauritius?”

In order to address this aim, I generated and analysed evidence with the aim of responding to the following seven research questions (RQs):

RQ 1: What are the main features of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius?

RQ 2: What are the driving forces supporting its prevalence?

RQ 3: What are the positive and negative aspects?

RQ 4: What do parents believe about the importance of ability, effort and self-discipline in academic achievement?

RQ 5: What do parents think about the quality of education delivered at elementary school level?

RQ 6: What do parents expect for their children and what does it take to achieve parents' expectations?

RQ 7: What do parents think about the idea of equality in the provision of private tuition?

3.5 Research questions

In order to have a clear idea of this educational phenomenon taking place in Kenya and Mauritius, it is important to extend knowledge in this area by first defining the main features of these paid extra lessons in English, mathematics and science in terms of: (a) their modalities: where they take place, type of tutor that delivers these lessons, the number of pupils that take extra lessons with the same tutor, their frequency and intensity, (b) the 'clients' profile in terms of pupils' gender, their socio-economic levels, and parents' level of education, and c) the reasons that support taking private tuition (including pupils' own perceptions of these extra lessons, the identification of people or individuals that encourage pupils to take them, as well as the personal or academic reasons that support their decision. Therefore, through analyses of the SACMEQ III data – which included responses given by 4436 pupils in Kenya and 3524 pupils in Mauritius to questionnaire items, a clear description of the way in which this phenomenon operates in Kenya and Mauritius was elaborated.

The second question intended to capture parents' perceptions of the socio-cultural reasons that might support the existence of this phenomenon. Thus I found it relevant to investigate the potential reasons that might 'push' consumers (pupils' parents) to invest in supplementary lessons for their children (Bray, 1999). Following Dindyal and Besoondyal's (2007) previous research, it would appear that in Mauritius, parents force their children to take private tuition because they want their children to obtain better school results.

For this reason, I found it crucial to gather information from parents whose children are in the last phase of the primary school, in order to better understand what they actually expect in terms of the potential effects of these paid lessons on their children's academic life or employment opportunities.

The third question sought to identify positive and negative aspects related to this phenomenon. Some academics have argued that these extra lessons present different positive implications which appear to be beneficial to the country (Hang and Rogers, 2008). However, I think that private tuition should be analysed from a different perspective that is capable of revealing individual beliefs, values and experiences which, in turn, might be related to specificities of African socio-cultural and economic contexts.

The fourth question was based on claims made by researchers that parental beliefs about learning and educational achievement could play an important role in the provision of paid extra support for their children (Ireson and Rushforth, 2012). For this reason, I examined the extent to which parents in Kenya and Mauritius believed that their children's hard work might increase their ability and improve their academic outcomes.

The fifth and sixth questions intended to capture parents' perceptions concerning the quality of education delivered at school and their linkages with paid extra lessons (Foondun, 2002). Wanyama and Njeru (2004) claimed that the provision of paid extra lessons emerges as a result of the fact that compulsory education fails to meet people's educational needs and

expectations. Therefore, I found that it was important to investigate what parents thought about educational quality and what they expected from their children's education in terms of future academic and working opportunities.

Concerning the last question, my idea was to explore parents' notion of equality in terms of providing extra school support to all children. It has been claimed that in Mauritius there is intensive academic competition to obtain the best possible marks (Foondun, 1992; 2002). Similarly, in Kenya it has been stated that parents view paid extra lessons as an effective way of boosting their children's school performance (Onsomu, Nzomo and Obiero, 2005). For this reason, I found it critical to deepen this analysis and confirm to what extent the idea of equality might be reflected in parents' beliefs and perceptions.

3.6 Design of the study

Multi-method approach

The choice of method follows from the research questions. Since my intention was to prioritise the importance of the research question over a paradigm, I used an approach that compiles all the relevant data from various data streams such as questionnaires, tests, interviews and observations (Cohen et al, 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). This pragmatic approach is also referred to as a 'mixed method approach' because it requires the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). In this regard, I find it relevant to highlight Gorard's (2004) point when

he states that the supposed distinction between qualitative and quantitative evidence makes reference to distinct methods of analysis rather than distinct paradigms. He goes further by claiming that “all methods of analysis use some form of number such as ‘tend, most, some, few and so on” and that “words can be counted and numbers can be descriptive. Patterns are, by definition, numbers and the things that are numbered are qualities” (Gorard, 2004, p.6). Following Gorard’s view, I implemented a mixed method approach and organised the data analyses by each research question in order to give a response to the specific research concerns presented in my thesis. Therefore, some research questions were answered using data collected with quantitative methods while other questions were answered using qualitative methods and, in some cases, a combination of both methods was the most appropriate. In this way, my intention was to make use of different forms of data and put them together in order to present a more coherent, rational and rigorous piece of work (Gorard, 2004).

From another point of view, I find it important to emphasize that another reason that justified my choice of methods is based on the different perspectives or levels through which I wished to study evidence. In the case of the SACMEQ study, it is important to stress that its objective as a survey study was to seek large-scale and unbiased data capable of generalising findings supported by large data banks and degrees of confidence (Cohen et al, 2007). Through this method it is possible to identify and analyse evidence at a national and education system level which, in turn, represents the ‘meso’ level of my conceptual framework. Following this idea of levels, I analysed

and discussed factors at a 'micro' level through the collection of information aimed at understanding individuals' reasons that supported the prevalence of the private tuition phenomenon.

In concrete terms, I combined survey data with interviews which, in turn, enabled me to gather information of a different nature. In this way, I conducted a 'two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining (a) relevant information and key features of the life worlds of the participants, (b) descriptions of specific situations and actions and (c) perceptions capable of revealing the nuanced particularities of the life worlds of the participants (Cohen et al, 2007). In other words, through SACMEQ III data, I examined the general characteristics of private tuition viewed at a national level, while through interviews I could analyse individual experiences that enabled me to capture the 'colour and flavour' of private tuition from a micro level perspective.

Following this discussion on methodological issues, the present research study focusses on two distinct phases. The first phase includes secondary analyses of survey data generated by the SACMEQ III (2007) study. In this way, I provided a detailed description of the coverage, nature and modalities of private tuition – which I defined as “paid extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours” – taking place in Kenya and Mauritius.

It might, however, be argued that the main weakness of the SAMCEQ III data is based on its age because the SACMEQ III study was conducted in 2007

nearly six years prior to the research interviews conducted for this thesis. However, it is important to note that this was the most recent available data because usually it takes two years to design a SACMEQ study across 15 African education systems based on scientific samples of schools, teachers, and pupils. In addition, it takes further two years to score and aggregate the data. As a result of this lengthy process, most countries have not yet published the findings from their study. At the same time, it is critical to note that very few surveys have been conducted on this topic and, therefore, the SACMEQ data could be considered as the most 'up-to-date' evidence gathered in this part of the world.

The second phase is based on research aiming at capturing individuals' perceptions. Information gathered from pupils' parents was analysed and interpreted with the purpose of understanding individual reactions to the phenomenon of private tuition. In other words, the idea was to capture a range of perceptions from parents who offered private tuition to their children. This idea follows claims made by Buchmann (2000) who conducted a research study in Kenya and found that gathering data on parents' perceptions, beliefs and values was central to theoretical discussions of parents' educational decisions such as the provision of private tuition.

As explained earlier, through the combination of the SACMEQ survey data and parental interviews, my objective was to view private tuition from a three-level perspective which includes a macro, a meso and a micro level. At the same time, my thesis comprises a descriptive and chronological review of

literature on the theoretical aspects concerning educational policy relating to issues of educational equality and private tuition.

Samples

(a) SACMEQ survey

All sample designs applied in SACMEQ projects were selected in order to meet the standards set down by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (see Ross, 1991). The sample designs employed in the SACMEQ III study followed the scientific sampling procedures described by Ross and Rust (1997). These standards required simple estimates of important pupil population parameters to have a sampling accuracy that was at least equivalent to a simple random sample of 400 pupils, which was considered to guarantee 95 percent confidence limits. Through these procedures, schools were selected with probability proportional to the size of the defined target population and then a simple random sample of 20 pupils was selected in each sample school (Wasanga et al, 2012). Sampling weights were applied in order to compensate for different probabilities of selection and also to account for losses of data due to non-response. The sampling error for each statistic was calculated using the specialised software that applies the Jackknife error estimation procedure. This approach made appropriate adjustments to statistical and clustering effects associated with data. In addition significance tests were applied when necessary. The difference between two means ($X_1 - X_2$) was significant at the 95% confidence level when the difference exceeded two times the standard

error (SE) of the difference of these means. In other words, the difference in the means was considered significant when it was greater than twice SE ($X_1 - X_2$).

The desired target population for the SACMEQ Studies was focused on “all pupils at Standard 6 level in 2007 at the first week of the eighth month of the school year who were attending registered mainstream primary schools” (Kulpoo, 1998, p. 9; Kulpoo and Soonarane, 2005, p.48; Wasanga et al, 2012, p.13). The use of the word ‘mainstream’ in the definition of the desired target population indicated that schools for children with special needs had to be excluded from the data collection. Similarly, a decision was taken to exclude small schools based on the fact that they had fewer than 20 pupils attending Standard 6 (Kulpoo and Soonarane, 2005; Wasanga et al, 2012). In this way, the ‘defined target population’ was constructed by removing the ‘excluded target population’ from the ‘desired target population’. Following these sampling procedures, in Kenya 4,436 Standard 6 pupils participated in the SACMEQ III study showing a response rate of 91 percent (Wasanga et al, 2012). Similarly, in Mauritius 3,524 Standard 6 pupils participated in this international survey study where the response rate was 89 percent (Ross and Saito, in press).

It is important to consider that while the emphasis was placed on pupils, SACMEQ projects also included collecting data from teachers and school principals in order to describe estimates relating to these important actors

and to pupils' conditions of schooling (see Table 1 below). The choice to collect data from Standard 6 pupils was based on the idea that the sixth year of primary school was identified as a point near the end of primary school level. It is important to note that in some countries, such as Mauritius, the sixth year of primary school represents the last year of the primary school level, whereas in other countries, such as Kenya, the sixth year of schooling represents the last phase of primary schooling, as pupils in Kenya finish the primary school level at the end of Standard 8. For this reason, it was considered that Standard 6 was suitable for making an assessment of the quality of education in terms of pupils' literacy and numeracy levels after receiving nearly six years of basic education (Wasanga et al, 2012).

Table 1 SACMEQ III (2007) survey study

| | Grade 6 Pupils | Teachers | Schools |
|-----------|----------------|----------|---------|
| Kenya | 4436 | 733 | 193 |
| Mauritius | 3524 | 408 | 152 |

(b) Interviews

i. Why parents?

As discussed earlier (see Section 2.3.3), I found that in order to better understand the implications of private tuition, special attention should be given to the role of pupils' parents. This assumption is based on findings from other studies conducted in developed countries which acknowledged the importance of the parental role in finding a tutor and making the financial and logistical arrangements in order to ensure pupils' extra academic support (Ireson, 2004; Lee, Park and Lee, 2009). Following the evidence gathered, it

would seem that educational arrangements such as private tuition could be considered as one of the many ways in which parents manifest their involvement in their children's school life (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997; Redding, 2000; Davies, 2004; Heyneman, 2011).

In the context of this thesis, my objective was to prioritise parents' points of view in order to better understand their perceptions, beliefs and aspirations and reflect on the reasons that might support their educational choices in terms of private tuition. In this way, I analysed and discussed the extent to which a massive inclination towards private tuition on the parents' part might exacerbate social inequalities (Aslam and Mansoor, 2011; Heyneman, 2011) and the extent to which these social inequalities might represent a challenge to pupils' educational experience.

ii. Sampling

The sample size responded to the idea that individualised qualitative analysis requires a more in-depth study of fewer cases. Therefore, in order to capture indications of individual perceptions of parents from different socio-economic backgrounds, I started by identifying six schools from each country that had participated in the SACMEQ III Study. Since my intention was to examine the implications of the high incidence of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius, I collected data from schools in which at least one in two pupils received private tuition. In this way, through the identification of schools serving communities from three different socio-economic characteristics, I expected

to evaluate social inequalities reflected at the school level which, in turn, might indicate linkages with the phenomenon of private tuition.

Therefore, the selected schools were: a) government (public) schools, b) those that presented a high incidence of paid extra lessons at the school level (indicated by at least 50 percent of the pupils participating in the SACMEQ III Study) and c) those that served two communities from low socioeconomic backgrounds, two communities from average socio-economic backgrounds and two communities from higher socio-economic backgrounds including urban and rural areas. Through the SACMEQ database, I could use the corresponding variables to identify six public schools showing high percentages of pupils receiving paid extra lessons from different socio-economic backgrounds.

Linked to the sample size designed for interviewing parents, it is important to note that unlike the SACMEQ survey data which covered a national unbiased (and representative) sample of Standard 6 pupils (Ross and Saito, in press), the number of parents participating in these interviews (30 parents from Kenya and 30 parents from Mauritius) implied that this was small-scale research with low statistical confidence (Drever, 1995). Therefore, parental interviews were not expected to reveal universal truths. On the contrary, my intention was to obtain sound information and understanding about the context in which the phenomenon of private tuition was taking place, viewed from the perspective of a small group of individuals. In this way, through interviews my intention was to understand parental choices through the

meanings and interpretations that a group of parents gave to their own behaviours and choices (Liamputtong, 2010).

Concerning the choice of respondents, I sought support from my SACMEQ colleagues in Kenya and Mauritius and school principals from each school, in order to identify thirty individuals representing a purposive sample of pupils' parents capable of responding to specific criteria (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). This sample consisted of a) parents who provided extra school support to at least one of their children during the school year, and b) parents whose child was attending Standard 6 in the case of Mauritius (which represented the last year of primary schooling), and Standard 6, 7 or 8 in the case of Kenya (which represented the last phase of the primary school level). Following this procedure, I collected information from 30 parents in each country (See Table 2 below).

Table 2 Information from Kenyan and Mauritian parents participating in interviews

| Kenya | | | | | Mauritius | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| School ID | School SES | Parent ID | Child's grade | Child's sex | School ID | School SES | Parent ID | Child's grade | Child's sex |
| 101 | Higher | 10101 | ---- | ---- | 201 | Low | 20101 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10102 | 6 | boy | | | 20102 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10103 | ---- | ---- | | | 20103 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10104 | 6 | girl | | | 20104 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10105 | 6 | boy | | | 20105 | 6 | boy |
| 102 | Higher | 10206 | 6 | boy | 202 | Higher | 20206 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10207 | 8 | girl | | | 20207 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10208 | 6 | boy | | | 20208 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10209 | 8 | girl | | | 20209 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10210 | 8 | boy | | | 20210 | 6 | boy |
| 103 | Lower | 10311 | 6 | girl | 203 | Lower | 20311 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10312 | 8 | girl | | | 20312 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10313 | 6 | girl | | | 20313 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10314 | 7 | boy | | | 20314 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10315 | 7 | boy | | | 20315 | 6 | boy |
| 104 | Average | 10416 | 8 | girl | 204 | Average | 20416 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10417 | 7 | girl | | | 20417 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10418 | 7 | boy | | | 20418 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10419 | 8 | girl | | | 20419 | 6 | girl |
| | | 10420 | 7 | boy | | | 20420 | 6 | girl |
| 105 | Average | 10521 | 7 | girl | 205 | Higher | 20521 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10522 | 8 | boy | | | 20522 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10523 | 7 | girl | | | 20523 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10524 | 6 | girl | | | 20524 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10525 | 7 | boy | | | 20525 | 6 | boy |
| 106 | Lower | 10626 | 7 | boy | 206 | Average | 20626 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10627 | 8 | boy | | | 20627 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10628 | 8 | girl | | | 20628 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10629 | 8 | girl | | | 20629 | 6 | boy |
| | | 10630 | 7 | girl | | | 20630 | 6 | boy |

It is important to point out that in the case of Kenya, there were two parents who declared that they were not providing extra lessons to their children although they appeared to know all kinds of details concerning pupils' extra school support. For this reason, I decided to exclude data from these two parents who refused to recognise that they were supporting this educational practice. Their ambiguous attitude could be explained by the tensions taking place at the time at which the data was collected. This tension was the result of a strong confrontation between schools and the Ministry of Education who officially prohibited the delivery of private tuition in primary schools at weekends and during school holidays. Ultimately, this confrontation led to a national teachers' strike which delayed the onset of the 2012-2013 academic

year (Daily Nation, 2012c; d; e; Otieno, 2012). At the time when I interviewed parents in Kenya, the issue of private tuition was still very sensitive in certain schools. This particular situation led me to believe that those two parents were trying to avoid putting their children's school in a delicate position which revealed that they were acting against official ministry policies.

Measures

(i) Survey

The SACMEQ data used in the framework of this thesis included questionnaires responded to by Standard 6 pupils, their teachers and school principals. However, in the context of my thesis, particular attention was given to the pupil questionnaire items dedicated to the issue of private tuition on which I had worked as SACMEQ focal point (See Annex B: Pupil Questionnaire items on extra lessons). In addition, I did some analyses concerning pupils' competency levels in mathematics and reading. Regarding the quality of SACMEQ III achievement measures, it is important to note that a meeting of National Research Co-ordinators was held in Cape Town, South Africa in December 2005 with the purpose of guiding the construction of data collection instruments. The SACMEQ III study included assessment of HIV knowledge, reading and mathematics performance levels for both pupils and teachers. The meeting consisted of two parallel working groups that focussed on test and questionnaire construction. The test construction group completed comprehensive analysis of the official curricula, school syllabi, textbooks and examinations that were used in the SACMEQ countries. The questionnaire group concentrated on using Dummy Tables to guide the construction of

questionnaires for pupils, teachers, and school heads. By the end of this meeting, data collection instruments such as Pupil Reading and Mathematics Tests, Pupil Questionnaire (including questionnaire items on private tuition) were drafted. After the Cape Town meeting, work continued at the IIEP and within the SACMEQ countries to finalise the overall SACMEQ III Project design and to complete the trial versions of the data collection instruments and manuals. In this way, a 'Small-Scale Trial Testing' of instruments and manuals was undertaken in August 2006 in Botswana in order to trial the draft collection manuals. The data gathered during this exercise were entered into computers by NRCs and then analysed to provide information about the quality of the data collection instruments and field procedures. On the basis of these analyses, further improvements were made to tests, questionnaires and manuals.

(ii) Interviews

Parents' perceptions were gathered through interviews (see Annex C: Parents' Interview Schedule). The main aim of the parents' interview was to provide an answer to the seven research questions underpinning this thesis. In other words, I designed interview items in order to capture information concerning (a) the main features of private tuition, (b) its driving forces, (c) its positive and negative aspects, (d) parents' beliefs about the ideas of ability, effort and self-discipline, (e) parents' thoughts about the quality of education, (f) their expectations for their children's future, and (g) their idea of equality in the provision of private tuition. In order to collect relevant information capable of responding to the research questions, I paid particular attention to what

Wengraf (2001) calls the gap between the 'theoretical level' of theory language and concepts, and the 'empirical level' of evidence interviews. In other words, there is an important distinction between the theory language in my research questions underpinning my thesis and the interview-language used during interviews with pupils' parents. A clear example is the use of the term 'equality' in education. In the context of this thesis, I explained that the employment of this word is linked to a worldwide international initiative which supports access to education of good quality to the entire population of children in a given country. The implications of the concept 'equality' might be very different for pupils' parents who might not be familiar with international educational policies, and therefore might misinterpret the term equality by collapsing it with the notion of equity (Unterhalter, 2009).

For this reason, I dedicated the necessary time to designing interview questions using a style of speech more accessible and easy to understand by any adult person who wished to talk about their child's schooling. As a first step, I 'translated' the research questions into interview questions and I ran a pilot experience with people from Kenya and Mauritius. This proved to be a crucial step because, thanks to this pilot experience, I was able to identify the difficulties that the respondent might have in understanding my questions, and in forming what Oppenheim (1996) calls the 'inner picture' of respondents' own answers or reactions. Therefore, piloting my interview enabled me to verify whether or not my questions could capture an outline of the noticeable characteristics of a given context and its general positive or negative direction (Oppenheim, 1996). Similarly, this experience enabled me

to verify whether my questions fulfilled the key objective of my study, which aimed at identifying the presence or absence of specific parental beliefs regarding pupils' education.

In this way, as a first step, I followed Drever's suggestions (2006) and produced an interview schedule containing my interview questions and discussed each question with some colleagues with the objective of verifying whether (a) the language used was appropriate, (b) the wording was clear and explicit, and (c) the questions were not leading my respondents to a particular answer. In this regard, I was particularly careful about the choice of terms and avoided using terms such as 'private tuition' because I knew that it was likely to create discomfort on the part of respondents. As discussed earlier, the term 'private tuition' appeared often in the Kenyan and Mauritian press and it was considered as a banned education practice, although most parents were in favour of it. For this reason I used the term 'extra academic support' and provided clear instructions to data collectors so that they explained to each respondent that 'extra academic support' made reference to paid lessons which were (a) based on subjects such as mathematics, English or science and (b) delivered outside school hours, at school, by school teachers.

In this light, I tested my interview items with colleagues from Kenya and Mauritius who were not familiar with my research. This also gave me the opportunity to rehearse my skills as an interviewer. Experts on social research and interviewing such as Drever (1995), Oppenheim (1996), and

Wengraf (2001) strongly recommend conducting a pilot study before working on the main research study. I found that, although the preparation and test of instruments took quite some time, and this might be regarded as redundant, thanks to my pilot experience I was able to identify the weak points of my interview questions, the possible obstacles in the procedure chosen to collect data and my own limitations as an interviewer. In Table 3 the final version of my interview questions, and how they fit the aims of my research questions, were presented.

Table 3: Formulation of Interview questions aimed at responding research questions

| Research questions | Interview questions |
|--|--|
| RQ 1: What are the main features of private tuition? | (Responded with SACMEQ data) IQ2. What is the sex of your child? IQ3. What type of extra academic support does your child take? IQ4. How long has your child been taking extra support? IQ7. Who recommends that your child take extra academic support? IQ8. When do you think that your child will stop taking extra academic support? IQ11. Can you remember the cost of this extra academic support? If not, how much do you think that it might cost per month approximately? |
| RQ 2: What are the driving forces supporting its prevalence? | IQ5. What are the main reasons for taking extra academic support? (also to be combined with SAMCEQ data) |
| RQ 3: What are the positive and negative aspects? | IQ9. What can you say about the positive aspects of taking extra academic support? IQ10. Are there any negative aspects of this extra academic support? If yes, which are they? (also to be combined with SAMCEQ data) |
| RQ 4: What do parents believe about the importance of ability, effort and self-discipline in academic achievement? | IQ6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? |
| RQ 5: What do parents think about the quality of education delivered at the elementary school level? | IQ12. In general terms, what do you think about the quality of education delivered at school in terms of preparing your child for secondary school? |
| RQ 6: What do parents expect for their children and what does it take to achieve parents' expectations? | IQ14. What do you think will be the highest level of education achieved by your child? IQ15. What do you think will be your child's job/occupation when he/she completes his/her education? IQ16. Do think that extra academic support will help your child gain a better education and have better employment prospects? Why do you believe this? |
| RQ 7: What do parents think about the idea of equality in the provision of private tuition? | IQ13. Do think that all children should receive extra academic support? Why do you think this? |

The interview included both open and closed questions. However, several interview items were deliberately worded in an open-ended format with the purpose of encouraging parents to express their own views and perceptions (IQs 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16). In some cases, their open responses

were recorded by the data collector, while in other cases data collectors wrote down parents' answers. In both cases the interview was administered in person so that the data collector was able to record parents' responses and follow up their reactions with probes. In this respect, some items of the parents' interview were similar to a face-to-face interview, while other items of the interview were presented in a multiple-choice form (IQs1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8) in which the parent had to indicate to the data collector the answer that best reflected his or her ideas and perceptions.

Piloting my research proved to be an extremely useful experience because it helped me to give the interview a trial-run and obtain important information about how respondents interpreted my questions (Drever, 1995). In this way, I could verify the validity of my questions or as Oppenheim (1996, p.145) states "whether the question measures what it is supposed to measure". The experience gained from piloting was used to finalise my interview schedule (See Annex D – Notes for Data Collectors) and provide clear instructions about the administration of each item.

Cross-cultural research

The traditional assumption that emphasises that the researcher should remain distant from the research participants and social context in order to maintain objectivity in the research process has been contested by academics who claim that the researcher's self affects every aspect of the research process from its conception to final interpretation. Therefore, closer

attention should be given to the researcher's role (Schoorman and Bogotch, 2010; Sherif, 2001; Sin, 2007).

This traditional assumption has been criticised because, in the past, researchers from Western countries would undertake their studies with the hope of interpreting what is in the 'inside' through the voices of local respondents. For this reason, local people would see Western researchers as "takers and users who exploit the generosity of native people" (Liamputtong, 2010, p.1). At the same time, the increasing presence of local or native researchers in academia has brought to light debates about insider versus outsider statuses of researchers (Liamputtong, 2010). These debates challenge the notions of 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' which are directly related to literature on cross-cultural research in which the 'other' tends to refer to the 'non-white' (Sin, 2007). Following this way of thinking, insiders are the members of a specified group or collectivity, and outsiders are the non-members (Merton, 1972). Building on Merton's conception of insiders and outsiders, Banks (1998) developed a typology of cross-cultural researchers or 'knowers' as they relate to race and ethnicity. In his typology there are four types of researchers: (i) the indigenous-insider, (ii) the indigenous-outsider, (iii) the external-insider and (iv) the external-outsider. As Tillman (2006) argues, Banks' typology can be useful in placing oneself in the research and reflecting on the question "who am I as a researcher?" (p.269) in relation to my respondents and their community. Therefore, according to Banks' typology, I appeared to play the role of the external-outsider who, to my dismay, was viewed as the most dangerous kind of researcher. In this

typology, Banks (1998) describes the external-outsider as a researcher who considers the studied community as the 'other' and whose main characteristics are the following: (a) an academic socialised within a community different from the one in which he or she is doing research, (b) someone who has a partial understanding of and little appreciation of the values, points of view and knowledge of the community he or she is studying. He has also claimed that due to the researcher's lack of empathy with the members of the studied community, this person often misunderstands the behaviours within the community and distorts evidence by comparing the community's behaviours with outsider behaviours and values. As a result, the external-outsider researcher ends up presenting the studied community as deviant, (c) the external-outsider researcher believes that he or she is the best and most legitimate researcher to examine and report findings from the studied community because he or she has a more objective view of the community than researchers who live within that community. In addition, Banks considers that (d) external-outsider researchers are likely to contribute to the disempowerment and oppression of the studied community because the findings obtained from his or her research might be used by policy-makers to justify marginalised positions of the indigenous people in the studied community. Also, with regard to ethical issues, Banks' assumptions about the role of external-outsider researchers raise important ethical problems about the researcher and the community that he or she studies (Banks, 1998; Liamputtong, 2010).

Although I find that Bank's typology proves to be relevant and useful because it enabled me to reflect on my role as an external-outsider researcher, I disagree with most of his assumptions for the following reasons: (a) Being an academic socialised within a community different from the community in which I am undertaking research does not necessarily imply a disadvantage compared to another academic socialised in the same community where he or she intends to undertake research (Chen, 2011). Experience from indigenous-insider researchers has demonstrated that even as a native, the researcher might find himself or herself in an ambiguous situation in which they might be seen as insiders, outsiders or partial insiders by the participants (Sherif, 2001; Chawla, 2006). For this reason, it has been claimed that, depending on the context of the research, it is likely that researchers adopt multiple forms of social relations and therefore become both insiders and outsiders (Merton, 1972; Fawcett and Hearn, 2004; Tillman, 2006). As Chawla (2006, p.2) clearly points out "whether 'native' or 'other', we are all 'another' in the field because there will always be facets of ourselves that connect with people we study and other facets that emphasize our difference". During the data collection phase in Kenya, I was able to confirm Chawla's (2006) claims and experienced this feeling of being 'inside' in the sense that as a mother of a primary school boy I could 'connect' with other mothers having the same concerns as me regarding their children's school life. Similarly, as a white woman coming from Europe I could also experience the feeling of being 'outside' of my participants' social context.

However, on the positive side, it is important to note that being an outsider-external researcher could be considered as an advantage because his or her

perspective tends to point to problems or issues that might be ignored by insider researchers who, in turn, might consider these issues to be too obvious or commonplace to deserve attention (Banks, 1998; Sin, 2007). Elaborating on the role of outsider researcher, Merton (1972) argues that this person is considered as a 'stranger' which puts him or her in a position where he or she is not caught up with commitments to the group studied. This particular situation appears to explain why the outsider researcher is able to study social institutions and cultures with detachment and objectivity. Nevertheless, what I find particularly valuable in these claims is the fact that both insider and outsider researchers have their distinctive strengths and weaknesses. Yet both perspectives are necessary to increase the chances for a sound and relevant interpretation of a given phenomenon (Merton, 1972; Banks, 1998; Liamputtong, 2010).

(b) Although it is true that as an external-outsider researcher I might have a partial understanding of my respondents' points of view, this does not mean that I do not appreciate or value their different perspectives. On the contrary, my intention to conduct research for the present thesis was to adopt an approach reflecting a culturally sensitive perspective. The aim of this perspective is to take into consideration the complexity of my respondents' culture and acknowledge their varied historical and contemporary representations (Tillman, 2006). In order to achieve this objective, I followed Banks' (1998) suggestions and associated with local (indigenous or native) research assistants who helped me to gather information and put forward an 'insider' interpretation of my research findings. For this reason, I worked

together with a group of local researchers in Kenya and Mauritius who assisted me in the data collection and interpretation phases of my research study. Linked to Banks' idea, which considers external-outsider researchers as arrogant people who display their ignorance and indifference towards 'insider' perspectives, is the idea that this type of researcher also considers himself or herself as the most legitimate researcher to report findings of a given community. In this respect, I find that Banks' point deserves further reflection and discussion.

As an external-outsider researcher, I do not consider myself as a more 'legitimate' or 'objective' researcher compared to a Kenyan or Mauritian researcher. On the contrary, I am conscious of my limitations in terms of lack of understanding and knowledge regarding the school communities that I studied. However, I am one of the few people in the research SACMEQ and academic communities who, to my knowledge, suggested the conduct of further research on private tuition in these two countries. At the same time, it is of paramount importance to note that before conducting this research study, I contacted the ministries of education of each country and sought their permission and support to conduct the present research project. In this way, the Kenyan and Mauritian ministries of education gave me official permission to undertake research activities in their schools and supported my research study through the implementation of logistical arrangements that enabled me to contact the school principals of each school and interview pupils' parents. Therefore, my legitimacy as a researcher was not the product of my good intentions, but the product of trust of local authorities and

SACMEQ colleagues who found that my initiative was worthwhile because it could contribute to a better understanding of what was going on in their own school communities. In addition, one of the main objectives of this research study was to provide a platform of knowledge concerning the phenomenon of private tuition and make it available to local stakeholders such as parents, teachers, school principals, and decision-makers so that they can promote understanding and a further debate of their different 'insider' perspectives.

With regard to Banks' point (d) on ethical issues, it seems evident that the implications of working as an external-outsider researcher should be treated with care. In his view (Banks, 1998), the external-outsider researcher is presented as a dangerous person capable of hurting the community's interests and values, and supporting policies that further marginalise the members of the studied community. I agree with Banks on the point that it is critical to reflect on the implications of cross-cultural research from an ethical perspective. This ethical perspective should be understood as a set of moral principles that aims to prevent research participants from being harmed by the researcher and the research process (Liamputtong, 2010). This explains why cross-cultural research across countries – as is the case in my thesis – raises key ethical questions that are different in degree, and perhaps in kind, from the questions raised in unicultural research projects (Robinson-Pant, 2005). Based on this reflection, it has been claimed that in a cross-cultural context, good educational research is a matter not only of sound procedures but also of beneficial aims and results. This idea includes thinking not only about what is 'good' but also what is good for the people participating in the

research study, taking into account the time in which research takes place and the participants' situation (Schoorman and Bogotch, 2010).

Thus taking these ethical principles into consideration, I believe that my research study is worthwhile because it can benefit my respondents by providing information on an educational situation that affects them as parents. This is linked to the fact that the phenomenon of private tuition has been gaining increasing attention and reflecting people's concern in the mass media (see: Youtube, 2013; L'express, 2013). Therefore, my objective is that respondents learn more about other parents' beliefs and values through relevant information which, in turn, can be used to support policy that takes into account their parental standpoints. For this reason, I found it crucial to put into practice the 'principle of reciprocity' (Liamputtong, 2010) by which my respondents will receive a report describing the main findings of my research in return for their time and valuable participation.

SACMEQ III data collection

For the main SACMEQ III Study, each National Research Coordinator (NRC) was required to organise at least three days of intensive training for the data collectors. During these training sessions, data collectors participated in a 'simulated' data collection exercise in which he/she acted as data collector and as pupils, teachers and school principals. The experiences gathered during these exercises were shared and discussed so that all data collectors understood the procedures to be completed at schools. Special attention was

focussed on ensuring that all data collections were conducted according to explicit steps so that the same verbal instructions were used for pupils, teachers and school principals in all sample schools in all countries for each aspect of the data collection. This was a very important point because the validity of cross-national comparisons depended on achieving carefully structured and standardised data collection environments.

Interview procedures

As a former researcher who worked on an ‘Observational Research Project’ based on the phenomenon of private tuition, the present research project for my thesis was conceived as a “SACMEQ Follow-up Research Study” which was supported by the SACMEQ Scientific Committee. This committee provides advice to the SACMEQ Director concerning a range of research issues. In 2012, the Chairperson of this committee recommended that it would be worthwhile to extend the SACMEQ III data collection in order to extend knowledge and better understand how and why pupils’ parents support this educational practice. For this reason, I prepared a proposal for a “SACMEQ III Follow-up Study” based on the collection of data gathered from parents whose pupils attend schools that participated in the SACMEQ III Study. Thanks to the recommendation letter produced by the SACMEQ Director, I was able to present my research project to the Ministries of Education of Kenya and Mauritius and obtain their support to undertake research activities in primary schools (see: SACMEQ recommendation letter and ministries’ approval letters, Appendix 5).

As a second step, I identified a team of local researchers in each country who assisted me in approaching school principals and obtaining their permission to conduct research with pupils' parents. These local researchers were identified through the SACMEQ network. Two senior professionals, former members of the SACMEQ organisation, agreed to participate in my research study and form a team of three researchers in each country. I covered the financial costs corresponding to researchers' remuneration for their work, transport and per diem. The role of local researchers was to (a) assist me in the selection of schools which were to participate in the study, (b) conduct interviews, and (c) submit the completed interviews (and tape recordings) or send via email the scanned version of the completed interviews.

As a third step, I travelled to Kenya in order to meet with my research colleagues, explain to them the research procedures and do the data collection. Collecting data in Kenya made me realise the importance of taking into account the implications of the specific social context in which my research activities were taking place. On my arrival at Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, I spent the first day of my stay (a) meeting with data collectors, (b) explaining the purpose of my research, (c) showing them the interview schedule (see Appendix 3), (d) explaining the administration of each interview item, (e) rehearsing interview sessions with respondents and (f) identifying possible obstacles in the conduct of the interviews. This preparation session proved to be essential as it brought to my attention the 'language' obstacle.

In Kenya, English is considered the official language and therefore foreigners such as myself might expect everyone to be able to communicate easily in English. However, at my first meeting with the data collectors, I quickly understood that it was an error to assume that everyone would be able to speak English. Most people in Nairobi can understand English and communicate in this language. However, this does not mean that they feel comfortable speaking English. In addition, it is important to note that in their homes, people speak Kiswahili or another language typical of their social group (or tribe). It is also equally relevant to bear in mind that English is taught at school and only the parents who had attended school would have had the opportunity to learn and communicate in English. Before 2003, basic education was neither available to nor compulsory for all children. This implied that parents from low socio-economic backgrounds would have had little chance of attending school or speaking English fluently and therefore it was less likely that they would understand my questions. For this reason, data collectors worked on a translation into Kiswahili in order to ensure that all parents, regardless of their English comprehension and fluency, could participate in my research. This was a critical issue because if I had not met with data collectors in advance, we would have gone to schools and met with parents who could not respond to our questions. Through the Kenyan field experience I was able to understand that another critical issue was the interviewer's role in creating a non-threatening environment in which respondents feel at ease to participate in a two-person conversation (Cohen et al, 2007). I fully realised the limitations of my role when I understood that in some cases, even though parents could speak English, they preferred to

communicate in Kiswahili – which is a totally unknown language to me. For this reason, I was very careful to adapt myself to each situation and ask parents which language they preferred to speak before starting the interviews. As a result, I could see that only a minority of parents (one in five) was willing to speak English.

Through my experience of collecting data in Kenya, I fully understood the importance of planning the necessary procedures in advance, in order to facilitate an environment in which respondents would feel comfortable speaking. For this reason, after discussion with my Mauritian colleagues, we decided to translate the parents' interview questions into Creole - which is the language commonly used in Mauritius – in order to ensure a more comfortable exchange with respondents. Since I could not travel to Mauritius in person, I was very careful to ensure the reliability of my instruments. According to Oppenheim (1996), the concept of reliability is associated with the consistency of a measure, repeatability and with the probability of obtaining the same result again if the measure were to be replicated. Therefore, in order to ensure the reliability of my interview schedule, I produced a 'Data Collector Manual' (see Appendix 4) in which clear explanations reproducing the Kenyan experience were put forward so that Mauritian colleagues could replicate the same procedures as the ones followed in Kenya.

Further ethical considerations

Another important ethical issue relates to the fact that in Kenya, since August 2012 when the Ministry of Education officially banned the delivery of paid extra lessons in public schools, private tuition has become a very sensitive political issue. For this reason, I understood that school principals might feel suspicious or even threatened by the focus of my research. Following advice from my Kenyan colleagues, I was very careful and took the time to explain to school principals and potential respondents the following points: (a) The object of my research was based on parents' perceptions with regard to a very high incidence of pupils' supplementary academic support, parents' motivations for providing extra support to their children, and parents' evaluation in terms of the effectiveness of these extra lessons. This meant that my research aim was to obtain information about parental educational choices, not about school practices;

(b) I acknowledged that supplementary academic support might be obtained inside or outside schools. However, my intention was not to investigate the different kinds of extra support that a school might provide but the reasons why parents might choose and request extra support for their children, regardless of the physical place where these extra lessons might take place. In concrete terms, I insisted to school principals that my interviews intended to understand parents' perceptions in terms of characteristics and positive and/or negative aspects of their children's supplementary academic support; parents' views on the importance of their child's ability, effort and self-discipline in academic achievement; their general perception of the quality of

education; and their aspirations for their child's future in terms of academic studies and employment;

(c) At the end of the study, I promised to write a report which would be made available to school principals, parents, and Ministry officials.

At the same time, I made a point of assuring them that the sources of my research would be kept strictly confidential. During the data collection phase, an ID numerical identifier was used in order to avoid writing the names of parents and schools. Therefore, parents' names were replaced by ID numbers from 1 to 30 and schools' names were replaced by ID numbers used in the SACMEQ III Study. Through this procedure, I was able to protect the identities of both schools and parents, especially in the case where the interviews were scanned and emailed to me. Similarly, when reporting and interpreting the data, schools were not identified since I did not include any information that might be associated with the school's name or its characteristics (such as its location or size, for example). In order to avoid leakages of information through SACMEQ colleagues, I asked local researchers for the utmost discretion concerning any information that might denote schools' or school principals' identities.

Following these ethical principles, I provided clear instructions to data collectors so that they could explain to participants that neither parents nor school principals would be judged in any way. This meant that research findings would not affect parents' or school principals' image or reputation. In

the same way, the identity of the respondents participating in this research project was kept anonymous and my report did not include any identifying characteristic that might invade respondents' privacy. As regards parents' interviews, respondents' informed consent was requested verbally before beginning the interview and the purpose of the interview was explained, together with their right to refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the interview or from the research study at any time.

Data analysis techniques

(a) SACMEQ data

In the SACMEQ III (2007) research study, Grade 6 pupils were asked if any payments were made to the person who provided them with extra tuition. The options presented for this question were: (a) There is no payment of any kind, (b) There is a money payment, (c) There could be another kind of payment, (d) There could be both a money payment and another kind of payment (See Appendix 2, Questionnaire Item #45). In the context of the present thesis, only option (b) 'There is a money payment' was considered as "taking paid tuition" whereas options (a), (c) and (d) were considered as "not taking private tuition".

The reason for selecting only option (b) is that I am particularly interested in the idea of 'making a money payment' or paying a 'fee' as opposed to the national educational policies that promote and support 'fee-free' primary

schooling. Through my analysis, I intended to reflect the situation presented at the micro level of the conceptual framework of my thesis where parents sent their children to fee-free government (public) schools and at the same time made money payments – or pay a fee – so that their children could benefit from supplementary academic lessons. Similarly, this choice of analysis enabled me to avoid any potential misunderstanding concerning the other options which might or might not include money payments.

As explained earlier, a simple random sample of 25 pupils was selected in each sampled school which, in turn, was selected with probability proportional to the size of the target population. Sampling weights were applied in order to compensate for the different probabilities of selection, and also to account for small losses of data due to non-response. Data analyses were done with IBM SPSS Statistics software and the sampling errors for each statistic were calculated using the specialised software that applies the Jackknife error estimation procedure. This approach made appropriate adjustments for statistical and clustering effects associated with the SACMEQ data.

(b) Interview data

With regard to parental interviews, it is important to note that some interview items consisted of a structured multiple-choice format whereas other items included open-ended questions. In the case of multiple-choice items I entered the answers into the SPSS software and calculated frequencies in

order to have an idea of the type of responses that were most popular among parents. In Appendix 7 the tables illustrating those frequencies are presented.

In contrast, open-ended questions were analysed in a completely different way. Following Miles and Huberman (1994), I made use of what is considered as a classic set analytical practice - which can be found in Appendix 6 'Interview Analysis'. This set of analytic moves consisted of:

- Grouping a set of statements giving a response to one particular question from the interview
- Noting observations or remarks
- Highlighting, in colour, similar phrases or statements making reference to a similar idea or code. For example: "Improvement/Remedial work/ obtain good marks"
- Elaborating a small set of generalisations that cover the consistencies identified in the interviews
- Confronting those generalisations with a previous body of knowledge or generalisations formulated by previous research studies

Chapter 4: Analysis of data

4.1 Introduction

In order to answer the seven research questions underpinning this thesis, the present chapter presents the analyses from two different sources: (a) the SACMEQ III (2007) Study in which responses from 4,436 Grade 6 pupils from Kenya and 3,524 Grade 6 pupils from Mauritius provided a clear picture of the way that private tuition operated in these two countries, and (b) Parental interviews in which responses from 28 pupils' parents in Kenya and 30 pupils' parents in Mauritius presented their perceptions, ideas and beliefs about their children's education including the role that private tuition played in their lives. The analyses of the SACMEQ III data were reported using the SACMEQ style (SACMEQ, 2004) characterised by using the past tense in order to highlight that such evidence illustrated a specific situation taking place in 2007.

4.2 What are the main features of private tuition in Kenya and Mauritius?

Characteristics of paid tuition

In the present thesis the terms 'private tuition' or 'paid extra lessons' are used interchangeably in order to make reference to a specific educational situation which reproduces mainstream education (Parsuramen, 1997; IPAR, 2004) in the following way:

Coverage

Data from the SACMEQ III (2007) Study confirmed that in the southern and eastern Africa regions the highest percentages of paid extra lessons delivered to Grade 6 pupils were concentrated in Mauritius (74.6 %) and Kenya (44.3%) (See Table 4, Appendix 7).

Type of lessons: subjects delivered, activities performed and cost

In both systems of education, certain core subjects such as English, mathematics and sciences are considered as key because they are tested at the end of primary level in the national examinations known as the Kenyan KCPE and the Mauritian CPE (IBE-UNESCO, 2010; Ministry of Education, 2013).

Not surprisingly, data from the SACMEQ III Study (Table 5 below) revealed that the majority of the pupils taking paid extra lessons were receiving extra support in mathematics (nearly 95 %), English (nearly 90 %), and sciences (nearly 93 %).

Table 5 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by school subjects (SACMEQ data)

| | School Subjects | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|------|-------------|------|---------|------|--------|------|
| | English | | Mathematics | | Science | | Others | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 89.1 | 2.46 | 95.7 | 0.71 | 93.0 | 0.93 | 85.3 | 2.06 |
| Mauritius | 95.7 | 0.74 | 97.9 | 0.73 | 94.6 | 0.83 | 93.5 | 0.90 |

Similarly, it was confirmed that a large majority of the pupils taking paid extra lessons (90.5% in Kenya and 86.3% in Mauritius) were dedicating most of their tuition time to the revision of examination questions (Table 6 below). Another interesting point is represented by the high percentages of pupils from both countries (81.5 % in Kenya and 89.8 % in Mauritius) indicating that they also learnt new things during this additional time of academic lessons. This appears to confirm claims made by educationalists who pointed out that private tuition was not limited to the delivery of remedial work for weak students but it also included a clear advantage given to those pupils whose parents could afford its corresponding fee because children taking private tuition were sure to study and review the entire syllabus (Foondun 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004). In connection with this point, I found it important to ask pupils' parents for how long they had been offering extra support to their children and in both countries parents confirmed that they had been paying for extra lessons for a few years (See Table 26, Appendix 7).

Table 6 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by type of activities performed during PT hours (SACMEQ data)

| | Types of Activities Performed During PT | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------|------|-------------|------|------------------|------|
| | Practice exam questions | | Repeat / revise school work | | Learn new things | | Do homework | | Other activities | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 90.5 | 1.40 | 89.0 | 1.97 | 81.5 | 2.70 | 71.7 | 4.34 | 46.1 | 4.71 |
| Mauritius | 86.3 | 1.46 | 72.8 | 2.44 | 89.8 | 1.16 | 61.7 | 3.06 | 50.9 | 3.10 |

Another important characteristic of these paid extra lessons is their monthly monetary cost. Information gathered from parental interviews indicated that, depending on the frequency, intensity and type of tutor, the monetary cost could range from 100 to 700 Kenyan shillings (KSH) and from 400 to 1,000 Mauritian rupees (MUR). This means that in 2012 Kenyan parents were investing 4.20 dollars (USD) per month whereas Mauritian parents were investing 22 dollars (USD) per month in these extra lessons for only one child attending the primary school level. From a household income perspective, it might be relevant to note that in Kenya the average minimum wage in 2011 was 5,044 KSH per month (or 58 USD) (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). This implies that the cost of private tuition for only one child represented nearly 7 percent of an average minimum wage in Kenya. In similar vein, the Mauritian average minimum wage in 2011 was 12,176 MUR per month (or 392 USD) (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2012). Following this evidence, it seems clear that the cost of one month of private tuition for only one child represented nearly 6 percent of an average minimum wage in Mauritius.

Linked to the financial cost of private tuition, I found it relevant to include a question in parental interviews about parents' ideas of the right time to stop taking these paid extra lessons. It was interesting to note that although parents expressed that these lessons represented an important financial effort on their part, nearly two thirds of the parents in both countries (see Table 29, Appendix 7) agreed that they would continue financing these lessons until the end of secondary education. In addition, one third of the

parents responded that they had the intention to support their children's extra lessons after entrance to university. These findings appeared to reveal that parents interpreted private tuition as a 'regular' practice that complimented their children's schooling. My experience as a researcher interviewing Kenyan parents and, later on, exchanging perceptions with my Mauritian colleagues (who personally interviewed parents in that country) led me to the following reflection: In both countries parents appeared to consider private tuition as an 'ordinary' daily activity that made up part of their children's usual routine, just like waking up in the morning and going to school.

Provider: Who delivers private tuition?

In Kenya and Mauritius it has been stated that the most common provider of these paid extra lessons were pupils' own school teachers (Foondun 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004). These claims were confirmed by the SACMEQ data, where it is possible to note (see Table 7) that the majority of the Grade 6 pupils in both countries (83.1 % in Kenya and 78.9 % in Mauritius) were receiving private tuition from their own school teacher. Furthermore, nearly 40 percent of the Kenyan pupils indicated that they were receiving tuition from another teacher from their school, whereas in Mauritius 38 percent of the pupils revealed that they were receiving tuition from a teacher from another school.

Table 7 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by type of provider (SACMEQ data)

| | Type of Provider | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| | Own school teacher | | Another teacher from my school | | A teacher from another school | | Another person | |
| | % | <i>SE</i> | % | <i>SE</i> | % | <i>SE</i> | % | <i>SE</i> |
| Kenya | 83.1 | 2.21 | 39.5 | 3.86 | 13.2 | 2.20 | 14.0 | 2.06 |
| Mauritius | 78.9 | 1.73 | 9.7 | 1.25 | 38.0 | 1.77 | 21.7 | 1.6 |

Similarly, the parents who were interviewed confirmed these findings in both countries by stating that their children were receiving extra support from mainstream school teachers. Depending on the modalities of these extra lessons and on pupils' needs, parents admitted that they supported different modalities of extra tuition which might be taking place during the school week, summer breaks (school holidays), or weekends. In each case paid lessons could be delivered by teachers from other classrooms or other primary schools. Either way, I could detect a clear demand emanating from pupils' parents.

In this sense, the role of pupils' parents should not be ignored as their demand appears to play a critical role in spreading this form of schooling. This is a point that could be confirmed through parental testimonies. During the interviews, parents were asked: "Who recommends taking private tuition"? It was interesting to find out that a large majority of the Kenyan and Mauritian parents responded that they were recommending and supporting tuition in the first place. In the second place, there were some discrepancies between Kenyan and Mauritian respondents because the majority of Kenyan

parents also specified that teachers, school principals and other members of their families were recommending the provision of paid extra lessons, whereas Mauritian parents put the emphasis on their own role (see Table 28, Appendix 7).

Similarly, during the SACMEQ III Study a questionnaire item was designed to capture information about the person who recommended children attend extra lessons. In this way, pupils were asked the following question: “Who wants you to take these extra lessons?” In Table 8 below, Grade 6 pupils’ responses are displayed. In Kenya the highest percentages were represented by children indicating that the pupils’ teacher appeared in first place (80.1%) followed by pupils themselves (76.6%) and their families (70.1%). In contrast, in Mauritius, pupils’ families appeared in first place (89.6%) followed by pupils themselves (67.8%) and their teachers (33.3%). In addition, findings from parental interviews confirmed that both parents and school recommended the delivery of private tuition (See Table 28, Appendix 7).

Table 8 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking PT by person who “pushes” (SACMEQ data)

| | Pupils taking PT | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------|----------------|------|--------------|------|-----------|------|--------|------|----------------|------|
| | My teacher | | My school Head | | My friend(s) | | My family | | Myself | | Another person | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 80.1 | 2.35 | 65.2 | 3.18 | 23.9 | 3.96 | 70.1 | 2.78 | 76.6 | 2.32 | 18.8 | 3.08 |
| Mauritius | 33.3 | 2.86 | 5.9 | 1.35 | 18.4 | 2.04 | 89.6 | 1.07 | 67.8 | 2.15 | 15.2 | 1.50 |

Venue: Where do pupils take extra lessons and how many children receive tuition?

In the framework of the SACMEQ III Study, it was possible to confirm that in both countries, the pupils’ school was the place most attended. In Table 9, it may be noted that 88.3 percent of the Kenyan Grade 6 pupils and 77.3 percent of the Mauritian Grade 6 pupils responded that their own school was the most popular place for taking extra tuition. In addition, nearly one third of the Kenyan pupils indicated that they were receiving extra lessons in their homes, whereas nearly half of the Mauritian pupils indicated that they were receiving these lessons at a teacher’s house.

Table 9 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by place where pupils take PT (SACMEQ data)

| | Location where PT is Delivered | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|------|----------------|------|-------------------|------|---------|------|-----------|------|
| | My own School | | Another School | | A teacher's House | | My Home | | Elsewhere | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 88.3 | 1.61 | 4.9 | 0.78 | 7.9 | 0.98 | 31.5 | 3.94 | 8.7 | 2.30 |
| Mauritius | 77.3 | 1.90 | 4.1 | 0.71 | 48.2 | 2.03 | 7.5 | 1.05 | 17.6 | 1.63 |

With regard to the number of pupils per extra tuition classroom, it was found that in Kenya there was an average of 44 pupils receiving extra support whereas in Mauritius the number of pupils was 32 (See Table 10, below).

Table 10 Means and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by number of hours per week and by number of pupils attending PT (SACMEQ data)

| | Number of Hours per Week | | Number of Pupils in the Group | |
|-----------|--------------------------|------|-------------------------------|------|
| | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| Kenya | 10.3 | 0.60 | 43.9 | 3.37 |
| Mauritius | 6.6 | 0.23 | 31.5 | 0.85 |

Linked to the above, it is important to note that interviewed parents were asked to describe the type of tuition that their children received in terms of the number of pupils receiving extra support. The options were: (a) one-to-one (one pupil one tutor), (b) small group lessons (from 2 to 10 pupils) and (c) large group lessons (more than 10 pupils). In both countries, the majority of parents responded that their children participated in large group tuition lessons which confirmed pupils' responses (See Table 25 Appendix 7). Nevertheless, some parents (less than ten parents from each country) also

indicated that their children were taking other private lessons in small groups. These findings appear to confirm that private tuition might be delivered in various ways and take place not only inside and but also outside schools, as has been suggested by different sources (Foondun, 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Although there appears to be different modalities in the delivery of private tuition (see Section 2.2) , what I found particularly curious was the fact that the majority of parents and children indicated that the place where most pupils were receiving paid extra support was their own school. This particular finding clearly shows that the typical classroom environment was where a large group of pupils received paid extra support delivered by their own school teachers at their own school during non-official school hours. In other words, this might explain why private tuition was not perceived as a parallel sort of pedagogical activity. On the contrary, private tuition appeared to be experienced as an extension of a normal school day in which pupils spent an extra amount time working on their regular activities.

Other characteristics: time of the year, frequency and intensity

SACMEQ data gathered from Grade 6 pupils (Table 10 below) confirmed claims made in Section 2.2 where in Kenya, nearly 87 percent of the pupils taking paid extra lessons indicated that they were receiving these lessons during their school holidays and nearly 82 percent indicated that they were receiving them during the school term. Conversely, Mauritius showed the

opposite tendency where nearly 92 percent of the Mauritian pupils responded that they were taking private tuition during the school term and nearly 86 percent of the pupils responded that they were receiving these lessons during school holidays.

Table 11 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by time of the year (SACMEQ data)

| | Time of the Year when Grade 6 Pupils take PT | | | |
|-----------|--|------|------------------------|------|
| | During school holidays | | During the school term | |
| | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 86.6 | 1.83 | 81.6 | 2.70 |
| Mauritius | 85.5 | 1.48 | 91.7 | 0.84 |

Concerning the frequency of these paid extra lessons, in both countries a large majority of pupils paying for extra support were receiving these lessons three or more times per week (see Table 12). Similarly, Kenyan children revealed that, on average, they were dedicating nearly 10 hours per week to private tuition, whereas in Mauritius, children indicated that they were taking nearly 6 hours of private tuition per week (See Table 10). These findings revealed that children were exposed to long and intensive days of school work. The negative implications of such academic dedication have been largely discussed and debated by different sectors in Kenyan and Mauritian societies. Perhaps for this reason, in both countries, private tuition has been perceived as a live political issue which was at the origin of different policies and regulations intending to preserve ‘pupils’ childhood’ through the restriction and even prohibition of the delivery of private tuition (Daily Nation, 2012a; Le Maurician, 2011; Parsuramen, 1997; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Table 12 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by frequency (SACMEQ data)

| | Frequency of PT | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|------|------------------------|------|------------------------|------|--------------------------|------|
| | Once a month | | 2 or 3 times per month | | Once or twice per week | | 3 or more times per week | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 4.7 | 0.82 | 9.7 | 2.25 | 12.1 | 2.18 | 73.4 | 3.24 |
| Mauritius | 0.9 | 0.22 | 3.4 | 0.42 | 12.3 | 1.10 | 83.2 | 1.37 |

Profile of pupils taking private tuition

Gender issues

As discussed in Section 2.2, it might be expected that boys would benefit from the provision of private tuition more than girls. However, SACMEQ III findings did not support this line of argument in Kenya; there were no significant differences between the percentages of boys (43.9%) and girls (44.9%) taking private tuition (See Table 13 below). In addition, and contrary to all expectations, Mauritius presented a very curious situation in which the percentage of girls taking private tuition (78.1%) was significantly higher than the percentage of boys (71.2%) taking the same lessons.

Table 13 Pupils taking and not taking paid lessons by gender (SACMEQ data)

| | Boys | | | | Girls | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|------|--------------------|------|-------------------------|------|--------------------|------|
| | Not taking paid lessons | | Taking paid lesson | | Not taking paid lessons | | Taking paid lesson | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 56.1 | 3.47 | 43.9 | 3.47 | 55.1 | 3.54 | 44.9 | 3.54 |
| Mauritius | 28.8 | 1.75 | 71.2 | 1.75 | 21.9 | 1.67 | 78.1 | 1.67 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Performance levels

During the SACMEQ III Study, Grade 6 pupils' achievement in reading and mathematics was measured and compared. Based on SACMEQ countries' official curricula, reading and mathematics tests were developed and scored in two different ways: scaled scores and competency levels. Scaled scores were used for reporting the average performance at national and regional levels. These scores were scaled so that meaningful comparisons could be made across countries. Competency levels were used for presenting a descriptive account of (a) the skills that pupils had acquired at eight levels of competence measured by scaled scores, and (b) the skills that must be acquired for pupils to move from one level of competence to a higher level (Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011; Wasanga et al, 2012).

In the context of this thesis I will present and discuss pupils' scaled scores in relation to the fact of taking and not taking private tuition. However, it is important to note that it is not intended to highlight 'causal connections' between private tuition and pupils' performance, because I understand that there might be other unmeasured third factors that can affect pupils' performance and be the root cause of these measures (Chung, 2010). In other words, the difference in performance between pupils who receive private tuition and those who do not cannot be attributed to the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of private tuition (OECD, 2011). Nevertheless, I find it useful to reflect on the profile of pupils taking private tuition and analyse their academic performance as a merely descriptive aspect of their school life.

In Tables 14 and 15, Grade 6 pupils' scores in mathematics and reading are presented. In both countries the average results for reading and mathematics confirmed that children taking paid extra lessons performed significantly better than the children not taking these lessons. In this respect, SACMEQ evidence appears to be in line with evidence from another cross-national study of the quality of education such as the PISA study which highlighted that students who were involved in private tuition tended to achieve higher scores than students who did not receive any kind of extra academic support (OECD, 2011).

Table 14 Kenya: Grade 6 Pupil achievement in reading and mathematics by pupils taking and not taking paid tuition by gender (SACMEQ data)

| Kenya: Grade 6 Pupils' achievement | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|------|---------------------|------|
| | | Not taking paid tuition | | Taking paid tuition | |
| | | M | SE | M | SE |
| Reading | Boy | 553.6 | 6.06 | 557.4 | 6.92 |
| | Girl | 530.0 | 5.88 | 556.9 | 10.0 |
| | Average | 531.8 | 5.59 | 557.1 | 7.84 |
| Mathematics | Boy | 557.0 | 5.19 | 581.0 | 5.45 |
| | Girl | 535.7 | 4.68 | 558.5 | 7.23 |
| | Average | 546.6 | 4.50 | 569.8 | 5.78 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Table 15 Mauritius: Pupils taking and not taking paid lessons by gender and school performance (SACMEQ data)

| Mauritius: Grade 6 Pupils' achievement | | | | | |
|--|---------|-------------------------|------|---------------------|------|
| | | Not taking paid tuition | | Taking paid tuition | |
| | | M | SE | M | SE |
| Reading | Boy | 482.4 | 7.26 | 589.7 | 5.50 |
| | Girl | 516.8 | 7.93 | 608.9 | 4.55 |
| | Average | 496.9 | 6.47 | 599.6 | 4.49 |
| Mathematics | Boy | 533.2 | 8.50 | 649.6 | 6.53 |
| | Girl | 555.8 | 7.61 | 651.4 | 5.76 |
| | Average | 542.6 | 7.06 | 650.5 | 5.55 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

These findings led me to extend my thinking on the following two points: (a) the logic behind private tuition and (b) the implications of significant performance differences between children taking and not taking private tuition:

- (a) Baker et al (2001) stated that the logic behind these extra lessons focuses on either a remedial or an enrichment strategy. The remedial strategy provides a supplementary support to students who struggle at school and, therefore, show low academic performance. The main purpose of the remedial strategy is to enable students to reach or maintain minimal or acceptable performance levels. In contrast, the enrichment strategy is focused on students who already reach high performance levels and take private tuition with the purpose of obtaining a competitive edge. For this reason, it is not surprising to confirm that the enrichment strategy of private tuition is more predominant in education systems in which there are high-stake examinations based on performance tests

(Baker et al, 2001). Based on the SACMEQ evidence from Kenya and Mauritius, it would appear that pupils performing well at school were also taking private tuition while pupils reaching significantly lower levels of achievement were not receiving this extra support. This evidence appeared to confirm Baker's claim stating that in countries such as Kenya and Mauritius – where high-stake examinations were compulsory at the end of the primary school level – the enrichment strategy appeared to predominate.

- (b) One of the most striking features in Tables 13 and 14 was the significant difference between the performance of pupils taking paid extra lessons and those not taking these lessons, especially in Mauritius. The SACMEQ reading and mathematics tests were standardized to a standard deviation of 100. Therefore, the differences of around 100 score points between pupils taking paid tuition (reading: 599.6 score points, mathematics: 650.5 score points) and those not taking paid tuition (reading: 496.9 score points, mathematics: 542.6 score points) were very large. These findings appear to confirm evidence from the SACMEQ I and II studies where it was claimed that a major division had emerged between pupils (Paviot, et al 2008). In a similar vein, a noticeable although less pronounced division was identified among Kenyan pupils. In Table 11, it is possible to confirm that pupils taking paid tuition (reading: 557.1 score points, mathematics: 569.8 score points) were performing significantly better than those children not taking paid lessons (reading: 531.8 score points, mathematics: 546.6 score points). These findings seemed to

support claims made by other researchers who stated that private tuition can increase achievement outcomes, and therefore, create an important competitive edge capable of increasing pupils' chances of being admitted to prestigious schools (Baker et al, 2001; Buchmann, 2002; Foondun, 2002).

Grade repetition

In Table 16 the percentages of Kenyan and Mauritian Grade 6 pupils taking paid tuition and repeating a grade at least once are presented. It is interesting to note that in Kenya nearly half of the pupils taking paid tuition (46.1 %) responded that they had repeated a grade at least once during their school life. In contrast, a low percentage of Mauritian pupils (15.9%) indicated that they had had this experience. These findings appeared to confirm that in Kenya, grade repetition together with private tuition were common practices aiming at maximizing pupils' chances of reaching academic success (see Section 2.2). Yet this did not appear to be the case in Mauritius where a low percentage of pupils repeated a grade.

Table 16 Pupils taking paid lessons by grade repetition (SACMEQ data)

| | Grade 6 pupils taking paid lessons | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|------|-------------------------|------|
| | Not repeating | | Repeating at least once | |
| | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 53.9 | 1.90 | 46.1 | 1.90 |
| Mauritius | 84.1 | 0.92 | 15.9 | 0.92 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

School location (urban vs. rural areas)

Research results summarized in Table 17 did not support the line of argument stating that pupils from urban areas were more likely to receive private tuition than pupils from rural areas (see section 2.2). In Kenya there were no significant differences between pupils attending schools in isolated/rural areas (42.0%) or schools located in town and cities (48.8%). Similarly, in Mauritius there were no significant differences between children receiving private tuition from isolated/rural and urban schools. Nevertheless, in the case of Mauritius it is relevant to consider the geographical characteristics of an island where it takes two hours to drive from one end to the other. Therefore, the distinction between rural and urban does not mean much in a context where it does not take long for a pupil to move from what might be referred to as a 'rural' area to an 'urban' area (Kulpoo and Soonarane, 2005).

Table 17 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking paid tuition by school location (SACMEQ data)

| | Percentage of pupils taking paid tuition by school location | | | |
|-----------|---|------|-------------------------|------|
| | Isolated/rural | | Small town/large cities | |
| | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 42.0 | 4.08 | 48.8 | 6.05 |
| Mauritius | 73.4 | 2.00 | 75.9 | 2.40 |

Home Possession index

In the SACMEQ studies, the socio-economic background of pupils was assessed through the application of a 'Home Possession Index' (HPI). This index was created by asking pupils if they had the following 31 items in the place (home) where they stayed during the school week: daily newspaper, weekly or monthly magazine, clock, piped water, bore hole, table to write on, bed, private study area, bicycle, donkey/horse cart, car, motorcycle, tractor, electricity (mains, generator, solar), refrigerator/freezer, air conditioner, electric fan, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, computer, internet, radio, tv, video tape player (VCR), video disc player (DVD, VCD, etc), audio disc player (CD), audio cassette player, ordinary camera for photographs, digital camera for photographs, video camera, telephone/ mobile (cell) phone. Pupils who did not have a specific item were given a score of 0 for that item, while pupils who did have a specific item were given a score of 1. The sum of the scores formed the HPI which provided an indication of the material wealth of the place where pupils stayed during the school week.

I found that investigating the material wealth of pupils taking and not taking private tuition would enable me to confirm the extent to which pupils' family resources limited children's opportunities to receive extra support (Buchmann, 2002; Foondun, 2002, Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004). In Table 18 the average values of the HPI were presented for those pupils who were receiving private tuition, and those who were not. In the case of Kenya, the differences in the average values between pupils taking and not taking paid lessons were noticeable (not taking PT: 8.1 points; taking PT: 8.6) while in

the case of Mauritius the differences in the average values of HPI were more pronounced and significant (Not taking PT: 17.4 points; taking PT: 19.4 points). These results appear to confirm claims made by previous research that the correlation between socio-economic background and participation in private tuition was consistent (see Section 2.2). In other words, in Kenya and Mauritius, pupils enjoying a higher level of HPI were more likely to receive private tuition than pupils showing a lower level of HPI.

Table 18 Means and sampling errors for pupils' possessions in the home by pupils taking paid tuition (SACMEQ data)

| | Means SES Score | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|------|---------------------|------|
| | Not Taking paid tuition | | Taking paid tuition | |
| | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| Kenya | 8.1 | 0.17 | 8.6 | 0.27 |
| Mauritius | 17.4 | 0.25 | 19.4 | 0.15 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Household characteristics of children taking paid tuition

Home language

The language used for testing pupils in the SACMEQ studies was the 'official language of instruction' specified by the Ministry of Education in each country which was employed from Grade 3 onwards. In Kenya and Mauritius, English was the official medium of instruction used at Grade 6, even though in certain regions of these countries pupils had little opportunity to speak English in their homes. Previous research had pointed out that pupils having little opportunity to speak their home language at school tended to encounter

learning difficulties (Ouane, 2003). Therefore, it might be expected that pupils who did not speak the language of instruction outside school hours needed private tuition in order to perform well at school.

However, the results presented in Table 19 did not support this assumption. The values illustrated that in both countries the percentage of pupils speaking the language of instruction outside school hours was higher among the pupils taking private tuition than the percentage of pupils not taking these lessons. Therefore, it seems that pupils who often spoke the official language of instruction at home were more likely to take private tuition than pupils who did not speak English in their homes. This finding appears to corroborate the enrichment strategy behind private tuition focused on enhancing the language and reading skills that competent pupils already possess in order to boost their achievement.

Table 19 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking extra tuition by speaking English outside school (SACMEQ data)

| | Grade 6 pupils 'often' speaking English outside school | | | |
|-----------|--|------|---------------------|------|
| | Not Taking Paid Tuition | | Taking Paid Tuition | |
| | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 89.3 | 1.40 | 92.9 | 0.99 |
| Mauritius | 54.4 | 2.68 | 76.0 | 1.40 |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Parents' education level and number of books in the home

SACMEQ data appeared to confirm claims made in Section 2.2 supporting the idea that more educated parents were more likely to provide private tuition to their children than less educated parents. The average values presented in Table 20 below revealed that parents' education levels tended to be higher for those pupils taking private tuition than for those pupils not taking it. Therefore, it appears that in both Kenya and Mauritius more educated parents appreciated education, and therefore, were more likely to supplement their children's education with extra academic support.

Table 20 Means and sampling errors for taking paid tuition by parent education level (SACMEQ data)

| | Grade 6 pupils' parental education levels | | | |
|-----------|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | Not Taking paid tuition | | Taking paid tuition | |
| | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| Kenya | 7.0 | <i>0.12</i> | 7.5 | <i>0.22</i> |
| Mauritius | 7.1 | <i>0.10</i> | 8.0 | <i>0.08</i> |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Similarly, and following evidence discussed from previous research (see Section 2.2) it might be expected that in Kenya and Mauritius, parents who have many books in their home would also support their children's learning through the provision of private tuition. SACMEQ data appeared to confirm these expectations as in Table 21 pupils taking paid tuition indicated the highest averages in the number of books in their home in both countries.

Table 21 Means and sampling errors for taking paid tuition by number of books in the home (SACMEQ data)

| | Grade 6 pupils' books in the home | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | Not Taking paid tuition | | Taking paid tuition | |
| | Mean | SE | Mean | SE |
| Kenya | 9.7 | <i>1.35</i> | 24.6 | <i>11.8</i> |
| Mauritius | 31.4 | <i>3.02</i> | 54.5 | <i>3.15</i> |

Note: Significant results are in bold. The level of significance reported is at 95%.

Summary of sub-section 4.2

Through the analysis of survey and interview data presented in this section the characteristics of private tuition were discussed in terms of: (a) its modalities, (b) pupils' profile, and (c) pupils' household characteristics. In both countries private tuition appeared to reproduce mainstream education taking place at pupils' schools in classrooms with a minimum of thirty pupils where school teachers delivered extra support outside official school hours. In the case of Kenya, private tuition appeared to be slightly more popular during school holidays whereas in Mauritius, pupils reported that they received these lessons during the entire school term. Yet in both countries, children indicated that they dedicated at least 6 hours of their free time per week to private tuition.

Concerning pupils' characteristics, in Kenya no gender differences were identified in terms of access to extra lessons, whereas in Mauritius, more girls than boys appeared to be receiving extra support. However, a noticeable division in achievement levels of pupils taking and not taking private tuition was confirmed in both mathematics and reading. In addition, in Kenya, a high percentage of pupils taking private tuition – and performing well at school – indicated that they had repeated a grade at least once. This finding suggests that grade repetition might be used as a complementary strategy to increase exposure to both curriculum and extra support. Also, pupils from higher socio-economic backgrounds appeared to be more likely to benefit from private tuition than children from poorer backgrounds. Similarly, parents' higher level of education and the number of books in the

home were positively associated with pupils taking extra lessons. However, school location did not appear to affect the incidence of delivery of paid lessons as no significant differences were found between pupils whose schools were located in urban and rural areas.

4.3 What are the driving forces supporting the prevalence of private tuition?

In the literature review section, evidence from previous research conducted in Kenya and Mauritius supported the existence of relevant driving forces operating at different levels. These forces appeared as key factors supporting and exacerbating the incidence of private tuition. In connection with this, at an education system level it has been claimed that a combination of factors relating to: (a) the characteristics of the school systems such as the implementation of extremely competitive high-stake national examinations (see Section 2.3.1), (b) teachers' malpractices (corruption) and (c) lack of regulations and proper monitoring were at the heart of this phenomenon (see Section 2.3.2). Similarly, from a micro level perspective, it has been pointed out that parental aspirations appeared to play an important role, since their strong faith in education and constant demand propelled a massive delivery of these extra lessons (see Section 2.3.3).

For this reason, I found it relevant to analyse the motives behind this remarkable 'faith in education' and understand what is actually implied by this belief. Therefore, parents were requested to indicate whether they agreed with the following six possible motives for taking private tuition: (1) "obtain

the best possible marks”, (2) “improve chances of entering a good secondary school”, (3) “the child is encountering difficulties with school work”, (4) “private tuition is a common practice”, (5) “private tuition will ensure that my child will be taught the entire syllabus”, and (6) “another reason”.

A large majority of Mauritian respondents (28 parents out of 30) selected answers (1) “obtain the best possible marks” and (2) “improve chances of entering a good secondary school” (see Table 27 Appendix 7). They also agreed with other statements relating to their child’s chances of being taught the entire syllabus (26 parents) and their child’s learning difficulties (19 parents). In addition, thirteen parents expressed their need to expand on option (6) “other reasons for taking extra lessons”. Among those thirteen parents providing “other reasons”, ten parents stressed the idea of ‘academic improvement’ by making statements such as:

“He can make further advancement in his studies”

“With tuition my son learns more and works with different teachers”

“In Standard 4 my daughter had poor results, now she has improved”

“To study and achieve”

Other reasons invoked by only three parents included:

“My son is kept busy and does not waste time at home”

“Teachers neglect weak pupils not taking tuition”

“I do not have time to help my child with school work”

Based on these findings, it would seem that in Mauritius, parental motives for providing private tuition corresponded to their willingness to support their

child in an intense academic competition. These findings appeared to confirm claims made by Mauritian educationalists who stated that their education system was characterized by transition points in the form of national examinations which put excessive pressure on pupils to succeed academically (Foondun, 1992, 2002; Parsuramen, 1997).

The case of Kenya appeared to be slightly different. A unanimous reaction was identified among the 28 Kenyan participants who indicated that they agreed with statements (1) “obtain the best possible marks”, and (2) “improve chances of entering a good secondary school”. The second option most selected by parents was option (5) “these extra lessons will ensure that he/she will be taught the entire school programme (syllabus)”. Similarly, 18 parents expressed their agreement on option (4) “this is common practice” and 16 parents on option (3) “my child is having difficulties”. However, what I found particularly curious was that the majority of the parents (22) insisted on adding other important motives that justified their choice of offering private tuition to their children. In this respect, as in the case of Mauritius, eleven Kenyan parents made reference to the idea of ‘academic improvement’ by stating that:

“These are effective lessons, I can see the fruits”

“Tuition helps the child improve his marks”

“She needed extra help because her marks were low”

“Extra lessons help him improve his weak points”

However, an unexpected dimension of private tuition was found when ten parents put forward non-academic motives for supporting these extra

lessons. Their reasons were: “avoiding idleness and bad company”. Their statements appeared to convey the idea that spending extra time at school reassured parents that their children were in a safe place instead of loitering in the street where there was no adult supervision. Parents made a point by explaining that:

“When left alone, children do not manage their time well so they need to be guided by teachers during their free time”

“[Private tuition] prevent(s) the tendency of being idle after school hours”

“[private tuition helps to] avoid bad company and bad behaviour”

“It avoids idleness and peer pressure from bad company”

“It is better to be at school doing something than in the street doing nothing”

While interviewing these parents I was able to perceive a certain reluctance to explain some ‘obvious’ facts that justified why they viewed their children’s idleness or free time as a ‘bad thing’ as opposed to other views from politicians and educationalists who claimed that private tuition was damaging pupils’ childhood because it deprived them of enjoying their leisure time. In their discourse, Kenyan educational experts strongly recommended that parents allow children to ‘be children’ and use their free time to play or rest (BBC News, 2008; Daily Nation, 2012g; East African, 2012).

These incompatible views between parents and educationalists led me to check my impressions with my local research colleagues who explained to me that the neighbourhoods in which the participating public schools were located were known for their continuous episodes of insecurity and other incidents relating to drug abuse, prostitution, and fights between gangs. Not surprisingly, most of the parents interviewed made it clear – in one way or

another during the interviews – that they preferred that their children spent as much time as possible at school while they were away at work, especially during the long summer break when ‘holiday tuition’ took place. In this respect, it is important to note that debates about the role of private tuition also appeared as a hot issue in the local press at the time when parental interviews were conducted for this thesis (Daily Nation, 2012h and i).

From an educational system (or meso level) point of view, it might be argued that the role of primary schools, as stated in national educational policies, did not include the function of minding children after school hours (Ministry of Education [Kenya], 2008; 2009). In other words, primary schools were not conceived as ‘day care centres’ for young people. However, it might be relevant to consider that a similar situation was detected in other educational contexts. For example, a study conducted in France revealed that extra academic support provided at pupils’ schools outside school hours and in summer breaks contributed to the prevention of delinquency (Glasman, 2010). This evidence from a European country appears to support Kenyan parents’ concerns about the role of private tuition as an effective mechanism that provides a safe environment for children, especially in those neighbourhoods that are considered ‘sensitive’ due to security issues.

As regards pupils’ reactions, the SACMEQ III Study included a questionnaire item requesting pupils to indicate the reasons for taking extra lessons. Table 22 below shows that the two main reasons indicated by Kenyan pupils for

taking extra lessons were a) “Improve my work (42%) and (b) “Succeed in examination” (44%). In contrast, although the main reasons indicated by pupils in Mauritius were the same, only 14.3% chose a) “Improve my work”, whereas the majority (80.8%) responded (b) “Succeed in examinations”.

Table 22 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking PT by reasons for taking PT (SACMEQ data)

| | Reasons for taking PT | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|------|------------------------|------|-----------------|------|-------------------------|------|------------------|------|
| | Improve my work | | Succeed in examination | | Need extra help | | Want to be with friends | | PT is compulsory | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 42.8 | 2.54 | 44.3 | 2.34 | 8.5 | 1.01 | 0.9 | 0.42 | 3.4 | 0.75 |
| Mauritius | 14.3 | 1.18 | 80.8 | 2.09 | 3.7 | 0.62 | 0.5 | 0.16 | 0.5 | 0.19 |

As a general observation, it would appear that research findings from both parents (interviews) and pupils (SACMEQ data) pointed to a key factor that appeared to be the main driver of private tuition. This was the need to improve school performance and succeed academically. This appears to confirm claims made by other researchers who stated that this ‘need’ for success was explained by the fact that the transition from primary to secondary school was probably the most critical stage in the life of Kenyan and Mauritian children, because their future life chances were at stake (Buchmann, 1999; Foondun, 1992).

4.4 What are the positive and negative aspects of taking private tuition?

While analysing parental responses concerning the positive aspects of taking private tuition, I could understand parents’ reasons for supporting extra

lessons. In other words, it became clear that the idea of 'improvement' was seen as a very important aspect because it was linked to academic success and future opportunities.

For example, Kenyan parents highlighted this point by stating that:

"My child can improve her performance and attain good grades that enable her to take the next step".

"Extra lessons help improve performance in class for the subjects she was not performing well in, such as composition".

"I think that my son will be able to obtain extra marks. The second reason is that if he performs well, he will be able to join a good secondary school".

In a similar way, Mauritian parents put forward the same notion of improvement by explaining that:

"Private tuition improves performance and helps the child obtain better results".

"Extra lessons increase the child's abilities. My son studies better with private tuition".

In Kenya, the role of private tuition as a preventive mechanism that ensures children's safety and well-being was emphasized as its second most important and positive aspect. Behind the concept of "avoiding idleness and bad company", parents expressed one of their major concerns:

"I fully support extra lessons because, you know, children can get involved with bad friends. So here (at school) they spend most of their time with their teacher and so they are not involved in other things like drug abuse. It is helping us to keep our children away from bad influences".

"Extra lessons help avoid engaging in bad groups and behaviour".

"It keeps them occupied with school work so children have less time to be idle".

In the case of Mauritius, the second positive aspect most adduced by parents was related to the fact that, thanks to private tuition, children were able to learn the entire school syllabus. They emphasized this point by claiming that:

“Sometimes the syllabus is not completed in school and this can be done during private tuition”.

“The child gets an early knowledge of the syllabus to be completed”.

“During extra tuition the child completes the syllabus earlier and has more time to practice with past exam papers”.

The third most recurrent positive aspect in both countries was focused on the role of the school teacher and their children’s opportunity to receive more personalised attention. This aspect appeared to be crucial in their children’s learning because it gave them an additional opportunity to better understand, practice, or fix concepts that were not sufficiently studied during normal school hours. Examples of Kenyan parents illustrating this point included:

“With extra lessons children have time to talk with the teacher, so if there is something they did not understand in a certain lesson, they can discuss this with their teacher”.

“It allows the child to spend more time with the teacher so that she can ask questions about whatever she did not understand”.

“In public school children get less attention during normal class hours but they get more attention during their free time which helps them improve in the subjects they are not good at”.

Similarly, Mauritian parents insisted on teachers’ attention as a relevant positive aspect by explaining that:

“The school teacher has more time to devote to his pupils”

“A teacher is not able to give his full attention to pupils because of the large class size. However, during private tuition classes, the teacher gives individual attention”

“The child receives personal attention. The school teacher does not give personal attention during normal school hours”

To a lesser extent, Kenyan parents mentioned other academic and non-academic factors as positive aspects of these extra lessons such as the fact that their children could complete the school syllabus while they were having a good time with their classmates and teacher. Similarly, Mauritian parents mentioned that private tuition helped children to avoid idleness and wasting their time on useless activities such as watching television.

As regards the negative aspects of private tuition, it was very interesting to note two opposite reactions among parents. In both countries nearly half of the respondents interviewed (15 parents in Mauritius and 13 parents in Kenya) responded that they could not think of any negative factor or issue about taking private tuition. However, in Mauritius some parents highlighted issues relating to their children's physical and psychological health through statements such as:

"My son takes private tuition during his free time. He attends tuition even on Sundays".

"My child has to wake up early in the morning and sleep late at night. Tuition gives an extra load of homework and this causes moral and physical tiredness".

"Children need to go to private tuition after a hard day at school and some of them suffer from mental fatigue".

Also in Kenya, pupils' parents expressed similar concerns and made reference to the negative effects of private tuition by explaining that:

“Days are too long and children need time for a break. Extra support reduces children’s time to play and have a social life”.

“My daughter needs to go to church on Saturdays and at this time she has to attend extra lessons. So most of the time she misses church, yet spiritual nurturing is as important as these lessons”.

“Extra tuition is given without moderation in terms of workload. Some children are overwhelmed by the amount of extra work”.

Still another negative aspect that emerged in parental interviews in both countries was related to the compulsory payment made to school teachers so that children could benefit from extra school support. Some parents claimed that:

“You need to pay extra money. It is compulsory to pay if you want your child to receive extra support”.

“Private tuition is a burden, it is expensive and it requires financial means”.

This issue of compulsory payment also appeared as a burning topic in the Kenyan and Mauritian press in which the competitive nature of education systems was blamed for forcing parents to pay extra amounts of money (Waweru, 2009; Daily Nation, 2012k; Le Mauricien, 2011a; 2012).

From the children’s perspective, it is important to note that during the SACMEQ III Study, Grade 6 pupils were requested to indicate what they thought about these extra lessons. Among the available responses there were five responses reflecting positive attitudes towards these lessons and five responses reflecting negative attitudes. Concerning the positive attitudes, in Table 23 below it is possible to confirm that a large majority in both countries (92.5% in Kenya and 93.4% in Mauritius) agreed on the statement

“these lessons help me with my homework”. In second place, nearly 80 percent of the pupils in both countries indicated that “I feel free to ask questions” and above 70 percent of pupils found that “these lessons are easy”.

Table 23 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking PT by pupil's perceptions (SACMEQ data)

| | Positive Attitudes about PT | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|------|------------|------|---------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|
| | PT is fun | | PT is easy | | I tell my friends to come to PT | | I feel free to ask questions | | PT helps me with my homework | |
| | (02) | | (05) | | (07) | | (08) | | (10) | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 47.2 | 3.61 | 72.7 | 2.46 | 68.9 | 2.72 | 84.7 | 1.78 | 92.5 | 1.01 |
| Mauritius | 72.8 | 2.43 | 79.4 | 1.94 | 51.6 | 2.56 | 81.7 | 1.53 | 93.4 | 0.65 |

As regards pupils' negative attitudes towards extra lessons, in Table 24 it is relevant to note that the percentages of pupils agreeing with negative aspects of extra lessons were considerably lower compared with the percentages of pupils agreeing with its positive aspects. In concrete terms, nearly 30 percent of the Kenyan pupils and 52 percent of the Mauritian pupils indicated that “These extra lessons sometimes confuse me” and less than 20 percent of the pupils in both countries agreed that “these extra lessons take too much of my time”. Also, nearly 23 percent of the Kenyan pupils and 13 percent of the Mauritian pupils indicated “I would like to avoid these lessons”.

Table 24 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils taking PT by pupil's perceptions (SACMEQ data)

| | Negative Attitudes about PT | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|-------------|------|
| | PT is difficult | | I would like to | | PT is boring | | PT sometimes | | PT takes up | |
| | (01) | | avoid PT | | (04) | | confuses me | | too much of | |
| | | | (03) | | | | (06) | | (09) | |
| | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE | % | SE |
| Kenya | 28.9 | 2.83 | 22.7 | 2.18 | 12.6 | 1.06 | 30.6 | 2.39 | 17.7 | 2.48 |
| Mauritius | 20.4 | 1.89 | 12.7 | 1.42 | 11.4 | 1.13 | 51.8 | 2.41 | 18.9 | 1.67 |

Findings analysed from parents and children receiving these lessons led me to the idea that in both cases respondents found that private tuition involved more positive aspects than negative ones. In other words, parents and children found that private tuition was beneficial. This could be confirmed through parents emphasizing the idea of 'improvement' and through the majority of pupils supporting the idea that 'these lessons help me with my homework'. Therefore, it would appear that although relevant and highly negative factors (including potential health consequences) have been identified, pupils and parents believed that taking private tuition was still worthwhile.

Summary of sub-sections 4.3 and 4.4

Grade 6 pupils indicated that succeeding in an examination and improving their work were the main reasons for taking private tuition. These findings were confirmed by the parents who were interviewed. However, an unexpected and non-academic reason emerged among Kenyan parents who explained that private tuition ensured that their children were making good

use of extra time in a safe place instead of wandering the streets and being exposed to 'bad' company.

At the same time, Grade 6 pupils and parents who were interviewed appeared to agree on the positive aspects of private tuition and minimised the negative ones. On the positive side, pupils highlighted that private tuition helped them with their homework and made them feel free to ask questions, whereas parents emphasised children's opportunities to improve their performance and receive personalised attention from the teacher. However, as a negative point, parents and children agreed on the fact that private tuition took up too much time, resulting in physical and psychological fatigue.

4.5 What do parents believe about ability, effort and self-discipline?

As discussed earlier in Section 2.3.3, the role of parents appears to be critical in order to understand the driving forces behind private tuition. For this reason, and viewed from a micro level perspective, I found it relevant to verify the extent to which parental beliefs played a role in the provision of private tuition. Following this idea, an interview item was included with the objective of detecting the level of importance that parents gave to ideas relating to the notions of ability, effort and self-discipline in their children's academic achievement. In this way, during the interviews, parents were requested to indicate to what extent they agreed with statements reflecting these ideas by selecting one answer out of five: (1) Strongly Disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Uncertain; (4) Agree and (5) Strongly Agree. Through this scale, it was

possible to identify ideas on which most parents strongly agreed. In Chart 2 (Appendix 7) it is important to note that in Mauritius, a majority of the parents interviewed strongly agreed with statements reflecting two key concepts: (a) self-discipline (“Self-discipline is essential for success in life”) and (b) academic achievement (“It is important to me that my child gets good grades”). Also, to a lesser extent, half of the parents agreed on the idea of effort (“It is worth putting in extra effort even if this means having less time for fun”). These findings appeared to indicate that parents providing private tuition to their children were in favour of notions reflecting self-discipline, achievement and effort because these were positively associated with the social notion of ‘success in life’.

Similarly, Kenyan parents were asked to indicate the level of importance that they gave to ideas relating to the notions of ability, effort and self-discipline in their children’s academic achievement. In Chart 2 (Appendix 7) it was shown that the majority of the respondents participating in the study (26 parents) strongly agreed on the idea of effort reflected in the statement: “It is important for my child to try hard at school”. This finding echoed Buchmann’s (2002) claim about the importance of ‘effort’ in the Kenyan society. In addition, most respondents (25 parents) strongly agreed with statements conveying the idea of academic success and self-discipline, such as “It is important to me that my child gets good grades at school” and “Self-discipline is essential for success in life”. Likewise, it is relevant to note that findings obtained from the Mauritian and Kenyan parents appeared to confirm claims made in previous research in England where it was found that parents who placed a high value

on effort were also more likely to provide extra school support to their children (Ireson and Rushforth, 2014).

4.6 What do parents think about the quality of education provided to their children?

Viewed from a micro or parental perspective, it appeared clear that parents judged quality of education through academic achievement. During parental interviews, respondents were requested to express what they thought about the quality of education in terms of preparing their child for secondary school.

The majority of Mauritian parents (24 parents) agreed that the quality of education delivered at their child's school was "good" or "acceptable" and their reasons for stating this were:

"School ensures readiness for examinations because the teacher prepares him well to take the CPE".

"The quality of education is in general acceptable but too many subjects are taught. This makes children stress a great deal".

Although most parents appeared to be satisfied with the quality of education delivered at their children's school. They also acknowledged the fact that private tuition was critical to ensure their children's academic success by stating that:

"The quality is quite good but parental support and private tuition is required".

"Private tuition is necessary in addition to school to prepare a child for secondary education".

However, among the minority of parents showing their dissatisfaction, it was interesting to note that their strongest criticism against the school system

highlighted that without private tuition their children had little chance of being adequately prepared to enter secondary school. This became clear through statements such as:

“Currently the subjects taught are more difficult and this leads to poor quality because teachers do not prepare children well”.

“Without private tuition a child would not be prepared for secondary school. School teachers concentrate on brighter children and weaker children are left behind”.

Overall and taking into consideration the positive and negative opinions about the quality of education delivered at the primary school level, it was evident that in all cases parents acknowledged that the presence (or absence) of private tuition played a critical role in their children’s future academic opportunities. This tendency revealed a profound discrepancy between the Ministry of Education’s (meso level) policy strategy – which aimed at eliminating private tuition – and pupils’ parents (micro level) who found that their children were not able to reach the academic levels required by the Ministry of Education without paid extra support.

Also in Kenya it might be expected that at a micro level, national ministry regulations against private tuition would be respected and supported by the school community. However, parental reactions gathered in the present study revealed that such regulations had little chance of being followed. When parents were requested to express their opinion concerning the quality of education delivered at their child’s school, a majority of respondents (23 parents) showed their satisfaction by explaining that the quality of education delivered at their school was ‘good’ or ‘high’. However, it is important to note

that these people insisted on the notion of quality in terms of pupils' achievement and the capacity of the school to deliver private tuition outside normal school hours. This point became clear through statements such as:

"I would say the quality is good, is high. But schools have different standards. One of the things that improves quality is making use of extra time. More time means more learning and in order to learn you have to revise, revise and revise. The school that shows high quality makes use of this extra time [private tuition] and the school with a low quality does not."

"It is good but without tuition they [children] cannot do well. Extra support maximizes on the time and resources".

"Education is of fair quality but this varies from one school to another. Public schools are affected by strikes because tuition has been banned, so those who can, send their children to private schools [where tuition is not banned].

Among the negative reactions concerning the quality of education delivered at their children's school, five parents –who were paying for extra lessons for their children – argued that quality was 'not good' because they had no choice but to support extra tuition. They made this clear by explaining that:

"It is not good. School hours are not enough to cover the syllabus and also revise for examinations".

"The delivery is very poor. Most schools do not complete the syllabus by the time of the exam so they are disadvantaged".

"Quality is not very good because those who cannot pay do not pass [the examination]".

Completing the syllabus emerged as one of parents' major concerns at different points of the interviews, not only in Kenya but also in Mauritius. In both countries, positions among educationalists and academics pointed to either an education system's failure to plan an appropriate curriculum (Abagi

and Odipo, 1997; IBE-UNESCO [Kenya], 2010, IBE-UNESCO, 2010 [Mauritius]) or teachers' greed (Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007; Foondun, 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004) as the drivers of this parental concern. However, it is important to consider the specific educational context in which this worrying issue took place. In the case of Kenya, a previous policy research study conducted in 120 schools arrived at the conclusion that the overloaded curriculum was one of the factors that negatively affected pupils' participation in school, due to the pressure under which primary school pupils were placed. Similarly, it was claimed that such academic burden was responsible for children's reduced playing time and their lack of motivation. Once again, it was argued that this situation, coupled with parents' inability to afford the costs of textbooks and private tuition, led children to drop out of school (Abagi and Odipo, 1997). A later evaluation of the primary school curriculum conducted by UNESCO International Bureau of Education confirmed these findings and strongly criticised the assessment approaches employed in schools, because these were found to force pupils to dedicate too much time to preparing for national examinations, at the expense of learning and participating in other activities (IBE-UNESCO [Kenya], 2010). However, other researchers pointed to primary school teachers as the main actors responsible for creating unnecessary demand for private tuition under the pretext that the syllabus was too broad, while leaving out crucial areas of the curriculum during normal school hours because they had the intention of delivering paid extra school support (Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Moreover, in Mauritius the syllabus issue emerged several times during the parental interviews as a major concern. This country is claimed to be characterised by its extensive curriculum which represented additional pressure to both teachers and pupils (Hollup, 2004). For this reason, in 2008 the Ministry of Education conducted a curriculum review in the primary sector, with the aim of developing a new competence-based syllabus based on a child-centred and holistic approach. The strategy behind this approach included the gradual elimination of primary national examinations (CPE). However, some years later an evaluation of the education system conducted by the Mauritian Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development (MoESD) stated that the new holistic policies had not been implemented. As a result, in 2011, it was confirmed that this situation resulted in pupils concentrating exclusively on formal education (and national examinations) with the consequence of an unregulated and widespread delivery of private tuition (Government of Mauritius, 2011).

In connection with the role of Mauritian school teachers delivering paid extra school support, a research study conducted with primary school teachers found that there were three main reasons which teachers gave for delivering these lessons: (a) to ensure a second source of revenue, (b) to deliver extra lessons as a means to gain more practice and experience and therefore become better teachers, and (c) to help weaker pupils improve their classwork by completing the syllabus and giving them more opportunities to practice more difficult exercises (Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007). In concrete terms, the evidence gathered so far suggested that the reasons behind

parental concerns were similar in both countries, where their education systems were more focused on 'results' than on 'competencies'. In turn, it also seemed clear that teachers took advantage of this situation and responded to parental demand based on ensuring children's success while, at the same time, they took the opportunity to gain a second tax-free salary. Overall, it is worth noting that in all cases, parental opinions about the quality of education delivered at primary school level, whether positive or negative, pointed to private tuition as having a crucial role in their children's academic progress.

Summary of Sub-sections 4.5 and 4.6

Concerning parental beliefs, evidence gathered from interviews showed that Mauritian parents insisted on the idea of 'results' and, more specifically, on values such as self-discipline and achievement. In contrast, Kenyan parents put the emphasis on the idea of 'effort'. In addition, in both countries parents judged their children's quality of education in terms of academic achievement. However, parents acknowledged the crucial role of private tuition by stating that without extra school support their children had fewer chances of enjoying education of 'good quality' and continuing their studies at secondary school level.

4.7 What do parents expect for their children and what does it take to achieve their expectations?

In order to provide a response to this research question, three interview items were prepared with the purpose of gathering information on distinct dimensions: (a) the level of education that parents estimated to be necessary

to achieve their expectations, (b) the type of job or occupation that they wished their child take up in the future and (c) the role of private tuition in fulfilling parental expectations in terms of both academic attainment and future employment opportunities.

(a) What do parents think will be the highest level of education achieved by their child?

In Kenya, only one parent was uncertain about this question and stated that *“it will depend on the child’s ability and his potential, though it will also depend on our financial position”*. However, a large majority of respondents (27 parents) did not hesitate to respond “university level”.

While analysing their responses, different reasons for aspiring to university level emerged. In some cases, parents made reference to the benefits to be enjoyed, not only by the child but also by the parents. This point became evident through statements such as:

“She is hard-working and needs to get the kind of education that will benefit both parent and daughter”.

“With higher education she will become self-reliant and will be able to help me”.

“In Kenya people who are well-educated get good jobs and also support their family in future”.

These parental reactions appeared to confirm claims made by researchers and educationalists who found that parents did not send their children to school to become better farmers or to learn practical skills. Rather, they aimed at benefiting from the kind of education that could provide their

children with opportunities of better living conditions (Eisemon and Schwille, 1991). In addition, since Kenya lacked a system of retirement, parents usually relied on their children for financial support in their later years. Therefore, the child's likelihood of finding well-paid employment in the future was seen as an important advantage, not only for the child but also for the entire family. In other words, these findings appeared to confirm previous claims highlighting that parents considered their children's education with hopes of securing their own economic welfare, or as a form of investment for their old age (Buchmann, 2000; N'junge, 2013).

In addition, it was interesting to note that in all cases parents' idea of the 'highest level of education achieved by a child' was directly related to an instrumental value of education understood as schooling that helps secure work (Brighthouse and Unterhalter, 2010). This instrumental value of children's education could be identified through parent's comments and explanations such as:

"When you have a good certificate from university, chances are higher for you to be looked at. They [employers] only take people with a university degree".

"University is what I dream for him. I would like him to excel in education. This would mean better chances to succeed in life".

"A university diploma will give him more chances of getting a job".

In Mauritius pupils' parents provided similar responses to the same question. A majority of parents (25) responded that they wished their child to continue to university level, only four parents found that finishing secondary education and obtaining the High School Certificate (A level) would suffice and only one

parent was uncertain about the level of education to be reached by her child. In general, parents were in favour of supporting their children's education and making financial efforts in order to provide them with the opportunity of pursuing their studies for as long as possible. Statements such as the following confirmed this impression:

The parental reactions presented above appeared to confirm evidence from a previous research study highlighting that Mauritian parents were ready to make all the necessary efforts to help their child progress (Dindyal and Besoondyal, 2007). In turn, it might not be surprising to find such reactions in a social context where education was claimed to be widely perceived as the major avenue for social and economic mobility (African Peer Review Mechanism, 2010; Griffiths, 2000; Hollup, 2004).

(b) What do parents think their child's job or occupation will be when he/she completes his/her education?

Considering the limitations of Kenyan higher education and the labour market (see Section 2.3), it might seem curious to confirm that a majority of pupils' parents (28 respondents) participating in these interviews indicated that they wished that their child could reach a higher level of education and be employed in a professional job. These aspirations might sound ambitious in the Kenyan academic and employment context. However, an explanation might be found in recent research evidence suggesting that in Kenya, higher education levels increased a candidate's chances of entering salaried

employment, whereas low education levels significantly raised the probability of entering the informal sector (Wambugu, 2011). Similarly, these findings appear to echo a large majority of parental aspirations where twenty parents imagined their children pursuing university careers leading to jobs such as becoming a doctor, engineer, lawyer, accountant, and diplomat, whereas eight parents mentioned other professional jobs requiring some sort of higher or tertiary education such as a pilot, nurse, tourist guide, journalist, and church bishop. Therefore, evidence from the present study appears to confirm previous claims highlighting that Kenyan people had a strong faith in education because they understood it as a potent resource that promoted social mobility and better life conditions (Buchmann, 2002; Wanyama and Enjeru, 2004).

Also in Mauritius, a majority of parents (23) held high aspirations in terms of their children's future job or occupation. For example, seven parents responded that they expected their children to work in the health sector in positions such as doctors, nurses, dentists and veterinarians. Similarly, another seven parents expressed a wish that their children would become teachers, whereas the other nine parents mentioned that they imagined their children working as lawyers, engineers, computer technicians, bankers, accountants, or performing other administrative jobs. In all cases, parents made a point of explaining that they expected their children to lead a better life than theirs. Again, the statements presented below confirm claims that associated further education and training with social mobility and better life conditions (Foondun, 2002; Hollup, 2004; Mauritius Times, 2013a):

“Since I am not educated and work as a labourer I know the difficulties. That is why I want my son to succeed in life. I believe that the nursing profession will be better for my child than working as a labourer”.

“I hope he will work in a non-manual job, away from exposure to the sun”.

“I don’t know really... I would like her to become a professional”.

(c) Do parents think that extra academic support (private tuition) will help their child gain a better education and have better employment prospects?

Different empirical research studies have confirmed that workers’ level of education had a significantly positive effect on the type of work and their level of income (Dang and Rogers, 2008a; Barro and Lee, 2010; Kara, 2010). Linked to these research findings and based on the idea that in Kenya and Mauritius private tuition appeared to be perceived as maximising pupils’ chances of succeeding their school life, and therefore gaining better chances of obtaining a well-paid job (Buchmann, 1999; 2002; Foondun, 1992; 2002), I found it relevant to verify the extent to which pupils’ parents found that private tuition played such a determinant role in their children’s academic and employment prospects. In Kenya it was interesting to note that only one parent appeared to relativise the influence of private tuition by claiming that:

“Not necessarily, children also need career guidance support or some kind of mentorship in order to make decisions and choose their future”

However, the majority of the parents interviewed (27 out of 28) agreed on the idea that private tuition functioned as a positive influence in their children’s future academic and employment success. This point can be confirmed through comments such as:

“Yes, I have no doubt about that. Extra support will help him in the future”.

“Yes, because an employer would want to employ someone who is good at basic things like mathematics and language. Even for a very low public service vehicle attendant, you need to know those basic things.”

“If children have this extra support [private tuition], they will gain better marks. If they gain better marks, they can get a good job. So a good mark a good job.”

Similarly, in Mauritius the majority of parents (28 out of 30) agreed on the idea that extra academic support would help their children gain better education and employment opportunities in the future. All of these parents emphasised that good academic results were directly associated with better chances of finding a job. In this light, academic achievement appeared to be perceived as a predictor of success in future employment prospects. This point can be confirmed through statements such as:

“Yes, it [private tuition] gives better chances to get a job and [also] the chance to shift to a better one”.

“Yes, if there is no private tuition then he will not be able to get a good secondary education and this would prevent him from going to university. The child gets a good foundation with private tuition but may lag behind without this support”.

“Yes, because they can go further with tuition. Sometimes a child who is weak in one subject can improve a great deal thanks to extra support.”

However, two parents were reluctant to admit that a present improvement in their school performance could have an effect in their children’s future academic and job opportunities. This was made clear by comments such as:

“No, my child will not obtain a better education but rather he will obtain better results at school”.

Overall, findings from this research question appeared to suggest that most of the parents providing private tuition to their children were convinced that such an educational practice was worthwhile because it helped them improve their school performance in the short term. Similarly, the majority of parents in both countries admitted that good academic results at primary school level implied important future returns in terms of later educational and job opportunities.

4.8 What do parents think about the idea of equality in the provision of private tuition?

From a macro level point of view, the notion of equality has been widely debated and represents one of the main objectives of the worldwide Education for All (EFA) movement launched and led by UNESCO and supported by the international community, the main aim of which has been to expand educational equality through school reforms that ensured access to primary education of good quality to all children (UNESCO, 2000 a and b).

In this respect, the central concept of educational equality might be defined as being based on fairness, and depend on the idea that in order to be legitimate, inequalities should result from fair procedures (Brighouse, 2010).

Following Brighouse's (2010) definition of educational equality, I found it relevant to learn more about parental views concerning their idea of equality in relation to private tuition – which could be considered as one of the many ways in which parents support their children's education. In this light, my intention was to confirm the extent to which pupils' parents believed that it was fair that not all primary school pupils had the chance to benefit from extra school support. For this reason, I asked parents the following question: "Do you think that all children should receive extra academic support?"

While analysing parental responses to this question, it was interesting to note that parents held different conceptions of 'fairness', and perhaps different notions of 'equality'. In the case of Kenya, parental responses to this question could be divided into three main categories which were labelled as follows: (a) 'all children', (b) 'only weak pupils', and (c) 'dependent on parental choice'. The response most evoked by parents was represented by the category (a) 'all children' in which 19 respondents put the emphasis on children's right to benefit from extra school lessons regardless of their social class background, and therefore, regardless of their capacity to pay for this extra school support. This notion of equality became evident through statements such as:

“Yes, all children should get this extra support; even those who are sharp need support”.

“Yes, because of uniformity. You know pupils are competing and when they are competing a higher performance is expected. All the children should have the same support to compete”.

“Yes, if this is about academic support every child has the right to have it. Basically, the child will improve performance and will not be discriminated against for not being able to pay. So if parents cannot afford it, tuition should be free”.

It is relevant to note that these individual perceptions appeared to reflect the essence of the EFA movement, which considers education as a human right that must be provided free of charge to all children regardless of their sex, ethnicity, religion, or social background (UNESCO, 2000). Another interesting point is linked to the idea that private tuition was not considered by most parents as merely an additional educational activity. On the contrary, once again it appeared clear that these extra lessons were perceived as an integral and crucial element in children's school life.

The second response most mentioned by parents was related to category (b) 'Only weak pupils', which emphasized the importance of providing extra support only to those pupils who encountered learning difficulties. What I found particularly curious about this type of response was the idea that parents were not putting the accent on disadvantaged children in terms of their inability to cover the financial cost of private tuition. Rather, they insisted on the idea of disadvantaged children in terms of pupils' lack of talent or intellectual ability to succeed academically. Giving priority to the less talented pupils – as opposed to providing tuition to all children regardless of their

natural capacities and social background – was the second most common response mentioned by 5 respondents who made this point clear through statements such as:

“Not really, this varies from one pupil to another. Tuition should help only weak students”.

“Especially for slow learners who may require more special and extra support than others”.

“No, smart pupils do not necessarily need extra school support”.

In addition, another 4 parents appeared to make reference to the idea that taking private tuition was a parental choice that should be respected as a kind of ‘value’ to which some parents adhered and other did not. Regardless of the fact that extra support might be beneficial for children, these respondents put forward a parent’s right to choose their children’s education, and therefore, reject extra support. In this way, the category ‘dependent on parental choice’ was illustrated through the following examples:

“For some reason, we are not equal, we as parents. There are those who feel they don’t like it [private tuition] and there are those who think it is good for their children. For me, I like it”.

“You know most parents here did not go to school when they were children. They are sending their children to school because it is compulsory. But extra support is not compulsory so if the parent does not see the need of providing extra support, he or she will not send their children to extra tuition”.

“It depends, not all parents agree on delivering extra lessons to their children”.

In general terms, it would appear that the majority of Kenyan parents in the sample viewed private tuition as an important element in their children's education because it enabled their children to pass institutional filters – such as the KCPE – and continue their academic studies. For this reason, most parents stated that extra support should be made available to all children attending school in order to increase their chances of receiving further education. On the other hand, a minority of respondents found it more relevant to provide extra help only to 'slow' or 'weak' children as a kind of remedial work or strategy to equalise children's chances to succeed in school. A still smaller group of parents insisted on the idea that private tuition should not be delivered to all pupils because not all parents might find it worthwhile. This conception appeared to suggest that parental choices reflected what parents valued in their lives and that supplementary tuition might not necessarily be something that is of value to them.

The case of Mauritius appears to illustrate other views in addition to those analysed among Kenyan parents. However, a large group of Mauritian parents (14) adhered to the idea that "All children" should receive private tuition in order to advance academically. Their responses included comments such as:

"Yes, so that every child can get better results"

"Yes, because if they take private tuition they will be able to succeed and achieve better results"

"Yes, it is important because it is the last primary school grade and pupils have to be successful".

As in the case of the Kenya, the second type of response most mentioned (11 parents) put the emphasis on giving priority to “weak” pupils who needed reinforcement lessons in order to reach an acceptable performance level and insisted on not providing tuition to “good” pupils who were showing good results. This point was highlighted by 8 parents through statements such as:

“Yes, weak pupils need to take private tuition. It all depends on a child’s ability”.

“No, many pupils are already performing well and do not need private tuition. Those who do well do not need it but weak pupils do need it”.

“Not necessarily, it all depends on the performance of the child”.

A third group of respondents (5 parents) did not agree with either (a) the idea of providing tuition to all children, or (b) the idea of assisting only weak pupils. They simply pointed to teachers as the main actors for creating an unnecessary need and ‘pushing’ parents into private tuition for financial gain. Their claims were illustrated through statements such as:

“No, if teachers provided the education as they should do, pupils would not need private tuition. If teaching has not been completed in the prescribed time then an additional hour or two will not help much. It is not an advantage for the pupil but it is for the teacher”.

“No, private tuition is totally in the interest of the teacher”.

“No private tuition is necessary if the teacher puts in the necessary effort”.

Overall Mauritian parents expressed conceptions of equality and educational fairness relating to the delivery of private tuition through ideas such as (a) delivering extra lessons to all pupils and (b) giving priority to slow learners. However, a third type of respondent showed their concern regarding pupils’

teachers, because these were perceived as supporting a dishonest practice by creating an unnecessary need.

Summary of sub-sections 4.7 and 4.8

The majority of parents in Kenya and Mauritius hoped that their child would reach university (or tertiary) level because higher education was associated with better life conditions and chances of securing economic stability. Also, with regard to pupils' future job prospects, the majority of parents in both countries expected their child to find a professional and well-paid job in the formal market. In this light, the role of private tuition appeared to be perceived as fundamental and unavoidable. This appeared to be the main reason why parents supported the delivery of paid extra lessons. Concerning their notion of equality, Kenyan and Mauritian parents laid emphasis on two main ideas: (a) the importance of providing private tuition to all pupils regardless of their social background or intellectual talent and (b) the importance of benefiting only the weak pupils encountering learning difficulties.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Research aim of this thesis

When I started work on this thesis my intention was to investigate the implications of private tuition in relation to the equal provision of education of good quality (EFA) in Kenya and Mauritius. In order to do so, I borrowed Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of ecological environment and modified Mischo's (2014) conception of private tuition in terms of systems including different levels of interpretation. In this way, I could expand my reflection on the implications of an educational phenomenon – such as private tuition – using a set of structures based on three different levels nested in each other. However, it is important to highlight that in my conception of ecological systems of private tuition I did not include the interaction of private tuition and parents as a system in itself. In contrast to Mischo's (2014) interpretation of the ecological system of private tuition, I integrated the interaction of extra support and pupils' parents as an important element of the micro system. In this way, I conceived the meso system as the role that the school system played through its official policies which, in turn, were supposed to determine school practices. However, the macro system coincided with Mischo's (2014) interpretation in the sense that it comprised social beliefs about education and learning such as the equal right to receive education of good quality or the EFA initiative.

Therefore, in this thesis the set of structures nested in each other consisted of: (a) the macro level, which was represented by the EFA initiative, (b) the meso level, in which EFA appeared to be reflected in the Kenyan and Mauritian national education systems whose policies promoted quality and equal opportunities for all children, and (c) the micro level, which was represented by voices of the pupils' parents expressing their views and aspirations about their children's education and how these related to the key macro and meso level concepts of quality and equality.

Through the employment of three discussion levels (micro, meso and macro) I focussed my attention on the parental perspective and examined the positive and negative implications of these extra lessons while taking into consideration cross-cutting issues that affected or were affected by each level.

In this way, the conduct of research activities undertaken for this thesis, together with the analysis of evidence relating to the phenomenon of extra lessons in Kenya and Mauritius, led me to realise that my starting point for the research had changed. In my initial conception, I viewed private tuition as a large scale 'parallel form of schooling' (IPAR, 2004; Parsuramen, 1997) susceptible to undermining the principles of quality and equality promoted by EFA (Bray and Suso, 2008). However, findings from this research highlighted that private tuition was more complex than expected because, over the years, it appeared to have evolved in such a way that we can no longer

consider it as a 'parallel' form of practice but instead as a crucial element in most pupils' daily school life. I believe that this realisation places the role and implications of private tuition in a different discussion. For this reason, the concept of private tuition will be revisited in this section following the evidence gathered in the course of my research which, in turn, took particular account of the specific education, socio-cultural and economic contexts in which private tuition took place. In addition, the following sections will discuss and reflect on the findings responding to each one of the research questions underpinning this thesis.

5.2 Strengths and limitations of this study

There are some limitations of the present study that should be acknowledged. Concerning the quantitative component of my research, it is important to note that the SACMEQ data was used for descriptive purposes which enabled me to illustrate an unbiased picture of the characteristics and modalities of the phenomenon of private tuition taking place in Kenya and Mauritius. In this way, the main features of private tuition were discussed from a meso level perspective because the data illustrated facts that were taking place at a national education system level. In this respect, the main issues concerning reliability and validity of the SACMEQ III study related to: (a) the quality of sampling procedures (see 'Samples' Section 3.4) (b) the quality of the data collection (see 'Measures' Section 3.4), and (c) the quality of the main achievement measures (see SACMEQ III data collection, Section 3.4).

However, the main limitation of the SACMEQ data set was that it did not allow me to identify the reasons that supported the prevalence of educational phenomena such as private tuition. For this reason, I undertook further research of a qualitative nature with the aim of 'getting the feeling' (Robson, 2002) of its main motives through parents' perceptions. However, unlike the SACMEQ data set, findings from my parental interviews cannot be considered as representative of the school population. This is because my study had a very small sample of pupils' parents (28 parents from Kenya and 30 parents from Mauritius). Therefore, claims made about parental perceptions cannot be generalised or related to a more general field, time or setting. However, I conceived these parental interviews as the type of research that would enable me to *"make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning that people bring to them"* (Malone, 2004, p.800). In this light, I consider that my objective as a researcher was achieved because I could expand my understanding of the important implications of these extra lessons, viewed from a micro level perspective.

Nevertheless, if I had to repeat this research experience, I would introduce some changes. I have realised that focussing attention on parents offering private tuition to their children was an effective way of capturing the reasons and implications of such a choice. However, the conception of private tuition as a crucial element to ensure success was biased by the fact that only parents paying for extra lessons expressed their views and opinions. For this

reason, if I had the opportunity to re-run research activities on this topic, I would include in my sample a group of parents not offering private tuition to their children. This would enable me to learn more about parental choices and compare the extent to which these extra lessons were considered of paramount importance by those parents who did not pay for extra school support.

5.3 What is actually meant by ‘Private tuition’ in Kenya and Mauritius?

Although in both countries different modalities of private tuition co-existed and were combined at different times of the school year, evidence from SAMEQ data and pupils’ parents’ interviews indicated that the most common type of private tuition consisted of extra support that was taking place outside official school hours during the week, weekends, or school holidays on a regular basis and at pupils’ schools. Equally important to note was the fact that even if children attended government (public, fee-free) schools, pupils had to make money payments to their own school teacher in order to benefit from extra school support. Similarly, it was found that pupils took extra lessons because they could: (a) ensure the coverage of the school syllabus (which implied learning new things after school time) and (b) practise for national examinations.

Concerning pupils’ characteristics, survey data from the SACMEQ III Study indicated that no differences in access to these extra lessons between

female and male pupils were confirmed. In contrast, a noticeable difference in academic performance was identified between pupils taking and not taking private tuition. This evidence suggested an enhancement strategy behind these lessons in which children already performing well at school were more likely to attend private tuition than pupils encountering learning difficulties and showing low performance levels (See Tables 14 and 15, Section 4.2.2). In addition, it was found that pupils from higher socio-economic backgrounds were more likely to benefit from extra support than pupils from poorer backgrounds. This finding was associated with parents' level of education and the number of books in the home which appeared to be positively associated with children's receiving extra school support. However, and contrary to other researchers' claims (Bray, 1999; 2003), no significant differences were confirmed between children from rural and urban areas. Nevertheless, in the case of Kenya, it was found that a high percentage of pupils taking private tuition and reaching high performance levels had repeated a grade at least once. This finding appeared to confirm Buchmann's (2002) claims that grade repetition was used as a complementary strategy combined with private tuition with the purpose of increasing exposure to both school curriculum and extra support in order to maximise chances of success at the end of primary national examinations.

In general terms, findings from the SACMEQ III Study revealed that the type of modality of private tuition described above was characterised by the reproduction of a typical classroom environment experienced by a large group of pupils in their own school, working with their own classroom teacher

during non-official hours. These critical research findings might explain why parents participating in the present research did not appear to view private tuition as a 'parallel' sort of pedagogical activity. On the contrary, their testimonies appeared to suggest that private tuition was considered as a logical extension of a daily school routine in which their children spent an extra amount of time working on their regular activities. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that all the parents participating in this research were providing private tuition to their children. Therefore, the conception of private tuition as a logical extension of a school day cannot be extended to parents not providing private tuition to their children. In other words, such bias does not allow me to extend this notion to all pupils' parents, as parents not offering private tuition to their children might have a different view. However, it is legitimate to state that to those parents supporting private tuition, the latter was perceived as an integral part of their children's school day.

5.4 Adverse effects of private tuition: Transition rates and child labour

From an education system or meso level perspective, I found it important to reflect on the negative implications of private tuition. For this reason, I searched for information about pupils' transition rate from primary to secondary school with the objective of confirming claims made by educationalists who argued that the increasing demand for private tuition was the consequence of an education system that had a limited number of 'good' secondary schools and a massive number of candidates wishing to enter those elitist schools. Given this particular educational context, it was found that as a result of this 'bottleneck effect', national examinations operated as filters in which only the best performing pupils were admitted to continue at the secondary level (Buchmann, 1999; Foondun, 2002).

In the case of Kenya, information from two different sources reporting official statistics appeared to be quite contradictory. Following a report published by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2012), pupils' transition rate from primary to secondary level – which was registered in 2009 – reached 66.9 percent.. This means that in 2009 nearly 67 percent of the primary school pupils succeeded in the KCPE and enrolled in secondary schools. In contrast, the Kenyan National Human Development Report, published by the UNDP in 2010, revealed a very different picture. Following UNDP (2010) information, it was found that in 2009, the transition rate covered only 43 percent of primary school pupils who wished to proceed to secondary school level. This appears to confirm Buchmann's (1999) claims, who found that the

majority of Kenyan pupils did not have the chance to pursue education beyond primary school because they were literally pushed out of the education system.

Linked to the above, it has been argued that one of the direct consequences of children's academic failure and subsequent school drop-out were found in the form of a noticeable increase in the incidence of child labour which, in turn, was claimed to remain one of the greatest impediments to achieving the goal of universal basic education (Munene and Ruto, 2010). These facts might explain why the linkages between private tuition, school drop-outs and child labour raised a great deal of concern in Kenya. In connection with this point, it was reported that pupils whose parents could not afford extra tuition after school hours found themselves rejected by their own teachers who even refused to teach them during normal school hours (ReliefWeb report, 2003).

In view of this, it would appear that the visible effects of children leaving school were found in the number of children working in agriculture and related activities (Daily Nation, 2013a, b; Munene and Ruto, 2010; Standard Media, 2013). At the same time, this situation was claimed to negatively affect Kenya's participation in international commerce as Kenya's violation of international conventions against child labour could lead to a boycott of Kenyan agricultural commodities such as coffee, tea and tobacco. As a result, public opinion was alarmed because child labour was a serious and burning issue that could contribute to the deterioration of Kenya's national

economy (Business Daily, 2009), as tea and coffee alone accounted for nearly one-fifth of all export earnings (ILO, 2013).

In the case of Mauritius, pupils' transition rate from primary to secondary school in 2009 was considerably higher than in Kenya as the overall pass rate in CPE examination reached 68 percent of the primary school pupils (Government of Mauritius, 2011). Unlike Kenya, the education system provides an alternative in the form of pre-vocational education for those pupils who do not succeed in the CPE examination. This type of education usually takes place in secondary schools or other institutions for a period of three years. It has been claimed to be an effective policy for retaining pupils in the education system and preparing them for their future employment (Hollup, 2004; Government of Mauritius, 2011).

In addition, and examined from a micro level point of view, it is relevant to note that even parents who supported their children's extra academic support emphasised their concerns about their children's physical and psychological health, given the amount of time and energy that their children had to dedicate to private tuition. Such concerns appeared to confirm previous claims made by a Mauritian educationalist who, twenty years earlier, had conducted a study on private tuition and had arrived at the following conclusion: *"the relentless race can often be traumatic and can harm the intellectual, social, emotional and physical development of the child, who find themselves spending an average of nine hours every day preparing for the*

examination through private tuition and regular schooling. In other words, at a time when workers are fighting for a 40-hour week, children are made to work for longer hours than their parents” (Foondun, 1992, p.26).

5.5 Parental perceptions of private tuition: implications from a micro level perspective

5.5.1 Parents’ reasons for supporting private tuition: its positive and negative aspects

Overall, pupils’ parents in both countries made it clear and insisted on the idea that one of the main reasons for supporting their children’s paid extra lessons was to help them to obtain the best possible marks, because high performance levels would provide them with a competitive edge necessary to increase their chances of being admitted to a ‘good’ secondary school. Nevertheless, the second reason most evoked by parents in Kenya highlighted the role of private tuition as a mechanism that provided a safe environment (pupils’ school) in which children were under their teachers’ supervision. To most parents interviewed in Kenya, private tuition implied much more than extra academic support because it also provided them with a certain peace of mind knowing that their children were not exposed to ‘bad company’, especially in neighbourhoods considered as ‘sensitive’ due to security issues.

Concerning its positive aspects, most parents in Kenya and Mauritius put the accent on the beneficial side of receiving extra support and minimised its negative points. In both countries the idea of giving their children a supplementary opportunity to improve school performance was seen as the most positive and valuable aspect of private tuition. However, in Kenya, parents stressed their concern about the potential dangers that children might be exposed to in their free time. For this reason, they appreciated the non-academic aspect of private tuition because children were occupied doing something useful and spending their free time in a safe place (the pupils' school) while being supervised by a responsible adult (the pupils' teacher) when parents were at work outside home. This point - which should not be considered as a minor issue - might explain why parents disobeyed ministerial regulations by insisting on paying additional fees in order to send their children to school outside official school hours. Perhaps Ministry authorities should explore this issue further in order to reach a consensus with the school community and develop another mechanism - regulated and officially supervised by the ministry of education - in which children could stay in school after school hours while performing other kinds of out-of-school activities, such as sport, arts or music, for example.

In Mauritius, parents highlighted the importance of private tuition in terms of ensuring the coverage of the school syllabus. Through their testimonies, it became clear that children not attending private tuition had little chance of learning the complete school programme. Similarly, it was pointed out that during these extra lessons, teachers were more available and ready to give

more personalised attention to individual difficulties or to answer questions on topics about which children might need clarification. These positive points were highlighted by parents several times during the interviews who found that, thanks to private tuition, their children had the chance to better understand and practise concepts that were not sufficiently revised during normal school time.

Concerning the negative points of paid extra lessons, it was claimed that the intensity, frequency and rigour of these extra lessons represented an additional amount of effort and dedication on the children's part, which translated into physiological pressure and physical fatigue. In addition, some parents criticised the compulsory payment that they were forced to make in order to benefit from extra school support. Interestingly, these parents viewed private tuition as an unavoidable activity without which academic success was simply not possible. For this reason, they claimed that in government (public) schools these extra lessons should be provided free of charge.

5.5.2 Parents' values and their linkages with private tuition

Following evidence from previous research which, in turn, was confirmed by the present study, it was found that private tuition arises as a response to the nature of a society in which people live. In the case of Mauritius, it was claimed that its market economy supporting rapid economic growth strongly influenced social behaviour to such an extent that personal achievement was

considered as prevailing over collective welfare. Given this context, education appeared as a fundamental value because it represented the basis of personal achievement and social mobility. Not surprisingly, Mauritian parents lay emphasis on the idea of 'results' and, more specifically, on values such as 'self-discipline' and 'achievement' because these were seen as ensuring personal achievement and success in later life.

In contrast, Kenya, characterised by slow economic growth and a certain degree of political instability, presented the opposite picture. However, since its colonial past, it would appear that there was a widespread enthusiasm for education and parents' faith played a critical role in the construction of the Kenyan national school system. Perhaps for this reason, parents stressed the idea of 'effort' in the first place followed by 'academic success'. In this context, private tuition appeared as a key element because it gave a sense of hope to parental aspirations.

Still from another perspective, it was interesting to note that throughout the interviews the majority of parents in both countries put emphasis on Brighouse and Unterhalter's (2003; 2010) conception of the positional and the instrumental values of education. According to these authors, the instrumental value relates to children's education in the form of schooling. In other words, without some formal level of skill acquisition and schooling for a number of years, a person cannot acquire the necessary skills to be economically self-supporting (Unterhalter and Brighouse 2003; Brighouse

and Unterhalter, 2010). This was clearly one of the main reasons why parents supported both types of education for their children - the 'official' mainstream schooling and the 'unofficial' private tuition. The second aspect concerns the positional value of education which depends on how successful a child has been relative to other children. This aspect of education becomes evident through certification or the grades or performance levels a child has achieved when passing high-stakes national examinations. The fact that parents expected their children to obtain the best possible marks at the CPE (Mauritian examination) or KCPE (Kenyan examination) in order to enter a 'good' secondary school illustrated the relevance they gave to the 'positional' value of education.

In contrast to certain claims made by educationalists and politicians, respondents participating in this study did not appear to perceive private tuition as a 'necessary evil' (Foondun, 2002; Le Mauricien, 2012). In other words, it became clear that pupils' parents valued private tuition and considered it an important component of their children's education which made it part of their learning process.

5.5.3 Parents' academic and employment aspirations viewed from a meso level perspective

Viewed from an education system or meso level point of view, it is important to analyse and discuss whether, and to what extent, parents' academic and employment aspirations for their children might be realistic. As mentioned

earlier, in Kenya, entrance to secondary schools depends on the pupils' success in the KCPE (end-of-primary high stake national examination). If children succeed in this examination – and depending on the results obtained – they can be admitted to one of the three types of public secondary schools. In this respect, it is also relevant to consider that the secondary school system is characterised by a tripartite hierarchy in the form of a pyramid. At the top of the pyramid, a small minority of successful candidates are admitted to the most prestigious schools known as 'national' schools, to which students from any part of the country might be recruited. In the middle tier of this pyramid there are the 'provincial' schools which represent a larger minority compared to the top national schools. Then the base of pyramid is formed by a large majority of secondary schools known as 'district' schools. Provincial and district schools recruit students from the province or district in which the school is located. Not surprisingly, competition for access to one of the 18 national secondary schools is very intense since only about one primary school pupil in 100 obtains a place in one of these top secondary schools. However, unlike the national schools, the provincial schools limit their admission to applicants from primary schools in the same province and compared to the top schools provincial are much easier to access. Finally, the district schools, which essentially serve local candidates, are the most common and accessible type of school. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the district schools were created by local communities or self-help Harambee schools and were originally financed and supported by local communities and, more specifically, by students' parents. Later on these Harambee schools were absorbed into the public system as government

began financing teachers' salaries and other school-related costs (Oketch and Somerset, 2010).

Following evidence from a recent research study based on the Kenyan education system (Oketch and Somerset, 2010) it was found that the transition to secondary school was crucial, especially for those candidates who wished to pursue their education to university level. In other words, for the small minority who scored well enough at the end of primary examination (KCPE) to obtain a place at a national secondary school or top provincial school, the prospects of qualifying for university level were good. In contrast, for the large majority who did not reach such scores and were admitted to a district secondary school, the prospects for qualifying for the university level were very small. In part, this might explain why enrolment rates at the tertiary level were reported to be low and far below international standards. Information from an international organisation confirmed this point by stating that in 2009, only 4 percent of the Kenyan population were enrolled in tertiary education (ILO, 2013).

At the same time, the educational situation found at primary school level has been strongly criticised by people who claimed that the admission criteria favoured children from high socio-economic backgrounds who attended private schools and were academically better prepared for succeeding national examinations than children from lower socio-economic backgrounds attending public schools (Business Daily, 2012). The irony of the system

appeared to be based on the fact that these national and provincial secondary schools – which were known for providing the best quality of education in the country – were also public schools financed by the government. In other words, as a ministry official claimed: *“Public spending at the secondary level has disproportionately benefited the wealthier quartile groups at the expense of the poorest quartile making public spending on education skewed in favour of the rich”* (Business Daily, 2010).

Unfortunately, following evidence from this thesis, it would appear that the Kenyan parents participating in the present study had little chance of seeing their academic expectations for their children come to fruition. This is because, on the one hand, their children were attending public primary schools where academic preparation for KCPE was not as effective as the academic preparation delivered at private primary schools. Therefore, even if their children passed the KCPE, it seems highly unlikely that their performance level would enable them to enrol in one of the top secondary schools whose candidates later go on to study at university level. In addition, it has been reported that the tertiary and university levels were not sufficiently prepared to receive the increasing number of candidates who aspired to continue their studies (ILO, 2013). Therefore, given the current constraints of the education system, it would seem that even if their children succeeded in primary and secondary school national examinations, they had little chance of pursuing their studies at university level.

Concerning parents' employment aspirations, I found it relevant to consider the national economic context in place at the time when the parents were interviewed. In 2012, a report published by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2013) stated that the relatively weak economic performance found in Kenya was reflected in slow improvements in the labour market where employment rate was at nearly 60 percent. In addition, the majority of job creation was found in informal enterprises, which in turn, constituted 64 percent of total employment in 2011. As a result, it was reported that no improvement was found in the standard of living measured by GDP per capita growth and although people might have had some sort of employment, 47.8 percent of the population still lived in poverty (ILO, 2013). Given this poor economic context, young people aged 15 to 24 were particularly affected by the weak formal job creation which accounted for less than 19 percent of total employment – whereas they represented over 35 percent of the working-age population (ILO, 2013).

Kenya's current economic and labour market's low performance has been explained as a result of the past three decades which were characterised not only by a series of droughts and economic circumstances such as the volatility of commodity prices, but also by ethnic conflict and political instability (ILO, 2013). Indeed, the most recent period of growth suddenly ended in 2007 after a wave of ethnic violence following a controversial presidential election that took place at the time of a global economic crisis. As a consequence of this unstable growth pattern, progress in the labour market and development has been noticeably weak (ILO, 2013).

Unfortunately, given the slow development in the labour market, it seems improbable that under these circumstances parents would see their children fulfil their expectations.

In Mauritius the academic and employment contexts were very different. After 6 years of primary schooling, children are requested to validate their primary education through the CPE, which is the national certificate used to rank pupils for places at secondary schools. Every year nearly 25, 000 pupils sit for the CPE and nearly 60 percent of those pupils pass this examination (Griffiths, 2000). In 2012 this figure increased by 9 percentage points, reaching 69 percent of the primary school pupils sitting for this examination (Government of Mauritius, 2012). However, for those pupils who fail the CPE twice, or who are older than 13 years old, there is a mechanism known as 'Pre-vocational Education' that provides them with a second chance through a 3-year programme at a secondary school. The main aim of this programme is to support those children by providing additional schooling to compensate for the academic deficit originated during primary schooling and to help them develop skills for further vocational training (Ministry of Education, 2011).

Concerning the CPE pupils who succeeded, it has been claimed that only the first 6,000 pupils were ranked to attend secondary schools regarded as "good colleges". In turn, those students attending the best and most prestigious secondary schools are considered to have better chances of going on to university level or obtaining a scholarship for study abroad (Griffith, 2000;

Hollup, 2004). Still, from an education system perspective, evidence from a previous research study revealed that the flow of students in the Mauritian education system enabled less than 10 percent of the pupils who had enrolled in Standard 1 to access government (public) higher or tertiary level education (Mohadeb, 2006). In connection with this, it has also been claimed that the Mauritian higher education system had few resources and only an average quality of education and training. This situation appears to explain why it was found that an increasing number of Mauritian students pursued higher education abroad (African Peer Review Mechanism, 2010).

On the whole, the discussion presented above has pointed out that although education was considered to be of fundamental value, this was not accessible to all. Therefore, the described educational context appeared to indicate that parents encountering financial difficulties in covering the costs of extra support (or other forms of private education) were highly likely to find their aspirations frustrated. However, it is crucial to consider that at the time when this study was conducted, the government of Mauritius was in the process of validating new policy based on the implementation of the 'Maurice Ile Durable' (MID) initiative, which included the introduction of major changes and improvements in the education sector (Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2011; ILO, 2012).

Before discussing parents' employment aspirations, it is relevant to bear in mind that since the late 1980s, Mauritius has been undergoing a profound

economic change moving from an agricultural economy based on the production of sugar to a more diversified economy with growing industrial, financial, information, communication technology and tourism sectors. Such a transformation translated into an economic growth rate averaging nearly 6 percent per year over the past decades. This clearly enhanced the well-being of the population as reported by the Human Development Index of 0.804 (ILO, 2008; 2012).

However, Mauritius is confronted with specific challenges that derive from the fact that it is a small and isolated island. These characteristics make Mauritius particularly vulnerable in terms of natural disasters such as tropical cyclones, for example. Similarly, as a small island, it faces other challenges relating to waste management, which also contribute to its environmental fragility. These issues, coupled with the fact that nearly 80 percent of energy production relies on imported fossil fuel products, have made Mauritius an extremely vulnerable country. For this reason, in 2008, Mauritius engaged in developing a 'Maurice Ile Durable' (MID) policy, strategy and action plan. Initially, its main aim was to reduce its dependency on imported oil through utilisation of renewable energy but it was soon realised that the concept of sustainable development included other aspects that covered crucial economic and social issues (ILO, 2012; Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2011). For this reason, in June 2013 the Government officially approved the MID strategy and action plan (Defimedia, 2013; United Nations, 2013). It is expected that this strategy will support major improvement, not only in the energy sector but also in the social

sectors where education and employment represent a major concern (Defimedia, 2013; ILO, 2012; Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2011).

Also regarding the employment sector, it is important to note that at the time when this study was conducted in 2012, government statistics illustrated a promising scenario in which the labour force was increasing and its general workforce moving up the occupation ladder (Government of Mauritius, 2013). In this light, parental aspirations regarding their children's future employment appeared to be realistic in a context of sustained economic growth.

5.6 Tensions between education system objectives (meso level) and parents' expectations (micro level)

In both countries the parental notion of quality of education was closely related to academic achievement. However, parents acknowledged the crucial role of private tuition by stating that without extra school support their children had fewer chances of enjoying education of 'good quality' and continuing their studies. In this light, a large majority of parents in Kenya and Mauritius aspired to see their child: (a) reach university (or tertiary) level and (b) be employed in a professional or well-paid job. However, in the case of Kenya it has been claimed that for the majority of pupils who did not win a place at one of the top secondary schools, their prospects of qualifying for university were extremely small (Oketch and Somerset, 2010).

Nevertheless, what appears to raise a great deal of concern is the fact that the rate of transition from primary to secondary level was only 43 percent of pupils who sat the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) (UNDP, 2010). A similar situation was reproduced in 2013 when the local press published a report that stated that less than half of the candidates who had sat for KCPE attained the mean score of 250 marks (Business Daily, 2014). This means that the majority of the pupils attending primary school found themselves excluded from the education system because they had failed to qualify for admission to either a 'good' or a 'not-so-good' secondary school. Thus this was regarded as a very worrying situation because one of the direct consequences of children's academic failure, and subsequent school drop-out, is likely to be found in a notable increase in the incidence of child labour which, in turn, remains one of the greatest impediments to achieving EFA goals in Kenya (Munene and Ruto, 2010).

In a similar vein, employment prospects did not seem to offer a better perspective: A recent study (Wambugu, 2011) highlighted that a large proportion of the labour force in Kenya was to be found outside formal wage employment. Yet, it was also reported that the level of education reached by an employee had a positive impact on income in all three sectors: public, private and informal (Wambugu, 2011). This finding appeared to confirm parental perceptions towards education, in which respondents insisted on the importance of supporting their children's studies.

In contrast, Mauritius presented a very different picture characterised by a national political will intending to pave the way for major improvements in the education, economic and social sectors through a new paradigm known as 'sustainable development' or 'Maurice Ile Durable' (MID) (Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2011). This innovative national policy aims to promote the creation of decent jobs which respond to environmental and energy needs (Defimedia, 2013; ILO, 2012; Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2011). Based on MID, a profound change has been envisaged in the education sector with the objective of becoming an internationally recognised sustainable development hub by 2020 (Defimedia, 2013a and b). In this respect, a reform is intended to do away with both the end-of-primary CPE examination and the massive phenomenon of private tuition (Business mega, 2013; L'express, 2013b; Mauritius Times 2013, a, b, and c).

However, at this point it might be premature to advance further suggestions or criticise the policies being promoted. This is an issue that requires further attention and follow-up in the coming years. It might, however, be relevant to consider that this is not the first time that the government of Mauritius has had intentions to promote a profound change in the school and training system in order to make it more relevant to the needs of the economy. In 1997, an Action Plan on Education supported by the Ministry of Education intended to implement a 9-year school system and the abolition of ranking at CPE. Unfortunately, these important measures were resisted by different sectors of Mauritian society and, as a result, the plan was suspended

(Bunwaree, 2001). However, the present political and economic contexts appear to illustrate a different scheme in which the needs and constraints faced by Mauritians require major improvement in all sectors, including education (ILO, 2012). For this reason, it might not be unrealistic to expect changes discussed for the primary school system will to be put into practice by 2015 (Mauritius Times, 2013c).

5.7 Could private tuition be considered as an obstacle to achieving EFA?

The right to education and equal access to free primary education of good quality appeared to be reflected in the school system (mesosystem) through official policy documents published by the Kenyan and Mauritian ministries of education (Ministry of Education [Kenya], 2008; Ministry of Education [Mauritius], 2009). This explains why, in Mauritius, the provision of education to all pupils represents one of the key strategic goals of primary education set by the national Ministry of Education. Similarly, and viewed from this meso level point of view, it is possible to see that the ministry's notion of quality of education is directly associated with academic achievement. As explained in their Strategy Plan *"the overall goal of the ministry for primary education is to sustain equitable access to quality education, ensuring that all learners attain high levels of achievement in Literacy, Numeracy..."* (Ministry of Education, 2009, p.15). According to this view, the only way to ensure that pupils succeed at the higher levels of the education system was by supporting *"a culture of achievement throughout the system and all levels of the system"*

(Ministry of Education, 2009, p.30). However, it might seem curious to note that in the same document, another part of the text evoked an overt political will to eradicate pupils' need for private tuition through a gradual elimination of this educational practice (Ministry of Education, 2009). In other words, a contradictory message seemed to prevail. On the one hand, the ministry's educational policies set and promoted high standard achievement levels while on the other hand, the delivery of academic support aimed at reaching such standard levels was outlawed.

Nevertheless this 'culture of achievement' was strongly criticized by a Mauritian educational expert who argued that this prevailing ideology based on meritocracy was counterproductive. He further explained that such a 'culture of achievement' masked the inequitable nature of the education system in which those children whose parents were unable to pay for extra support were also unable reach the required performance levels which, in turn, led them to find themselves excluded from the education system (Bunwaree, 2001).

Over the years the phenomenon of private tuition gained visibility not only among educationalists, policy makers and researchers, but also from public opinion and the local press. Interestingly, findings from the present research study confirmed claims made by local journals in which pupils' parents were signalled as being the main actors responsible for putting pressure on school

teachers so that their children could benefit from extra school support (Le Mauricien, 2011a and b).

Another important point that emerged through parental reactions highlighted that private tuition was considered to be part of formal schooling because it was delivered at the children's school by the same school teachers. This situation appeared to explain why pupils' parents spoke about private tuition as an integral part of their children's daily school routine. In this light, it would seem that, in Mauritius, the notion of 'schooling' and 'private tuition' were so closely related that parents appeared to find it hard to conceive of one without the other. For this reason, the way in which parents referred to private tuition led me to believe that they perceived schooling and private tuition as complementary educational practices.

Therefore, following parental views about the role of private tuition in their children's schools, it would seem that the nature of private tuition in this country was more complex than expected. This leads me to believe that the conceptualisation of private tuition as a 'parallel form of schooling' (Bray, 1999; 2003; Parsuramen, 1997) did not seem to be appropriate in the Mauritian context where extra lessons were perceived as an integral component in pupils' educational environment. In addition, and according to parents' responses, school success was assumed to be dependent on the opportunity to attend these extra lessons and benefit from them. Therefore, it would seem that this was perhaps one of the most salient aspects of private

tuition in this part of the world, where extra lessons took place at school, were delivered by pupils' school teachers and were considered as a crucial element of the official form of schooling.

Kenya also presented an interesting case. Observed from a meso level perspective, the Kenyan Ministry of Education also put emphasis on the provision of education of good quality and committed itself to "*ensuring that all children have access to and complete quality primary education*" (Ministry of Education [Kenya], 2008, p.5). Over its 2008-2012 plan period, one of their main objectives sought to "*ensure excellence so that measurable outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and life skills*" (Ministry of Education [Kenya], 2008, p.5). However, the Kenyan Strategic Plan omitted to mention the prevalence of private tuition which was taking place inside public primary schools. Perhaps the national teachers' strike that took place in the summer of 2012 as a response to the ministry's tuition ban (Daily Nation, 2012a; Otieno, 2012), made the Parliament open a thorough debate which resulted in the publication of 'Basic Education Act No.14 of 2013'. The main purpose of this important document was to ensure and regulate free and compulsory primary education. In this context, the Basic Education Act clearly stated that: (a) "*no public school shall charge or cause any parent or guardian to pay tuition fees for or on behalf any pupil in the school*" (Kenya Government, 2013, Art.29, p.238), and that (b) "*No pupil shall be subjected to holiday tuition*" (Art. 37, p.241). However, following findings from this research, it appeared clear that such regulations were not respected by a large part of the population.

In connection with this, Bray and Suso (2008) claimed that such an unofficial form of schooling taking place after school hours (private tuition) was challenging the expected effects of the EFA initiative, especially in the African countries. This claim appears to be justified, especially when we confirm that pupils receiving private tuition performed significantly better than pupils not receiving it (see Section 4.2 Tables 14 and 15). However, this is a key point that deserves further reflection because it might lead to misinterpretations and confusion. In this light, careful attention should be given to the particular social contexts in which this phenomenon of private tuition was investigated. In the case of Kenya and Mauritius, it became clear that there were some tensions between the political aims set at the macro level (UNESCO, EFA initiative), the will to implement the policy reflected at the meso level (national system of education) and the tensions discussed at the micro level (pupils' parents perceptions and aspirations). Therefore, it would appear that although, in theory, there appeared to be a national political will to provide free and equal access to education of good quality, this will was not practised inside schools. It might be worthwhile to consider the possibility of solving the mismatch between policy and practice if government authorities could meet with school communities, including administrators, teachers and parents, and discuss what they expect from their school system and their children's future. Otherwise, it would seem that the political discourse disseminated at the macro and meso levels would have little chance of being followed at the micro level where children attend their courses every day.

Similarly, the claim that private tuition might function as an obstacle to EFA (Bray and Suso, 2008) appeared to be confirmed by parents participating in this study, who expressed their willingness to ensure that their children had the best possible education and perceived private tuition as unavoidable. Therefore, this particular situation in which a massive delivery of extra lessons was evident (See Table 4 Appendix 7), and parents confirmed that they paid their children's teacher to deliver extra lessons at their own school, clearly excluded those children whose parents could not afford private tuition. In turn, such inequality in participation in extra lessons obviously marginalised children from lower socio-economic backgrounds and left them with fewer chances of continuing their studies.

At the same time, the role of both mainstream school systems should not be neglected. As discussed earlier, each school system through its "culture of achievement" in Mauritius and its need to "ensure excellence" in Kenya supported and promoted inequality among pupils. Viewed from the macro level, such discrepancy with the worldwide principle of Education for All inevitably excluded pupils from poor backgrounds. As a consequence of such mismatch between educational principles, educational policies and educational practices, it appears that private tuition emerged as a mechanism that sought to assist children pass academic filters imposed by the same mainstream school system.

Viewed from a parental perspective, it was found that the system itself created a need for private tuition, fed its demand and supported its

prevalence. In addition, non-academic reasons such as the ones put forward by pupils' parents in Kenya, clearly pointed to these extra lessons as a good reason for extending the school day while keeping children supervised doing something useful in a safe place.

5.8 Contribution of my work

5.8.1 The percolation effect

One of the main objectives of the organisation for which I worked was to generate information that could be used by decision-makers to plan the quality of education in their countries (SACMEQ, 1999). In this sense, when I started work on this thesis, I had the idea of producing research evidence that could be used to inform policy-makers and analysts about a 'parallel' form of schooling that was taking place inside public primary schools, whose implications seemed to be overlooked by decision-makers.

Nevertheless, I understand that the effects of educational research are not so linear and that the use of this type of research in the sphere of public policy is a rather complex phenomenon (Weiss, 1979; 1982; Firestone, 1989; Porter 2010). In this light, Carol Weiss (1979; 1982) stated that one of the most frequent ways in which research enters the policy arena is through a process that has come to be called 'enlightenment'. In her view, social science research filters through different channels such as academic journals, articles in the media, the advice of consultants, conversations with colleagues and attendance at conferences or training programmes (Weiss, 1979; 1982). In this way ideas from research 'enlighten' policy-makers and stimulate

informed public opinion on ways of thinking about educational problems and, at the same time, influence the way in which people think about educational issues. This process in which ideas filter through people's awareness is known as the 'percolation effect' (Weiss, 1979; Postlethwaite, 2001). Yet it is important to note that the extent to which policy-makers accept a research idea depends on the degree to which this idea resonates with their prior knowledge. If it makes sense and it helps them to associate research evidence with their prior knowledge and impressions, policy-makers tend to include a new idea in their stock of knowledge. In this way, research can also become a medium of criticism because it raises awareness and challenges old assumptions through the introduction of new perspectives (Weiss, 1982).

In this respect, I believe that the main contribution of my work consists of suggesting the examination of a perspective that appears to have been overlooked by policy-makers in Kenya and Mauritius: This is the parental perspective. I think that research findings discussed in this thesis might 'resonate' in policy-makers' and educational analysts' minds because, as parents, they might be able to identify with the concerns expressed by the parents participating in this study. In other words, policy makers and ministry officials who have children attending primary school are likely to better understand the drivers of a massive delivery of private tuition because, as parents, they might find that research findings from this thesis fit with what they already know or what they want to do about their children's education. Again, following Weiss' (2006) claims about policy-making, it would appear that through the enlightenment process, ideas grow and are included into the

mix along with the old ones. Therefore, through the publication and dissemination of my work, my intention is to contribute to this enlightenment process in order to raise awareness and provide a backdrop of ideas that deserve further reflection.

5.8.2 Implications for a further study

Firestone (1989) argues that educational policy can be considered as a set of overlapping games in which each game has its own winners and losers but each feeds and is fed by others. Through his metaphor of educational policy as an ecology of games, he intended to illustrate some of the functions and dysfunctions of the policy process. In this context, research could be considered as another game that provides input and gets output from various policy games. However, Firestone (1989) cautioned against the discontinuities among games, because these were responsible for creating difficulties in using research evidence.

In his ecology of games, Firestone (1989) identified four games that interacted and created discontinuities. These were: (a) the legislative, (b) the government administration, (c) the district and school administration, and (d) the teaching game. In the context of my thesis these games were mentioned but not explored in depth because the emphasis was put on the parental game which, in turn, was ignored in Firestone's conception. For this reason, in order to better grasp the phenomenon of private tuition and better inform

policy-makers, further research should combine the ecology of private tuition with Firestone's ecology of policy games. In this way, it would be possible to reflect on the improvement of educational policies taking into consideration important aspects of private tuition identified at the macro, meso and micro levels.

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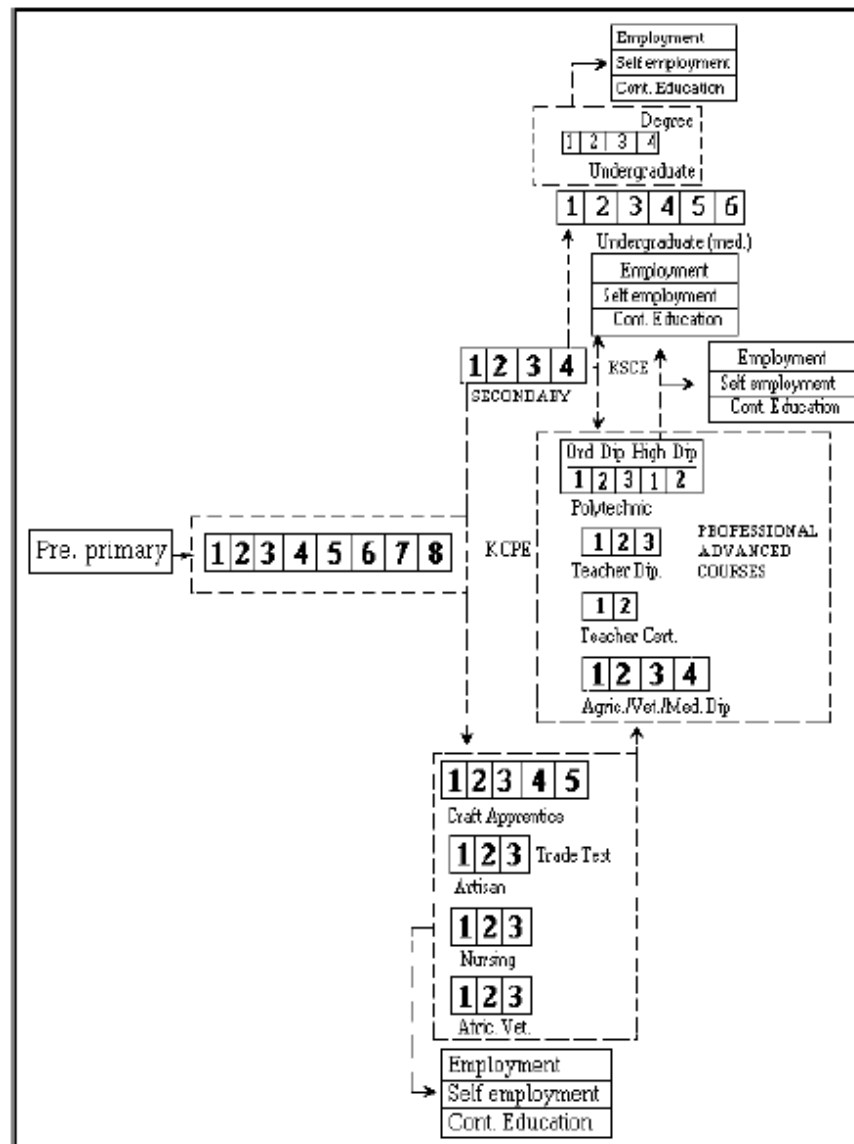
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Appendices

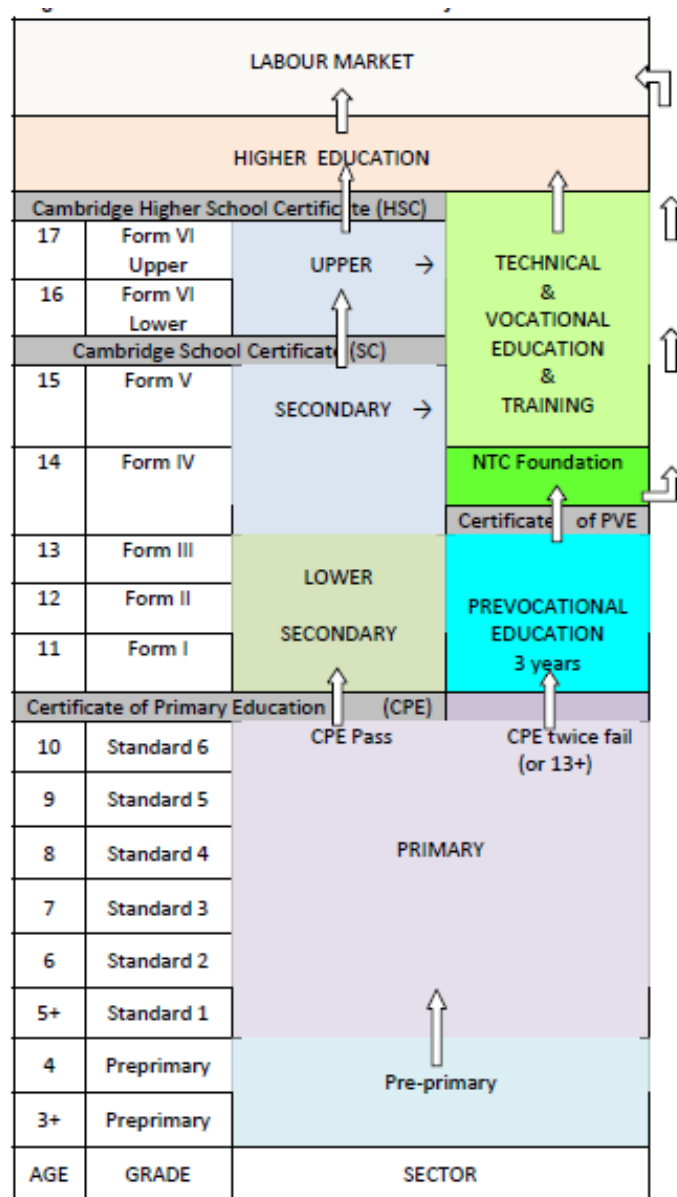
Appendix 1: Kenyan and Mauritian School Systems

Figure 1 : Structure of Kenyan Education System in 2010



(Source: UNESCO-IBE, 2010b)

Figure 2 : Structure of Mauritian Education System in 2011



(Source: Sauba and Lutchmiah, 2011)

Appendix 2: SACMEQ III questionnaire items on extra lessons

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT EXTRA LESSONS IN SCHOOL SUBJECTS OUTSIDE SCHOOL HOURS DURING THIS SCHOOL YEAR

36. **Do you take** extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours?
(Please tick **only one box**.)

☐

No

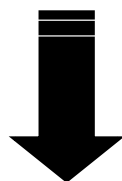
☐

Yes

NOTE: If you do not take any extra lessons, go to Question 49.



NOTE: If you do take extra lessons continue with Questions 37 through 48.



37. In which school subjects do you take extra lessons outside school hours during this school year?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 37.1 English | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 37.2 Mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 37.3 Science | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 37.4 Other school subjects | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

38. **Who** gives you these extra lessons during this school year?

(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 38.1 My own school teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 38.2 Another teacher <u>in my school</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 38.3 A teacher <u>from another school</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 38.4 Another person | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

39. **Where** do you take these extra lessons during this school year?

(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 39.1 At my school | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 39.2 At another school | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 39.3 At a teacher's house | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 39.4 At my home | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 39.5 Elsewhere | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

40. **At what time** during this school year do you take these extra lessons?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 40.1 During school holidays | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 40.2 During the school term | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

41. **How often** do you take these extra lessons during this school year?
(Please tick **only one box**.)

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | Once a month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | 2 or 3 times per month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | Once or twice per week |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | 3 or more times per week |

42. **About how many hours** do you spend on these extra lessons per week during this school year?
(Please write the number of hours in the box below.)

| |
|------|
| (2D) |
|------|

 hours per week

43. **What do you do** in these extra lessons during this school year?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 43.1 Practice exam questions | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 43.2 Repeat / revise school work | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 43.3 Learn new things | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 43.4 Do homework | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 43.5 Other activities | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

44. **How many children** (including yourself) are in your extra lessons group during this school year?
(Please write the number of children in the box below.)

| | |
|--|------|
| | (3D) |
|--|------|

 children

45. **Is there any payment** made to the person who gives you these extra lessons during this school year?
(Please tick **only one box**.)

| |
|-----|
| (1) |
|-----|

I think there is **no** payment of any kind.

| |
|-----|
| (2) |
|-----|

I think there is a money payment.

| |
|-----|
| (3) |
|-----|

There could be another kind of payment.

| |
|-----|
| (4) |
|-----|

There could be both a money payment and another kind of payment.

46. **What do you think** about the extra lessons that you take?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 46.01 These lessons are difficult. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.02 These lessons are fun. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.03 I would like to avoid these lessons. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.04 These lessons are boring. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.05 These lessons are easy. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.06 These lessons sometimes confuse me. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.07 I tell my friends to come to these lessons. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.08 I feel free to ask any questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.09 These lessons take up too much of my time. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| 46.10 These lessons help me with my homework. | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

47. **Who** wants you to take these extra lessons?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

47.1 My teacher(s)

47.2 My School Head

47.3 My friend(s)

47.4 My family

47.5 Myself

47.6 Another person

| No | Yes |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) |

48. **What is the main reason** you take these extra lessons?
(Please tick **only one box**.)

☐
(1)

Because I want to improve my work at school.

☐
(2)

Because I want to succeed in an examination.

☐
(3)

Because I need extra help with difficult school work.

☐
(4)

Because I want to be with my school friends.

☐
(5)

Because it is compulsory.

Appendix 3: Notes for Data Collectors

Country

Province

School

Parent

Data Collector

Gender

Some Questions about your Perceptions of your child's extra academic support

1. What Standard year is your child attending this term?
(Please tick only one box)

- ☐ Standard 6
☐ Standard 7
☐ Standard 8

2. What is the sex of your child?
(Please tick only one box)

- ☐ Boy
☐ Girl

Comment [LP4]: Please explain to the respondent that you are making reference to "extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours".

Please explain to the respondent that: "These might be paid lessons based on subjects taught at school such as mathematics, English or Science. These paid lessons are delivered outside official school time".

Comment [LP5]: If the respondent has more than one child in Standard 6 to 8, use the most-recent-birthday rule so that questions are asked only about this child.

Comment [LP6]: Make sure that only one box is ticked.

Comment [LP7]: Make sure that only one box is ticked.

3. What type of extra academic support does your child take?

(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

3.1 One-to-One (one pupil one tutor)

3.2 Small group lessons (from 2 to 10 pupils)

3.3 Large group lessons (more than 10 pupils)

No

Yes

☐ (1)

☐ (2)

☐ (1)

☐ (2)

☐ (1)

☐ (2)

Comment [LP8]: Make sure that only one box is ticked on each line.

4. How long has your child been taking extra support?

(Please tick **only one box**.)

☐ (1)

Since he/she started school

☐ (2)

Since a couple of years ago

☐ (3)

Only in this academic year (2012)

□

Comment [LP9]: Make sure that only one box is ticked.

5. What are the main reasons for taking extra academic support?

(Please tick **only one box** for *each line*.)

- 5.1 These extra lessons will help him/her to obtain the best possible marks
- 5.2 These extra lessons will improve his/her chances of gaining entry to a good secondary school
- 5.3 My child is having difficulties with his/her school work
- 5.4 This is a common practice, most pupils take these extra lessons
- 5.5 These extra lessons will ensure that he/she will will be taught the entire school programme (syllabus)
- 5.6 Other reasons?

If yes, please specify: -----

| No | Yes |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment [LP10]: Make sure that only one box is ticked on each line.

□

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?
(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly agree |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6.1 It is important to me that my child gets good grades at school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6.2 Self-discipline is essential for success in life | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6.3 It is worth putting in extra effort even if this means having less time for fun | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6.4 People who do well in school get the best jobs | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6.5 It is important for my child to try hard at school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment [LP11]: Make sure that only one box is ticked on each line.

7. Who recommends that your child take extra academic support?

(Please tick **only one box** on each line.)

| | No | Yes |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 7.1 Myself/My spouse | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7.2 Other members of the family | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7.3 My child's school teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7.4 My child's school principal | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comment [LP12]: Make sure that only one box is ticked on each line.

8. When do you think that **your child will stop taking** extra academic support?

(Please tick **only one box**.)

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | End of primary school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | End of secondary school |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | After university entrance |

Comment [LP13]: Make sure that only one box is ticked on each line.

9. What can you say about the **positive aspects** of taking extra academic support?
(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the **box**.)

Comment [LP14]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder. Probe: Does your child enjoy taking these lessons?

10. Are there **any negative aspects** of this extra academic support? If yes, which are they?
(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the **box**.)

Comment [LP15]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

11. Can you remember the cost of this extra academic support? If not, how much do you think that it might cost per month approximately?

(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP16]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

12. In general terms, what do you think about the quality of education delivered at school in terms of preparing your child for secondary school?

(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP17]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

13. Do you think that **all children should receive extra academic support**? Why do you think this?
(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP18]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

14. What do you think will be **the highest level of education** achieved by your child? Can you tell me a bit more about this?
(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP19]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

15. What do you think will be your child's job/occupation when he/she completes his/her education? Can you tell me a bit more about this?

(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP20]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

16. Do you think that extra academic support will help your child gain a better education and have better employment prospects? Why do you believe this?

(Please record the parent's response or write his/her answer inside the box.)

Comment [LP21]: Make sure that you record the parent's answer with your recorder.

Appendix 4: Manual for local researchers

SACMEQ III Follow-up Research Project on “Parents’ perceptions and views of their children’s extra academic support”

Manual for Data Collectors

Research study conducted by Mrs Laura Paviot, SACMEQ Research Associate, and supported by the Ministry of Education and Human Ressources, Mauritius.

Acknowledgement

The Manual was authored by Laura Paviot (laura.paviot@yahoo.com), SACMEQ Research Associate, for the present research study in order to investigate “Parents’ perceptions and views of their children’s extra academic support”. The structure and style of the present manual have been adapted from the Manual for Data Collectors for the IIEP Programme on Gender Equality in Education which has been conducted by Dr. Mioko Saito, IIEP Programme Specialist. In turn, the present manual and the manual on Gender Equality were inspired by the SACMEQ Manuals for Data Collectors (www.sacmeq.org).

The author is grateful to the Ministry of Education in Mauritius, in particular Mrs Maya Soonarane; Professor Judy Ireson, the Institute of Education, University of London; Professor Kenneth N. Ross, Melbourne University, Australia; and Dr. Demus Makuwa, SACMEQ Director.

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1. Introduction

The Ministry of Education in Mauritius is an active and highly-valued Member of the **Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ)**. Work on SACMEQ's third major research initiative – **the SACMEQ III Study** – started in 2006 and was completed in 2011. All fifteen SACMEQ Ministries of Education participated in this research. The SACMEQ III Project enabled Ministries of Education to assess trends in the conditions of schooling and the quality of education through comparisons with the research results obtained from the SACMEQ I and SACMEQ II Projects. The SACMEQ III Project data collection covered a total of around 70,000 pupils and 7,600 teachers located in 2,800 schools.

In early 2012 the Chairperson of the SACMEQ Scientific Committee (Professor Kenneth N. Ross at the University of Melbourne) suggested that it would be worthwhile to extend the SACMEQ III data collection using qualitative interview information in order to further our understanding about how paid extra lessons are viewed by pupils' parents in different SACMEQ countries.

In response to Professor Ross's suggestion and as a member of SACMEQ's research network, Laura Paviot prepared a proposal for a "SACMEQ III Follow-up Study" that was based on the collection of interview data from thirty parents that have children attending schools which participated in the SACMEQ III Project.

This research study was prepared with the aim of developing a more accurate picture of the perceptions and views of pupils' parents about the provision of paid extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours (pupils' extra academic support) in Mauritius. All aspects of the proposal were subjected to a comprehensive approval process conducted by professorial and senior staff associated with the Institute of Education at the University of London.

It is expected that the findings of this SACMEQ follow-up research study will provide additional information about the complexities of pupils' extra academic support in Mauritius. In this way, findings from this study are intended to provide further insight into key educational issues and inform policy making processes that take into consideration relevant implications of an important educational phenomenon.

2. Purpose of the Manual

The manual is dedicated to the data collectors' preparation before visiting schools. It provides clear instructions on the procedure to follow before meeting respondents, during the interviews and after having returned from the school. It is of paramount importance that each Data Collector reads and understands the procedures before meeting School Principals and potential respondents.

3. Schools to visit

Based on specific criteria that took into consideration schools' socio-economic background and location, 6 schools that participated in the SACMEQ III Study in 2007 were selected to participate in this study. These schools were informed in advance about your visit. Please make sure to check the following points:

- 1) Date and time at which you are visiting the schools
- 2) Location of the school and how to get there
- 3) Identification numbers for the administrative unit (province), district, and school

4. Overview of the Data Collection Instruments

There are two instruments that must be used in order to collect data for this research study.

These instruments are: (a) the Pupil's Parent Questionnaire, and (b) the School Tracking Form. The Pupil's Parent Questionnaire contains sixteen questionnaire items. The questionnaire begins with closed multiple-choice questions and continues with open ended questions. Please make sure to read the "commented version" of the interview schedule where you can find clear instructions and comments on the right hand margin of the document. These notes are intended to assist you with the administration of each questionnaire item.

The School Tracking Form contains important information that will enable you to gather and centralise information related to both: each one of the visited schools and each one of the respondents (pupils' parents) participating in the study. Please note that one School Tracking Form will contain information from one particular school and from the five respondents whose children attend that particular school. Therefore, at the end of the data collection phase, **it is expected that data collectors submit a total number of : (a) thirty completed copies of the Pupil's Parent Questionnaire and (b) six completed copies of the School Tracking Form.**

5. Preparations before visiting a school: Materials needed

For each school to be visited, you should bring the following items:

- A copy of the letter from the Ministry of Education
- 5 Parents' Interview Schedules
- 1 School Tracking Form
- 1 Data Collectors' Manual (for each Data Collector)
- 1 tape recorder or Dictaphone (for each Data Collector)
- 1 watch
- 1 pencil
- 1 eraser

6. On the arrival at School

The school principal should have been informed of your intended visit in advance (at least a few weeks earlier). However, before visiting the school, remember to contact the school principal in order to confirm the date and time of your visit.

During the meeting with the School Principal explain again the purpose of your visit and hand over the copy of the letter from Ministry of Education indicating that you have been authorised to undertake this study.

It is important to emphasize the fact that the school you are visiting was one of the schools that were sampled and participated in the SACMEQ III Study in 2007. Also remember to explain that the present study is a follow-up that intends to add a new perspective to the findings obtained during SACMEQ III through the observation of parental perceptions.

Explain to the school principal that the data collection is confidential, and that no schools or individual parent will be identified. Concerning the selection of potential respondents, it is of paramount importance to make a point by stating that the sample will include pupils parents whose child is:

- (a) attending Standard 6
- (b) performing well at school

7. School Observation

In order to better interpret the context in which the data are collected, it is very useful to write the "first impressions" of the school in terms of its infrastructure, location, and main characteristics (urban /rural) on the School Tracking Form. It is also recommended to request the School Principal's permission to take some pictures of the school.

8. Interviews

Interviews are particularly useful for understanding the “story behind” respondents’ views, perceptions and views. In this way, the Data Collector can pursue in-depth information around a specific topic. Parental interviews seek to obtain not only factual information about their children’s extra school support but also an understanding of the reason behind their action. In other words, we intend to capture parents’ beliefs and opinions about their children’s extra school support. Unlike informal conversation interviews, the interview schedules – which were especially designed for this study – consist of guided interviews that include a combination of both multiple-choice and open ended questions. The main purpose of these guided interviews is to ensure that the same type of information is gathered from each Data Collector.

Before commencing an interview with a respondent, please make sure to clearly explain and cover the following points:

- Explain the purpose of the interview to the respondent (“We are conducting research in order to learn about parents’ perceptions and views of their children’s extra academic support”)
- Indicate that the interview will take 30 minutes approximately
- Explain the format of the interview (“I will ask you questions about your views on your child’s extra academic support”)
- Explain terms of confidentiality (“The information that you will give is strictly confidential and your identity will not be made known to anyone”)
- Confirm the respondent’s consent to ask him/her questions and explain that the respondent is free to interrupt or leave the interview at any time
- Explain that the findings of the study will be published and made available. Therefore, if the respondent wishes to receive a hard copy, please request their contact details so that a copy can be sent by post. Also if they prefer to receive an electronic copy, please request their email addresses. However, if a respondent does not have an email address, explain that a copy will be sent to the School Principal via email as well.
- Ask permission for recording (“If you do not mind, I would like to record our conversation. Is it OK if I turn on the tape recorder?”)
- Ask the respondent if there are any questions or comments that he/she would like to make.

During the interview, please verify that the tape recorder is working properly. If a tape recorder is not used, please make sure that you are taking a thorough note. Some questions could be difficult to answer. Please try to encourage parents' responses by providing some prompts. Some prompts are shown below the question but also a comment was added on the right margin of the instrument. Regardless of the respondent's reaction, remember to stay neutral and encourage the respondent to explain his/her answer.

At the end of the interview remember to thank the respondent for his/her time and valuable contribution.

9. Care for instruments

The instruments (Interview Schedules and School Tracking Forms) are confidential documents. If any part of them were to fall into unauthorised hands, they may lose their authenticity. Make sure that the number of instruments returned from the school(s) matches the number taken to the school. Please return all copies of the instruments completed or uncompleted. Under no circumstances must any copy be left behind at a school. Do not allow anybody to copy any material from the instruments.

Appendix 5: Letters

1) SACMEQ letter of recommendation



Ref: IIEP/SCC/12/42

5 July 2012

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Research Project on "Parents' Perceptions of Private Tuition"

This is to certify that Mrs Laura Paviot – an experienced educational researcher who has had long association with the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) – would like to conduct research on "Parents' Perceptions of Private Tuition" in Mauritius, as one of the follow-up activities to the results of the SACMEQ III study, which SACMEQ encourages.

It is anticipated that Mrs Paviot's research will provide new knowledge that will inform policy about the educational phenomenon of "private tuition" (defined as paid extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours).

I therefore have no hesitation in recommending Mrs Paviot to conduct this study in Mauritius. I kindly request you to review her research proposal and permit her to conduct this study in your country.

Mrs Paviot will soon be writing to you in order to provide more information and to seek your permission to gather a small amount of qualitative interview data in Mauritius that will focus on parents' perceptions of paid extra lessons. This will require her to contact five parents from at least six schools that participated in the SACMEQ III Project in Mauritius in 2007.

Your Ministry has been an active participant in SACMEQ's research and training programmes, and I look forward to the continued co-operation with your Ministry.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "D. Makuwa".

Dr Demus K. Makuwa
Acting Director
SACMEQ Co-ordinating Centre

2) Approval letter from Ministry of Education, Mauritius

Republic of Mauritius
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & HUMAN RESOURCES
MITD House, Phoenix

ME/O/305/343

25 September, 2012.

Mrs Laura-Paviot
SACMEQ Network Research Member

Madam,

Request for approval to conduct research on Parent's perception of private tuition

Please refer to your mail of 16 August, 2012.

I am pleased to inform you that the Ministry has given its approval to your request to conduct short interviews (lasting not more than 20 minutes) with a total of 30 parents (5 parents from each of 6 schools) that have children attending schools which participated in the SACMEQ III Project.

In this context, it would be appreciated if you could communicate to the Ministry the month in which you wish to conduct your interviews so that the Ministry can identify six schools, liaise with Head Masters and invite five interested parents from that school. Please note that as from mid October 2012, primary schools are in exams period. They will then proceed on summer vacation on 1 November 2012 to resume in January 2013. The resumption date has not been fixed yet.

Yours faithfully,



C. Toolsee
for Senior Chief Executive

**3) Authorization for from Ministry of Education, Kenya via de
Kenyan National Examinations Council**

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FORM

PLEASE SCAN/E-MAIL THIS INFORMATION TO LAURA PAVIOT
BEFORE 31 JULY 2012
(E-MAIL: laura.paviot@yahoo.com)

TITLE OF RESEARCH: Parents' perceptions and beliefs of paid extra lessons in school
subjects outside school hours in Kenya.

NAME OF SACMEQ RESEARCHER: Mrs Laura Paviot

Mrs Laura Paviot is authorised to conduct research activities at the primary school level based on
parental perceptions of paid extra lessons in school subjects outside school hours.

SIGNED:


(Signature of Chief Executive Kenya National Examinations
Council and KNEC Stamp)

Appendix 6: Interview Analysis

KENYA

QI#9: What can you say about the positive aspects of taking extra school support?

| PARID | SCHOOL ID | Responses on positive aspects | NOTES | CODES |
|-------|-----------|---|--|--|
| 01 | 934008015 | | This parental interview was removed from the sample. | |
| 02 | 934008015 | <p>"R02: I fully support extra academic support because it is helping our children. This is helping us because, you know, children can get involved with bad friends. So here they spend most of their time at school with their teacher and so they are not involved in other things like drug abuse. It is helping us to keep our children away from bad influences."</p> <p>Is there anything else you can think of as a good aspect?</p> <p>DC: Is there anything else you can think of as a good aspect?</p> <p>R02: Yes, with extra lessons children have time to talk with the teacher so if there is something they did not understand something in a certain lesson they can discuss with their teacher. So they are getting more instead of just coming home in the afternoon."</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | <p>*PT avoids bad company/idleness</p> <p>*Teacher's attention</p> |
| 03 | 934008015 | | This parental interview was removed from the sample. | |
| 04 | 934008015 | <p>- "Good performance in class"</p> <p>- "Children learn more than what is taught during the normal school hours"</p> <p>- "Helps avoid the child engaging in bad groups and behaviour"</p> | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| | | | | *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| 05 | 934008015 | - "Excellence in academics" - "Improves discipline" - "Increases student-teacher rapport" - "Helps avoid idleness in students" - "Helps teachers and students complete syllabus" | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/better results *Teacher's attention *PT avoids bad company/idleness *Syllabus |
| 06 | 934008015 | - "Helps students improve their weak subjects" | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results |
| 07 | 934004020 | R07: "They are busy with academic work, and they watch less tv" | Transcription from recorded interview | *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| 08 | 934004020 | R08: "It is very positive because one of the aspects is that it is the first time for these children to learn at their own pace, like the one-to-one. You know, children do not learn at the same level, they are different so when you give them extra support they are able to learn at their own pace, may be you are putting something different from their teacher depending on the ways of doing things. This other person is likely to bring something different from what the [school] teacher has done and this becomes very helpful. Then again we have time to complete the syllabus." | Transcription from recorded interview | *Syllabus |
| | | DC: Then is there any other positive aspect for taking extra academic support? | | *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| | | R08: "Also there is the social aspect of it by interacting with children from other schools. Well, although this takes time it reduces a lot of time that is spent in bad company. And they have little time to be exposed to bad influences" | | |
| 09 | 934004020 | - Pupils are able to use time well for revision and are guided by teachers. - Extra support will enable to revise a lot and be prepared for national exams | (No recording) Notes taken by | *Improvement/good results |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| | | | DC. | |
| 10 | 934004020 | <p>-It helps to improve his child's performance.</p> <p>- His son was able to improve from 360 marks to 420 marks</p> <p>-His son likes it very much because he could see the fruits of extra support</p> | | *Improvement/good results |
| 11 | 934002005 | <p>R11: "The good part of it is that taking extra academic support lessons, like my child is very bad in mathematics. If she has someone to give her tuition, I think she can improve the grade of mathematics and she passes the examination well and I will be glad to take her to a good school, if she attains better marks.</p> <p>DC: Ok. Is there anything else that you like about it?</p> <p>R11: I also like it because it makes that child busy.</p> <p>DC: What do you mean by being "busy"?</p> <p>R11: Busy with school work. She doesn't have a lot of time to waste with t.v. or playing outside, she just has time to study and I think that is why she is in school."</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | <p>*Improvement/good results</p> <p>*PT avoids bad company/idleness</p> |
| 12 | 934002005 | <p>R12: "My child has improved. Extra support helps pupils improve their marks.</p> <p>DC: So you would say that it helps pupils improve their academic performances?</p> <p>R12: Yes. Also while they are in class the performance... let us say when teacher is with a group of about eight pupils they will be able at that hour from 4 to 5 to ask a questions [to the teacher] and the question will be answered thoroughly by the teacher.</p> <p>DC: So in other words what you are saying is that in a group, in a whole classroom the pupils might not feel comfortable or may not get the time to ask the question but in a small group the student can ask questions more easily and the teacher would take time to answer that question and explain things clearly?</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | <p>*Improvement/good results</p> <p>*Teacher's attention</p> |

R12: Yes, that's right.

DC: So, in other words we can say that the extra academic support enhances learning through active participation for students in small groups than in big classes.

R: Yes.

DC: What else would you find as a positive aspect?

R12: Also in those small groups pupils are able to do what they had not [.....Kiswahili....]

DC: So, you are saying that in small groups pupils are able to discuss more.

R12: Yes.

13

934002005

- It helps the pupil grasp what they learn in class during their free time
- It helps the child improve their weakest points

(No recording)
Notes taken by
DC.

*Improvement/good
results

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| 14 | 934002005 | <p>R14: "It improves the child's academic performance and that [will make] the child a future a leader. A good foundation [makes] the best building.</p> <p>DC: mmm, a good foundation, what building you mean?</p> <p>R14: When the child gets the best education from the start, at the end of academic performance or schooling, we expect better returns, that is a better job or if it's a business she or he can manage it properly."</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results |
| 15 | 934002005 | <p>- Extra support allows children to realise their potential.</p> <p>- It encourages children to read more and work hard.</p> | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results |
| 16 | 934006002 | <p>R16: "Children take time to revise school subjects. Also it makes the child spend more time with teacher so that she can ask questions about whatever she did not understand.</p> <p>DC: Can you think of anything else?</p> <p>R16: It demands the child to be busy. She is always busy even if she is at home.</p> <p>DC: And does she have time to do other things at home?</p> <p>R16: It comes a time when she is Standard 7 I don't like her to work too much, or have an extra job, for example. But when she is at home I don't like her working too much on extra jobs, but when she is at home she watches t.v.</p> <p>DC: OK. So you mean that you prefer that she works on her school work.</p> <p>R16: Yes. If she is not doing tuition she likes to watch tv too much and that is not good also she can be in bad company. So I like my child to stay at school and take tuition with her school teacher at the school where she is learning - not in another school or place. I like her to receive tuition at the school where she is learning. I did that with my three kids and I can see it was good.</p> <p>DC: So to you taking tuition is worthwhile even if you need to make an effort.</p> <p>R: Yes, I like tuition."</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | <p>*Teacher's attention</p> <p>*PT avoids bad company/idleness</p> |
| 17 | 934006002 | <p>R17: "the child increases his or her performance at school and attains good grades that enable her to go to the other step.</p> <p>DC: Is there any other thing?</p> <p>R17: I think that is the major positive thing."</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 18 | 934006002 | <p>R18: "To me, things look the same for I know the ability of my child that he can perform even if he sits in that extra tuition time I don't see much difference.</p> <p>DC: Is there any positive aspect at all?</p> <p>R18: That would call for the teacher to explain because for me I don't know who is the weak child and who is not so generally speaking may be the weak children are benefiting and improving but to me and my child then I do not see much.</p> <p>DC: So you think that probably with the weak students extra support may help them to improve.</p> <p>R18: Yes, it may and I insist that I only say "may" improve.</p> <p>DC: Ok. Is there anything else that you might consider as positive?</p> <p>R18: Mmm, no.</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results |
| 19 | 934006002 | <p>- It helps the pupil avoid idleness keeping her busy all the time</p> <p>- It helps improve performance in class for the subjects she was not performing well such as composition</p> | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | <p>*PT avoids bad company/idleness</p> <p>*Improvement/good results</p> |
| 20 | 934006002 | <p>- Gets the drive and focusing life</p> <p>- The son appreciates it and enjoys it</p> | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Child enjoys PT |
| 21 | 934006021 | <p>R21: "It enables children to practice, revise the work of previous terms. It is especially useful for exams because it ensures the completion of the syllabus enabling children to be well prepared for examinations. In addition, children enjoy these extra lessons. "</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | <p>*Improvement/good results</p> <p>*Syllabus</p> <p>*Child enjoys PT</p> |
| 22 | 934006021 | <p>R21: "One area where one is to take an extra lesson or extra work is to do better, to improve the grades. The other area is also the issue of concentration because exams, school work, they need concentration, piece of mind and properly vision so I feel there are factors that combine to actually propel a child from one grade to another. And also to change, there are children with low concentration when it comes to class work so I believe that this is an extra effort for the child to do better, for the child to put an</p> | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| | | extra fight where he or she has been very low so all the same I would go for that. DC: So, you would say you find it as a good thing for your child? R21: For my child I find it a good thing because, as I told you, he is a slow learner so it is something that I would recommend. DC: So, do you see good results after taking extra support? R21: Yes. Like now he used to do very bad in mathematics and when I connect it and I kept revising with him the whole of last holiday he has improved the grades. And that was an improvement." | | |
| 23 | 934006021 | R23: "Extra support can help the student perform better than the others. DC: Anything else that you find good about it? R: It makes them occupied with school work and have less time to be idle" | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| 24 | 934006021 | R24: "For me it helps the child so much because I can see that he performs very well. DC: Does your child enjoy taking these lessons? R: Very much, yes. DC: Anything else? Any other positive aspects? R: On the side of discipline it helps them because in most cases they don't work so much because they do not concentrate. So when they are not monitored they waste a lot of time. You know most of the time they are in class so they do not have to do other things. You know, when they play alone there is a lot of fighting but when they are in school they know the teacher is there so they cannot go around doing nothing and when they are arrive home they are tired, so they are calm." | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results *Child enjoys PT *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| 25 | 934006021 | - In public school children get less attention during normal class hours but they get more attention during their free time which helps them improve the subjects they are not good at - Discipline is also improved because the child has less time to indulge with bad company - Security. The child who is in school with the teacher is in a secure place and therefore has less chances of being part of a "bad" group of children | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Teacher's attention *Improvement/good results *PT avoids bad company/idleness |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| | | that use drugs, for example | | |
| 26 | 800203005 | R26:" I think the child will be able to obtain extra marks so that he can perform well in that class. The second reason is that as he performs well he can be able to join a good secondary school. | Transcription from recorded interview | *Improvement/good results |
| 27 | 800203005 | - It helps pupils concentrate on their studies - It helps to reduce idle time and avoid bad company | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results *PT avoids bad company/idleness |
| 29 | 800203005 | - Extra academic support helps the child improve her performance - She gets higher marks because she spends extra time reading - The child enjoys the extra lessons | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results *Child enjoys PT |
| 29 | 800203005 | - The child gets more desires to perform well in examinations - the child is more disciplined because he spends most of his time with his teacher | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results |
| 30 | 800203005 | - The child develops more interest in learning because he spends more time to understand the subjects. This helps him to pass examinations - Revision of what is taught during school hours is done during the extra lessons. | (No recording) Notes taken by DC. | *Improvement/good results |

Appendix 7: Tables

Table 4 Percentages and sampling errors for pupils receiving paid lessons (through money payment) in school subjects outside school hours in SACMEQ III (2007)

| Grade 6 Pupils taking Paid Tuition | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Countries | SACMEQ III | |
| | % | SE |
| Mauritius | 74.6 | 1.54 |
| Kenya | 44.3 | 3.36 |
| Uganda | 25.1 | 2.02 |
| Zimbabwe | 15.3 | 1.46 |
| Tanzania | 14.3 | 1.49 |
| Seychelles | 11.5 | 0.81 |
| Zanzibar | 11.4 | 1.48 |
| Mozambique | 7.1 | 0.74 |
| Zambia | 6.1 | 0.93 |
| Botswana | 5.9 | 0.70 |
| Malawi | 4.5 | 0.75 |
| South Africa | 3.99 | 0.50 |
| Namibia | 2.9 | 0.47 |
| Lesotho | 2.5 | 0.43 |
| Swaziland | 1.0 | 0.39 |
| Average | 15.5 | 1.14 |

Table 25 **Frequencies for parents' indication about their children's type of PT (interview data)**

| | Type of private tuition | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | One-to-one | Small group | Large group |
| Kenya* | 5 | 9 | 22 |
| Mauritius | 1 | 5 | 27 |

***Note:** In Kenya responses from two parents' interviews were excluded due to inconsistencies

Table 26 **Frequencies for parents' indication about their children's length of time taking PT (interview data)**

| | Length of time taking PT | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Since the child started school | Since a couple of years ago | Only this academic year |
| Kenya* | 7 | 21 | 0 |
| Mauritius | 0 | 28 | 2 |

Table 27 **Frequencies for parents' main reasons for taking PT (interview data)**

| | Main reasons for taking PT | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| | Obtain best possible mark | Enter good secondary school | My child is having difficulties | This is a common practice | My child will be taught the entire syllabus | Another reason |
| Kenya | 28 | 21 | 18 | 21 | 21 | 22 |
| Mauritius | 28 | 27 | 19 | 5 | 26 | 13 |

Table 28 **Frequencies for parents' responses concerning the person who recommended taking PT (interview data)**

| | Person recommending taking PT | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------|
| | Parent(s) | Other family members | Teacher | School Head |
| Kenya | 27 | 18 | 22 | 17 |
| Mauritius | 28 | 3 | 2 | 0 |

Table 29 **Frequencies for parents' responses concerning the appropriate time for stopping delivery of PT (interview data)**

| | Appropriate time for stopping PT | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| | End of primary school | End of secondary school | After university entrance |
| Kenya | 1 | 16 | 11 |
| Mauritius | 0 | 19 | 11 |

Appendix 8: Charts

Chart 1: Parent's responses about their level of agreement concerning statements about their children's education and PT (Interview data)

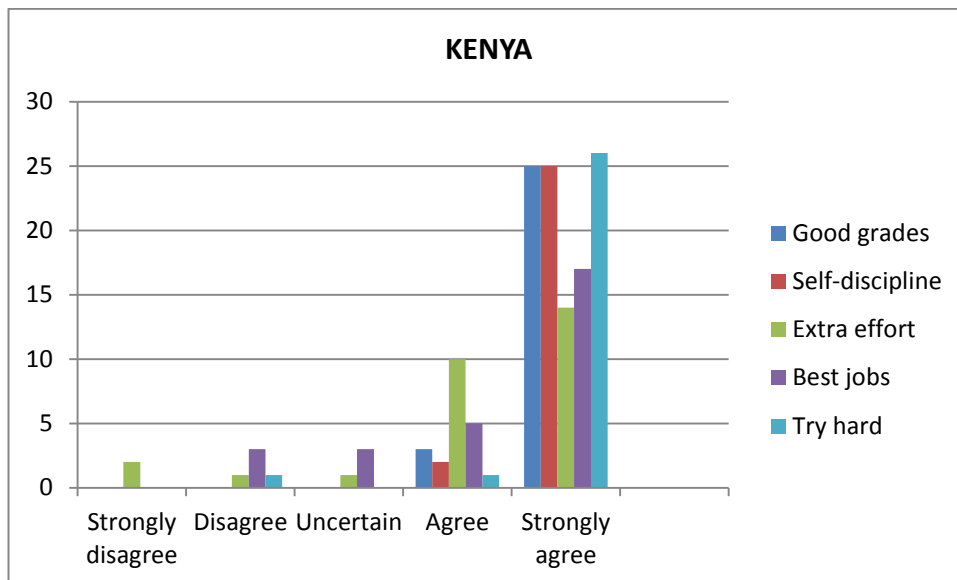
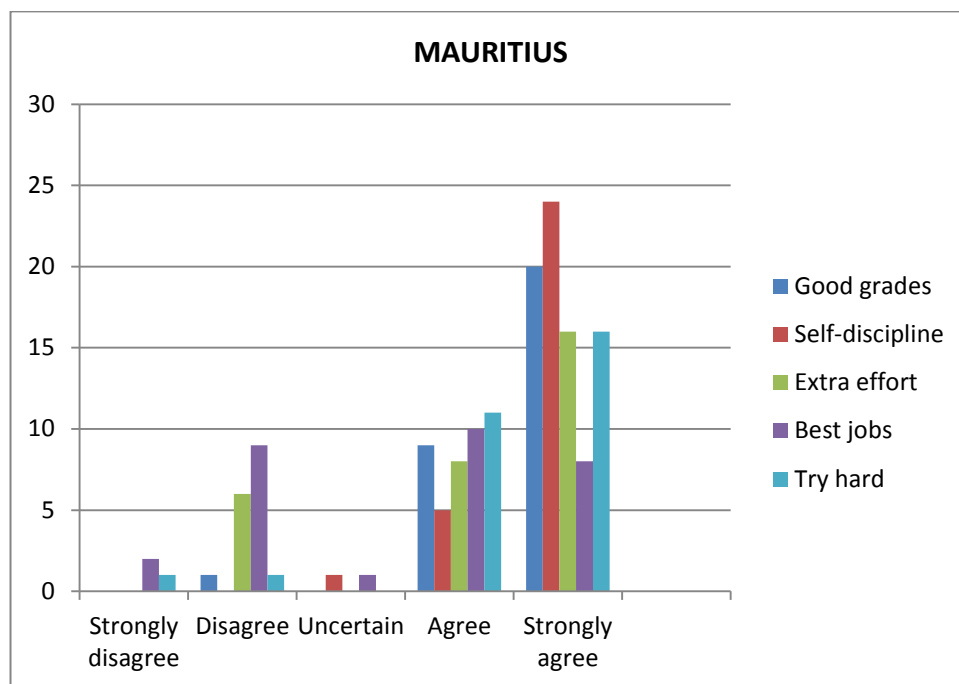


Chart 2: Parent's responses about their level of agreement concerning statements about their children's education and PT (Interview data)



Note: Legend explanation

- *Good grades: "It is important to me that my child gets good grades at school"*
- *Self-discipline: "Self-discipline is essential for success in life"*
- *Extra effort: "It is worth putting in extra effort even if this means having less time for fun"*
- *Best jobs: "People who do well in school get the best jobs"*

Try hard: "It is important for my child to