

The Perception on Need and Impact of Private Supplementary Tutoring at Higher secondary level in Delhi Region of India: An Exploratory Study

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Abstract: In India where the state is mandated to provide free, compulsory and quality education to all children up to the age of fourteen years, parents still chose to send their children for the private tutoring with the hope of high academic achievement. There has been repeated reference to the adverse effects of this shadow system of education, but students still continue to access these services. Moreover, there is a sudden increase in demand of this shadow with the massification of school education. Specially at the secondary stages, which are considered most crucial for a student, defining his eligibility in global job market at this early stage itself. The study examines the perceptions of parents and students studying in higher secondary classes, residing in New Delhi towards the need of private supplementary tutoring. Additionally, the study also aims to uncover the impact of the supplementary tutoring (if any) on the academic performance of these students. Attempt has been made to study the nature and demand of private supplementary tutoring through semi-structured interview schedule presented to students and parents; of government and private schools alike. The data gathered reveals answers to three key research questions: the individual and household related factors affecting the demand for private supplementary tutoring; the reasons for rise in demand of supplementary tutoring at higher secondary levels; and the students' perception on the impact this typical tutoring model has on their academic achievement. The four A's- Accessibility, Availability, Affordability and Acceptability are also important factors associated to the study of individual and household need and choice of private supplementary education scenario.

Keywords: Private supplementary tutoring, Shadow education, Higher secondary school education, Quality education

Introduction

'Shadow Researchers from different countries have used terms like- 'tuitions', 'coaching', 'shadow education', 'tutoring', 'private supplementary tutoring', etc. to describe this system of additional private paid scaffolding systems that run parallel to formal schooling systems. The East Asian societies, deeply embedded in Confucian cultures are most popular for their competitive education regimes that deeply rely on private tutoring systems. South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and China have been described in works of Bray, 1999; Stevenson & Baker, 1992; and Kim & Lee, 2010; as being largest consumers of tutoring. Eastern Europe and former Soviet countries are not too far behind after the political transitions in 1980s and 1990s (Silova, 2010). Western Europe, Australia, United States, United Kingdom, Canada have also shown increase in private tutoring systems in the 21st century (Ireson, 2004; Davies and Aurini, 2006; Sunderman, 2007; Bray, 2009; Diskin, 2010). South Asian countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh; Southern Europe (Bray, 2011); African Countries like Mauritius, Malawi and Kenya (Buchmann, 2002; Foondun, 2002; Paviot et al., 2008) all show high rates of tutoring.

Rationale of the Study

India follows a principle for providing mass education. The aim is to make all its citizens receive quality education and provide an equitable 'access to success'. Owing to the international pressures the issues of access have been nearly addressed in the country but the equitable environment necessary for success of all children irrespective of their personal and community disadvantages still remains an issue. India is a heterogeneous

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country where the supply of a uniform and standardized system of education does not usually cater to demands of different linguistic, economic, religious and ethnicity groups.

Education has various forms in India and is provided by different organizations. Some of which are state run or aided and others privately funded. The private education again has many forms, provided in formal setups such as established schools and colleges; others through informally run private tutoring/coaching classes/centres. Private tutoring has been deep-seated in the Indian schooling system for over three decades now. While India has been on a rapid expansion in secondary education, there have been certain issues that have often been debated upon and at times even criticized like the quality of the schooling system, inadequate infrastructure, the increase in demand for private schooling, poorly trained teachers etc. Almost all of these issues have been widely researched. The new policies that are being formulated are being largely attuned to the findings of these researches and ruminative measures suggested. One such area which is being largely contested upon is 'private tutoring' or 'the shadow' education system. The reason many educationists wish to study this from a policy and administrative management point of view is because there has been an exponential growth in the number of tutoring institutions in the country. Though private tutoring system is spreading to rural areas too, it is mostly present in urban centers. On one hand it has provided an increased income to a few, employment to the unemployed and scaffolding to the academically weak students. Alongside, it has also created an industry whose large revenues often remain unaccounted for. The policy makers and administrators seldom address this self evident industry. Schooling and private supplementary education both have bidirectional effects on each other which are rarely addressed. Even the inequalities that they promote supplement each other. The gender, cultural, regional, financial and caste based inequalities that private tutoring intensifies are ignored while administrators are busy addressing equity issues in formal schooling setup. The cross-national data on private tutoring is not very easy to explore and compile due to the difficulty in collecting information from so many different sources like teachers, parents, students, tutors etc. Also, the differences in definition makes it difficult to comprehend in many cases (Bray, 2010).

Although taking tuitions has become a trend in almost all classes in the Indian society, here we work on premise that

1. incidence of private supplementary tutoring would be relatively low amongst government schools students, since these supplementary institutions require a very high fees paying capacity.
2. the incidence of private supplementary tutoring would be relatively high amongst students studying in private schools since most of their parents would have a relatively higher capacity to afford high fees of these supplementary institutions.
3. Lastly, the demand for private supplementary tutoring would be equal for both high end and low end achievers.

Moving on, students living in and close to urban centres are the ones that are most exposed to this institutionalised private supplementary industry. The tutoring classes play with the insecurities of parents creating a fear that their child might fail to fulfill their expectation without outside scaffolding. With its huge contestations, it is difficult to find whether it is a demand driven supply or a supply driven demand. It is in this context that the study fits into the demand for exploration of parental and children's opinions on the need and scope of private tutoring in a metropolitan city like Delhi.

Defining Private Supplementary Tutoring

Private tutoring derives its principle from being an activity for private gain, specially financial gain for the tutors and also because it is a personal decision to provide and receive classes in a location agreed upon by both parties i.e. the tutor and the tutee/s. Bray(1999) through his reports shows that if at all this systematic system of education were given the right to award degrees the schools would eventually be extinct. In most of the present day work, supplementary private education and private tutoring are generally used synonymously. In order to understand private tutoring better it is important to understand the distinction between the two. Private tutoring or shadow education has emerged as a provision to compliment the present day school education rather than replace it. Tutoring is provided by full time tutors, school teachers, university students, retired teachers, university professors in support of a fee. The scope of this shadow system has grown so big that now schooling and tutoring have become complementary 'public private partnership'. The private tuitions are considered as centers of assisted learning which are often not accountable for the development of a child. They provide scaffolding for the child to achieve better grades in school or entrance examinations to higher education institutions. The private tutors are not expected to have a compulsory qualifications or pedagogic skills. The child is not expected to get educated just by going to these centers regularly and no effort is made to develop the child's personality. Private tuitions focus on acquiring skills for difficult subjects like learning tricks and shortcuts for solving mathematics problems. Also, areas like music, dance, theatre etc. are often left out of its purview. A student might access individual face to face tuitions, or tuitions in groups; home tuitions, or tuitions

at coaching centers; online tutoring or tutoring on phone or television. Shadow education is thus a means to only to gain skills for a purpose like cracking entrance exams or getting higher score in a test.

On the other hand, it has also been noted repeatedly (like in PISA scores and ASER reports) that the Indian schooling system has somewhere failed to provide conceptual understanding to children and there are various reports on its efficiency. It has long been condemned for its poor quality and lack of personal attention to children who fall behind the rest. When parents and students want support or scaffolding at the school level in order to bring the student at par with the rest or to excel academically, avenues for private tuitions are the only options left to explore. It is called 'Shadow system' because it mimics the formal schooling system. Also, the metaphor 'shadow' derives its existence only because there is an institutional school setup. The scope, extent and syllabus of this practice (the shadow) changes with any change in the public schooling system (Bray, 1999). Private supplementary tutoring on the other hand is an addition to the knowledge provided at the school level. It supplements the school education to give the child an edge over the rest so as to become a more appropriate match for entry into higher educational institutions eventually leading future job selection process.

Method

Research Methodology adopted

Sampling Technique

The 60 students coming from two different type of schools: 30 from government (public) and 30 from private school were given the questionnaire as shown in figure 1. As for in-depth interviews - Since, the opinions of all children and their parents were required, (whether they are accessing private tutoring or not), the selection of 40 student participants and their parents was based on convenient (non-probability) purposive sampling. Hence, the participants and sites which were "information rich" were selected from amongst all questionnaires received.

A total of 60 children, 30 each from government and private schools were selected for the study. Out of 30 sample students from each school, 10 students were from non-medical, 10 from medical and 5 from arts/humanities and 5 from commerce stream were selected for the study. In-depth interviews of students in any stream who take any form of supplementary tutoring along with their parents were further taken. Also, only 1 student who did not access any form of private tutoring and was interviewed along with his parents to gain insights on what influenced their decision to digress from the popular trend of taking tuitions. Besides, 2 private tutors involved in supplementary tutoring industry and 3 regular school teachers of higher secondary school were interviewed. The research included a teacher who was both a regular school teacher and a private tutor (on condition of confidentiality).

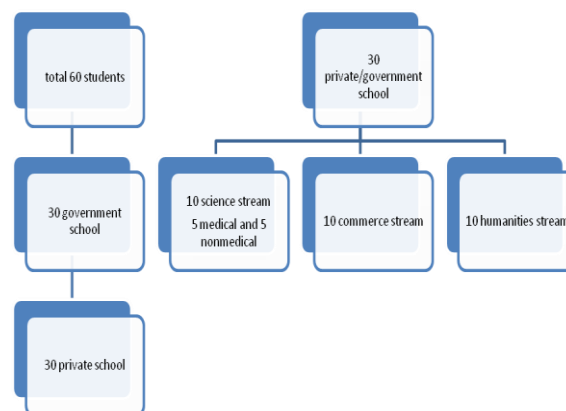


Figure 1. Students participating in questionnaire

Data collection Tools

The questionnaire had details related to the forms of tutoring they accessed, the time they spent on tutoring, subjects it was used for and finally if they found tutoring to be a burden. For children who had not enrolled in any form of tutoring a different section constituted questionnaire related to their perception on tutoring, if at all

they got academic assistance from any other source, the time they spent on studies and lastly if not having tutoring has benefitted them academically. The questionnaire was administered without presence of any teacher or school leader. Each question was explained in details after a preliminary explanation of the need and scope of the study. Children voluntarily agreed to be a part of the study and no child was under any obligation to cooperate with the researcher.

The questionnaire was only a means to approach children, make them aware of the research design. The researcher approached their parents and also gave them a basic idea of the objectives and scope of the research. The information children possessed regarding the research helped convince their parents to participate in the research. Almost all parents who were approached, agreed to become a participant. The semi-structured interviews were administered in the safe environment of the children's homes. The parents were requested for giving consent to record the interviews.. The semi-structured interview schedule gave the researcher flexibility to probe the parents and also triangulate data during the data during the interview process.

Profile of the Students

Table 1. Characteristics of the Students Participating in semi-structured interviews

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent(%)	
Gender	Female	24	60
	Male	16	40
Participation in form of tutoring	In Tutoring only	26	65
	In Supplementary tutoring only	8	20
	In Both	5	12.5
Subject Stream	Medical	8	20
	Non-medical	8	20
	Commerce	12	30
	Humanities	12	30
Grade	XI	10	25
	XII	30	75
Number of siblings	Only child	3	7.5
	One sibling	22	55
	Two siblings	13	32.5
	Three siblings	2	5
School Type	Government	20	50
	Private	20	50
Self-assessed academic achievement	Very low	0	0
	Below average	3	7.5
	Average	10	25
	Above average	21	52.5
Ethnicity	Excellent	7	17.5
	Delhi	15	37.5
	Bihar	10	25
	Rajasthan	4	10
	Uttar Pradesh	9	22.5
	Uttarakhand	2	5

The table gives details of the cumulative data collected from the students using the questionnaire schedule, here the total sample size is 40. Out of the entire sample 40% were male students whereas 60% were female students. Nearly 65% of students (from all streams namely 40% from science streams , 20% from commerce stream and 20% from humanities stream ; 50% from government school and 50% from private schools) were accessing private tuitions where they were taking coaching for the same curriculum as the school. 20% students accessed private supplementary tutoring for preparing for entrances, having syllabus much cognitively higher than school curriculum. 12.5% students accessed both tutoring for school curriculum and tutoring for entrance tests. 75% students were from XII grade whereas rest 25% had to be taken from XI grade because schools had practical exam and less students were free to take the questionnaire. Most of the participant students had one more sibling i.e. where a family of two children(55%) whereas families with four children constituted only 5% of the sample. North West Delhi was the site of the both the schools which has a majority of migrant population leading to the diverse nature of regional variations in the sample as well. Most participants participating in the

study were either from UP (22.5%) or Bihar (25%). 52.5% students believed themselves to be below average achievers. None of the students rated themselves as low performers while 17.5 % rated themselves academically excellent.

Table 2. Characteristics of Parents of Students participating in semi-structured interview(data collection process)

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent(%)	
Children's Participation in form of tutoring	In Tutoring only	26	65
	In Supplementary tutoring only	8	20
	In Both	5	12.5
Children's Participation in Tutoring	Participation	31	77.5
	Non-participation	9	22.5
Participation in Supplementary Tutoring	Participation	8	20
	Non-participation	32	80
Non participation in any form of shadow education		1	2.5
Subject Stream of child	Medical	8	20
	Non-medical	8	20
	Commerce	12	30
	Humanities	12	30
Mother's education level	Not completed primary education	10	25
	Completed primary education	16	40
	Completed school education	4	10
	Completed degree	5	12.5
	Completed professional degree	3	7.5
	Post-graduate or above	2	5
Father's educational level	Not completed primary education	5	12.5
	Completed primary education	4	10
	Completed school education	7	17.5
	Completed degree	15	37.5
	Completed professional degree	5	12.5
	Post-graduate or above	4	10
Household Monthly income	Below 10,000 rupees	2	5
	10,000-25,000 rupees	12	30
	25,000-50,000 rupees	11	27.5
	1lakh- 2 lakh	10	25
	more than 2lakhs	5	12.5
House ownership	Self ownership	12	30
	Rented	28	70
Level of satisfaction with Children's performance at school	Very dissatisfied	1	2.5
	Dissatisfied	2	5
	Neutral	18	45
	Satisfied	15	37.5
	Very satisfied	4	10

The Table 1.2 gives the profile of the students collected while interviewing the parents of the selected students. 40 parents provided their perspectives on the need and impact of private supplementary tutoring. The first section is the same as the input in Table1.1. The second section describes that 77.5 % participants' children took private tutoring for only the school curriculum and rest 22.5% constituted participants' whose children either

accessing private supplementary tutoring for entrance exam preparation or did not access any form of tutoring. Similarly, only 20% parents listed that their children only accessed private supplementary tutoring for entrance exam preparation. The rest 80% students either accessed private tutoring for school curriculum or no tutoring at all. Only 1 student did not access tutoring in any form: be it for school curriculum or entrance preparation. The data revealed, out of all the parents who participated most mothers(40%) had completed primary education only, whereas most fathers(37.5%) had completed their graduation degree. Most households (30% + 27.5% + 25%= 82.5%) had household income ranging from 25 thousand INR to 1 lakh INR. Nearly 45% parents were neutral with the participation of their children at school and 37.5% said that they were satisfied with performance with their children. Most parents when interviewed believed in to cognitive capacities of their children and were of the opinion that the children could do much better with a little more sincerity and effort.

Results and Discussion

Firstly a total of 60 students, 30 from government school and 30 from private school were given a preliminary questionnaire to gather some baseline data. The data revealed that nearly 98% students(59 out of 60) received some or the other form of private tutoring in the last six months. Nearly 25% students accessed private supplementary tutoring in institutional setups, where 5% of them took both private supplementary tutoring as well as private tutoring. The data revealed that almost all students in science sections(medical and nonmedical) in both schools received private supplementary tutoring in some form to prepare for approaching entrance tests. Over 70% students spent more than 4 hours each week in receiving private tutoring. In both schools with more than 7 hours invested in going schools, the burden on students increased heavily due to private tuitions after schools. Most students received tutoring in more than two subjects per week and during examination time spent nearly 20hours per week in private tutoring. All students accessing private supplementary tutoring spent 12-15 hours each week during normal school days in receiving tutoring for entrance exams. Given that students were under a lot of pressure for studying and attending private tuitions, yet only 20% of them believed that tutoring imposed a heavy burden on them, one third of students felt that tutoring was a fairly light. Most parents spent 10-20% of the household income for their child's education, this expenditure increased to 35% in certain cases.

All science stream subjects are most popular for taking private supplementary tutoring. Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, English, Psychology and Accounts are the most popular subjects for taking private tuitions in groups or at home. The greatest proportion of tutoring was received by professional tutors; followed by teachers from other schools; and housewives in very few cases. In one case the school teacher himself was providing tuitions at his own residence. The 'stars' teachers were highly preferred professional tutors who provided classes in coaching institutes as well as expensive home tuitions for both supplementary and regular school tuition purposes. The students accessed supplementary tutoring mainly for scoring better ranks in entrance examinations like the NEET or AIEEE or CLAT. Private tutoring was mainly accessed for improving their grades and prepare for school examinations or board examinations(in case of XII grade). The examination centric school education system, less time for course completion, frequently changing teachers and low conceptual understanding were main factors for which students accessed one or more forms of tutoring. The anxiety of lagging behind and not getting admission in a good higher education institution fed in the insecurities of parents forcing them to invest in private tuitions. Tutoring for students in government school was also due to feeling of lagging behind and low confidence level to raise question in class. Tutoring also served as a way to socialize, gain confidence and assert the 'affordability' of parents to maintain social status in the society.

The only student not receiving any form of tutoring was studying in a private school with commerce stream possessing the cultural capital and had guidance available from his parents. Also, the parent's disbelief in tutoring system and will to invest more time in guiding the child made the child confident to not access tutoring in any form. The type of tutoring a child accessed mostly depended on the economic capability of the household, the opportunity cost involved, the educational qualification of the parents, school quality, location of their house and the student's academic background.

The Four Major Determinants of need of Private Supplementary Tutoring

System level factors

a. Economics- Delhi has become a quiet economically developed society in the past decades. A lot of people have migrated to here in search of better jobs. The boom in the software industry in NCR region has also contributed to the rise in salaries of people. Thus helping to increasing the affordability and living standard of

Delhites. With families getting nuclear, both parents earning, lower number of siblings and a urge for socio-economic mobility the investment to education has increased many folds over the past decades. With the growing demand for tutoring and the flexibility of tutoring hours many individuals(qualified and unqualified) have now started to opt for tutoring as a profession. Given that the school hours are only till the afternoon, the teachers now opt to take tuitions in their 'free time' as it supplements their income with very little or no investment.

Similar to the post Soviet era where "new socio-cultural realities of new democracies market economies"(Silova,2009, p.35) , the new market economy in Delhi too has changed people's outlook towards education. The higher rates of disposable income available with parents and the growing competitiveness in entrance examinations, have greatly encourage the supplementary tutoring industry. Supplementary Tutoring is viewed as a freely available commodity in market which parents want to arrange for their children to achieve excellence and better labor market opportunities.

But in the process of economic growth it has been noted that many a times the development is uneven. There are huge income disparities and differences in available educational resources in schools. There are elite private school, private schools for the middle class, low fee paying private schools and government school(which are also often categorized based on region and merit); further deepening the differences in educational opportunities through quality of schooling. Tutoring too has various layers depending on the fee paying capacity of the parents, making it tough for the economically weaker students to get the required benefits. Also, schools and tutoring centers often promote meritocracy for their rise in enrolments leaving behind the low achievers to be at a greater disadvantage.

b. The education system- With the less number of high paying jobs and fight to excel in labor markets the cream from best colleges across the country are usually hired, leaving out the mediocre and low performing students. The screening process to the universities in getting tough with the increasing massification of school education leaving parents with no choice but to help their child be the 'best'. Parents at a pan India level wish for their child to be a high achiever irrespective of the 'cost' incurred. A teacher's performance is judged based on the meritorious students it can produce and hence incentivized based on the students who get promoted to the 'elite' institutions in the country. This has to somewhat pushed the teachers and school authorities to pressurized the students to perform the best in the entrance test at any cost. The curriculum reforms often recommended by educationists and academicians can do little good in these conditions. Often households or family members are forced to migrate to cities in hope of getting better education(especially better supplementary tutoring facilities like in Kota) so as to help their children get smooth access to the best universities and colleges. This is both an affordability and accessibility issue. Many students and parents find it very difficult to approach the teachers with their doubts, forcing children to attend tutoring services to get better conceptual understanding. The teachers too are seldom have a fear of being penalized for forcing children to attend tutoring or providing tutoring themselves. This can be correlated with poor implementation of laws(like RTE,2009) and poor leadership in schools. Alongside, the respect for teaching profession and adherence to teacher ethics is low even among teachers themselves.

c.Traditional Indian culture- The social values in the Indian culture are highly judgmental of parents not investing to the fullest in their child's education, even when it may put them in debt or under a threat of bankruptcy. The value for education has been supreme in religious Indian texts and mythology and each individual needs to go to any lengths to be excellent in his field of study. The drilling and rote memorization is deeply embedded in the ancient Indian beliefs, right from reciting mantras to now learning formulas. The supreme importance of teachers and their unquestionable authority has led parents to tolerate unethical and unjust practices of teachers and school leadership.

d. Reduction in the number of children- With the rise in nuclear families the parents are finding it difficult to support and take care of many children. This gives them greater disposable income to get the best possible facilities for their one or two children. In families with greater number of children too, parents only wish to invest in the education of the 'brightest' child who has greater chances of success than the rest of the children. With the decreasing family size, the expectations of parents have increased and extensive parenting styles have started to gain prominence in most parts of India, especially urban setups. These investments included greater access to private supplementary tutoring.

e. Emerging social culture of Competitiveness- High levels of uneasiness and anxiety have been noticed in the parents and the children during the various interviews sessions. The parents are deeply concerned about their children 'lagging behind' the rest if they are not competitive enough. There is huge prevalence of social

competitiveness by comparison with peers, neighbors, relatives and friends. The performance of their children is a high area of discussion while attending any social event, making private supplementary tutoring a means to reduce the chances of 'failure' for the entire household.

Institution Level Factors

a. school related factors- The quality of school education is a derivative of the school policies and school culture. In a setup where the school leaders and teachers promote on high achieving students, the school culture becomes the one favouring only meritocracy. In private schools the pressure on children is higher. This is so because the enrolment of children in the schools is dependent on the extensive advertising based on the alumnus who have secured highest ranks in entrance tests. The school leaders are responsible for helping the enrolments grow which leaves them no choice but to adopt mechanisms like enrolling students who are high achievers only. The school leaders often favoured the science stream students as compared to students of other streams, For example the private school in the study only admitted students with 85% or above in Xth board examinations their science sections, 80% above in commerce and 70% above in humanities. The teachers in science sections were better paid(though not officially but through incentivisation) and extra classes were arranged for students in science sections during summer vacations and holidays. The EWS students were only admitted in the school if they had the required percentage(which had to be preferably higher as compared to fee paying students). The humanities section often suffered from teacher absenteeism and involvement of their teachers in other non-academic duties, this hampered their presence in classroom and focus on teaching.

Large class size in both government as well as private schools made it more difficult to have good learning environment and one to one interaction. For the lack of conceptual clarity in huge classes one of the students who knew his physics teacher personally received one-on-one tutoring as his teacher's house after school hours. The teachers and students both reported that often students did not pay much attention in class as they presumed that they would not understand anything or were too tired after the extensive supplementary tutoring center after school hours each day. The students often reported that the teacher's teaching style was such that did not give them 'correct and to the point answers' to the kind of questions asked in entrance examinations, which is why they preferred attending private supplementary classes.

b. tutoring companies related factors- the demand for supplementary tutoring was often created by extensive advertisement by the marketing staff of supplementary tutoring centers. The staff often misguided students as they were reported to use fake promises and at times even corrupt practices to include photos of the toppers of entrance examinations portraying them as their students. Often certain coaching centers incentivized teachers for promoting them by providing free teaching material or even promising good tutoring opportunities. Thus, the demand for supplementary tutoring as well as regular tutoring was often created by tutoring companies by using corrupt business expansion practices as well.

Household Factors

a. Family socio-economic status- The choice of tutoring institution was majorly related to the household income, the parent's educational level and disposable income available for tutoring. The students of socio-economically better off families wanted to get admission to elite educational institutions to maintain the culture of meritocracy in the family, whereas the children from socio-economically weaker families aimed at upward social mobility. Students of the EWS category studying in private schools got motivated after seeing the standard of living of other fee paying students and wanted to perform their best to achieve that lifestyle themselves.

The children whose parents could not afford tutoring in high end supplementary tuition centers often accessed cheaper versions like tuitions at the tutors' home or smaller tuition centers with lower quality. Contrastingly, certain parents who could afford a rather higher luxury, arranged for private supplementary tuitions at the house at an hourly basis.

b. Parenting style- Parental style was studied through analysis of the expectations of parents from their children, alongside their involvement in the child's education. While parents having lower economic capacity often expressed themselves as being helpless in providing input in the child's education, including choice of stream and private supplementary center(due to the lack of awareness and knowledge); parents with better socio-economic standing often chose the best possible private supplementary tutoring center for the child's

education. At times parents invested in different types of private supplementary tutoring based on the economic capacity and need of the child. It involved access to both institutionalized private supplementary tutoring and one on one home tutoring. The parents of only child who was not receiving any form of tutoring also expressed deep concern and rather greater involvement in the child's education, to the extent that they even taught him at home on a regular basis.

The parental control strategies that parents employed in keeping the child disciplined and focus for performing well was very much visible across all social classes. Keeping the economic constraints aside, the urge for meritocracy was similar for all parents. The intense parenting styles reflect the competitive nature of educational system and the society at large, the deep seated anxiety (also referred by Bray & Lykins,2012) is thus visible in this study as well.

c. Individual perception on effectiveness of tutoring- The individual perception of tutoring is also very much related to the extensive parenting styles and maintaining regularity in studies. Most parents believed that private supplementary tutoring helped the students be focused and motivated for performing well. Even in cases where children only went for regular school curriculum tutoring parents believed that it was a way to keep children away from their mobile phones, provide confidence of travelling alone and meeting new people. Students believed that tutoring helped them clear doubts that they could not ask in school; gain access to the kind of questions asked in boards and entrances; meet new friends; be engaged in competitive setup and develop confidence of performing well in pressure situations.

Student Individual Factors

Private supplementary tutoring mostly served the high achievers which often deepened the achievement gap at school. The students who had confidence of performing well in XII boards and wanted to get admission to elite professional programs usually accessed private supplementary tutoring classes. These students aimed at getting smooth access to labor markets and either maintain or move to higher socio-economic class. Low achievers on the other hand usually opted for private tutoring needed restricted to school curriculum. In one case even when he joined private supplementary tutoring(due to parental initiation) he left it midway due to inability to cope with the pressure.

Also, it was found that when students wanted to join family business, they still aimed at doing BBS/BBM/MBA from elite colleges and were ready to take-up crash courses even after boards for secure a rank in the entrance. They wanted to get into elite colleges as they believed that it would enhance their social standing. A degree from the topmost B-School would guarantee them better financiers for their business and make them praiseworthy in social gatherings. The student level factors responsible for choosing certain kind of tutoring often overlapped and reinforced society's urge for meritocracy in most cases.

Impact of Private Supplementary Tutoring on the Academic Achievement of Students

The initial aim of the study was only to examine the impact of private supplementary tutoring on the academic achievement of students. Through the course of study a few other impacts have also been uncovered. Private supplementary tutoring in Delhi has been an enrichment strategy for the already privileged households. The students already possessing the required economic, cultural and social capital were the ones who have benefitted the most from the tutoring systems. The affluent families have often shown a desire to maintain their status and their children have been best performers in most examinations. The competitive edge that these privileged children seek to maintain was much higher as compared to children of low income families. Children from low income families also have a self evident urge to perform better and change their social realities. For this the households try to find rather affordable solutions to provide this supplementation for entrance examinations. The cost effective tutoring they have access to is often of sub-standard quality. Some families are often forced to resort to private supplementary tutoring under peer pressure. The school type and stream opted were often the strongest determinants of the access to private supplementary tuition centers. The well to do students in private schools accessed supplementary tutoring at high-end institutionalized chains, whereas EWS category students and students studying in government schools often resorted to group tuitions at the tutors house or at small coaching centers. Supplementary Tutoring seemed to further marginalize the already disadvantaged students.

The widespread manipulation of teachers was evident in the study where to reduce their own burden teachers often prompted students of going to private tuition centers. On the pretext of being over-burdened they often

shunned away from their primary responsibility of teaching and helping students grow at a personal level. Though the teachers claimed that preparing for entrances was not the goal of school education and should not be their primary responsibility, they forgot their holistic role of a facilitator for children's best futures, rather than simply being agents of delivering the school syllabus. School leaders too did not take it up personally to help children overcome the phobia of entrance examinations and keep teachers accountable for their quality teaching. The school leaders too wanted to show off more number of selections from their institution even when the families had to pay a very heavy price for it. Often low achievers suffered from neglect and rejection leading to low self esteem with teachers and principals only favoring the high achievers who would eventually get good rankings in entrance examinations. The increased the institutionalized corruption at the level of school and tutoring institutes both.

The alarming impacts of private supplementary tutoring were often ignored by households which would have wide repercussions for the society as a whole(Bray,2003). The balanced and sustainable development of mainstream education suffered a lot due to proliferation and uninterrupted access of the private supplementary tutoring institutions. There was often a conflict between what was taught at school and tricks taught at private supplementary tutoring, this added to confusion for the already pressurized child. The main sufferers of this was the low achievers, they already struggled to understand basic concepts at school and now they were over pressed to rote memorize tricks and techniques needed to crack entrances. For most students the performance deteriorated in XI grade as the subject streams got diversified and the course burden increased. The added burden of attending private supplementary centers(that had no link to school curriculum and had a totally different aim and techniques of teaching and learning) made performance deteriorate for most children.

The immediate impact of the private supplementary coaching was often confusion, chaos, over burden and loss of self esteem among students especially the low achievers and students from economically weaker sections.

Conclusion

The research tries to unwrap the demand for private supplementary tutoring as perceived by the parents and students; and the impact of accessing these tutoring services on the academic achievement of children. The study conducted was empirical in nature and tried to involve the main stakeholders involved. It was found that majority of students in both government and private schools, studying in higher secondary classes were involved in accessing some form of private tutoring: be it for the greater conceptual understanding of school curriculum or prepare for entrance examinations. The consumers of private supplementary tutoring were mostly students preparing for entrance test to universities. Almost all science students aiming to get selected to engineering and medical colleges were major consumers. Additionally, students preparing for law entrances, entrances for English honours. CATE exam and children aiming to sit for Chartered Accountant levels accessed private supplementary tutoring, which were definitely lower in number as compared to science stream students. This was because most professional colleges in India require students to sit for entrance examinations irrespective of their score in XII grade(though minimum eligibility is usually 60% in XII boards). Whereas students applying to other non-professional courses in government colleges get admission through XII board examination percentages. It is rather contradictory to see that children do not want to study in government schools due to their perceived low quality, but want to get into prestigious government colleges due to the low fees and higher returns to education.

The study provided evidence for the increasing number of supplementary tutoring centers to be both supply driven and demand driven. The parents believed that by investing in tutoring facilities they are ensuring that their child performs well and gets a smooth access to labor market. At times parental investments fail due to high pressure on children and limited number of seats in elite colleges. The social, personal and school level factors are often responsible for opting for tutoring.

Though the study concentrated on private supplementary tutoring, which is tutoring provided to supplement school knowledge for better performance in entrance tests; the experiences on field promoted the researcher to also include aspects from private tutoring in general. The researcher included participants from all streams to eliminate any biases related to private supplementary tutoring only being available for students of the science stream. Which was found to be beneficial as emerging private supplementary centers for CLAT, CA and CATE entrances were also found. Parents of commerce students expressed their will of enrolling their child in 1 month long crash courses for BBM and BBS entrances after the class XII boards in March, as the entrances are in May.

The findings reveal that supplementary tutoring has not been much beneficial to students unless they actually sit for entrance tests as the knowledge gained at these centers is different in nature and purpose, it is seldom used in school examinations. Rather it was found that attending long duration classes at private supplementary centers hampers the self study time and leisure time of the children. They are often not able to take part in any social activity for fun due to being over-burdened with two separate course materials(of school and supplementary tutoring). It is also to note that the impact of supplementary tutoring and tutoring at large cannot be put into water tight categories. Both kinds of tutoring as accessed by children for difference reasons and study of the entire shadow education industry is impossible without studying the their impact collectively.

The study also helped gain a deeper understanding of school culture and advocacy of meritocracy. It showed the socio-economic disparities and deepening of inequalities through access to differentiated educational resources. The right of each child to gain quality education and development of individual capabilities has been a question that we need to answer as an educational community.

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