



EXPLORING THE DEMAND FOR SHADOW EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF ISLAMABAD

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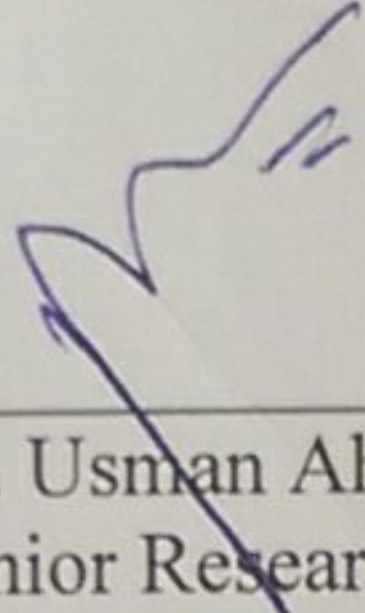
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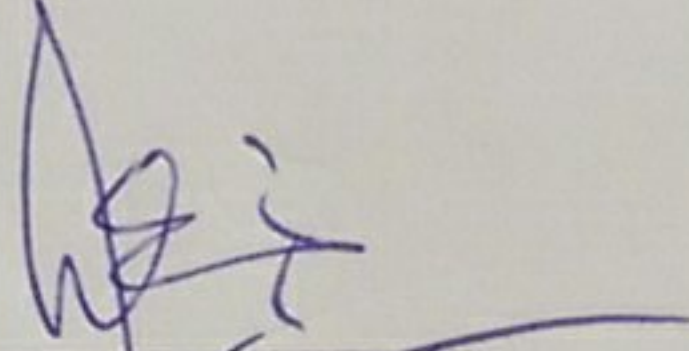
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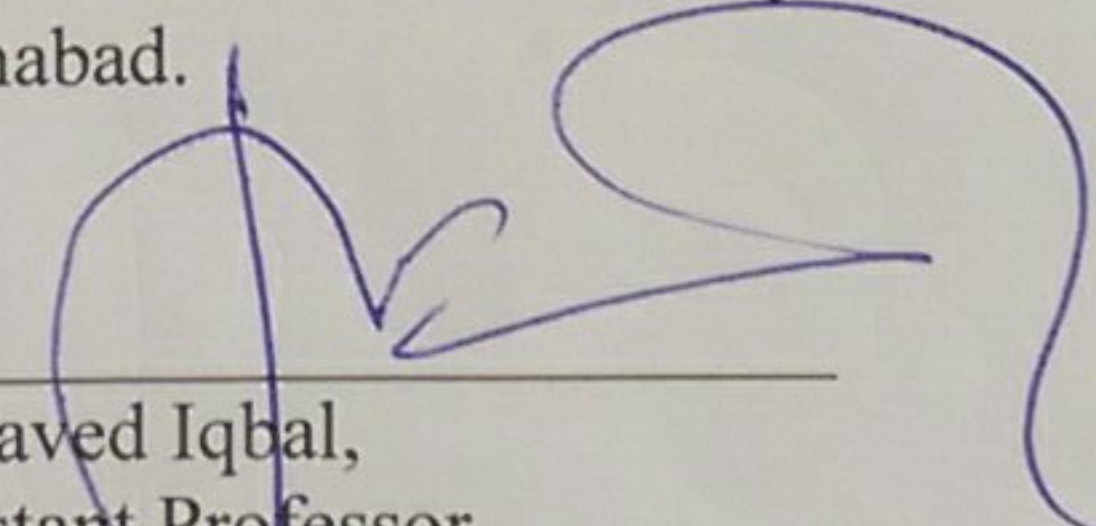
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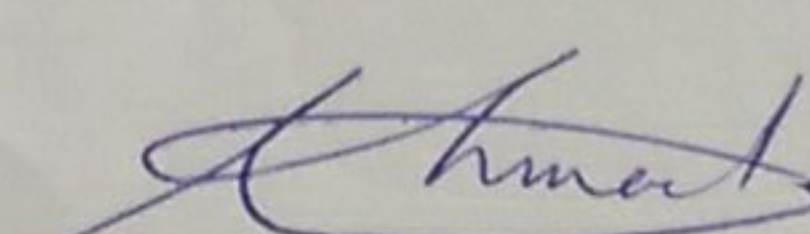
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Abstract

The education sector is being accompanied with shadow education described as private tuition. Existing parallel to formal education system, private tuition serves supplement additional coaching off-the-school hours. Tuition is a substitute to students' efforts to regular schooling. Private tuition is spread geographically across the World including South Asia. The existence of shadow education in a state or education system curtails social inequality and points to institutional failures as well as poses explicit and implicit costs to its consumers. Both developed and developing countries devised some policies about private tuition. In Pakistan, private tuition has seemingly remained unnoticed by the policy makers and academia. This research, employing qualitative research methods probes the consumers of the tuition (students and parents) and explores the phenomena of tuition. Respondents of research included students (both public and private schools) and parents drawn from registered private academies of the Capital City of Pakistan, Islamabad. The analyzed data from the students and their parents representing public and private schools indicated overcrowded class rooms, individual attention, board exams preparation, teacher's absenteeism and dedication as the key indicators motivating them for tuition. Parents as heads/guardians of their children indicated immense trust deficit on public schools as the reason to choose tuition for their children.

Acknowledgements

In the name of Allah (SWT), to whom I sway in thanks while I write this since he enabled me to do so. Without his immense blessings and unprecedented forgiveness, I was not able to do any good in life including this work. With his blessings, today, I can add something to the knowledge of mankind. The creator of all creations has always flourished his fathomless love and a bunch of ‘luck’ for me. Afterwards, I acknowledge my parents and their unparalleled, countless and shielding prayers and love for me which protected me every now and then. I believe I was an incomplete, hopeless and directionless man without them.

This first research work of my life is something I had been through and faced, personally. My fascination about private tuition began as early in teenage being a school-going. Apart from brainstorming the idea, providing theoretical basis to support the research idea met with a lot of effort. While I write this today, I remember these events as ‘a lovely pain’.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The shadow education refers to the provision of additional coaching by private tuition centers. The syllabus and course contents of those tuition centers are similar to that of formal schooling system comprising both public and private sectors. Recent trend and practices from across Pakistan reveals that students of both public and private schools opt for private tuition in after-school hours. According to Bisma and Sheikh (2013), shadow education is a third education system (with formal and informal) while Aslam (2011) narrated the occurrence of tuition-taking in urban localities, including Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar with a percentage of 62, 54 and 34 respectively, revealed a high percentage among urban localities.

The private tuition incidence has been reported in the Pakistan Economic Survey from 2010-11¹ to 2016-17² neither narrating a policy directive nor a policy discourse about it. ASER (2015) cited the number of students taking paid tuition in Islamabad both from government and private schools. About 35 percent of students were found to take private tuition. The higher the class, the higher the tuition taking incidence was found to be. The literature about shadow education proves certain behavioral, non-cognitive and psychological implications connected to tuition and its dependence. It further points to institutional failures which gave birth to such a system. Such failures may exist at the end of policy, schooling, or both. The mainstream education system is being formulated, organized and monitored by the policy but the shadow education system does not.

Given the context, if the psychological, behavioral and non-cognitive motives and perceptions to take tuition are attempted to be discovered from the key stakeholders (or the consumers); i.e: the students and parents, it could fairly be possible to answer why school-going children takes tuition at dedicated private centers (both as a choice or obligation to their parents). Doing so shall also bring an insight to the phenomena of shadow education and its constituting

¹ Out of every 4 children in the private schools, at least 1 child took paid tuition, whereas out of every 10 children in the Government school, at least 1 child took paid tuition.

² Private tuition incidence and uptake is more prevalent among private than government school students like that observed in previous years. Around 31% of all private school-going children were found taking paid tuition compared to only 6% of all government school children.

determinants. Since the students and parents are the key stakeholders of tuition, if approached, an insight to the institutional capacity, adequacy and uniformity of the government and private schools and tuition centers could also be determined.

According to the PEIRA (Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority), a regulatory body monitoring the operations and performance of private schools and tuition centers in Islamabad, some 1,049 private schools and 58 tuition academies (Appendix – A) are registered in Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT). Thus far, the institution has focused only registration of tuition centers as business entities. Tuition is provided either at privately dedicated spaces inside home or organized business spaces known as academies. Such academies exist as registered, disclosed and dedicated businesses and functions even privately within personal living spaces or households. Whether to take or not to take tuition is a choice driven by students' part of intrinsic or extrinsic motivation and even perceptions. Apart from students' choice, such decision(s) are often imposed by parents as an independent authority. Tuition also carries a physical activity whereby a student further dedicates his time and effort for studies in addition to school hours. This activity arises possible question(s) about the adequacy of the public and private schools: why a student repeats a same pattern of activity regardless of his/her preference of schooling (public or private).

1.1 Problem Statement

As per the minimum available literature in context of Pakistan, most of the work on shadow education has been done to examine the effect of shadow education on students' achievements, its prevalence (between public and private schools) and expenditures incurred on it. Bisma and Sheikh (2013) found that literature and studies failed to account for a rapidly emerging third sector: shadow education in Pakistan which has a high incidence rate, yet has limited revelation on its determinants.

Less is known about what exactly brings students to tuition centers as part of their motivation (intrinsic or extrinsic) or a perceptual decision imposed by their parents. As such, the existence of shadow education system seem to pose a question mark to the uniformity of education system similar to that of Madarissah and Private Schools indicated in the NEP-2009 terming those

systems as “adversely violating the uniformity”³. Apparently, the shadow education is also a parallel system in line with formal schooling. Therefore, it may be determined what constitutes shadow education at first place and how its outcomes are deliberated as: inclusive or extractive. Moreover, shadow education has costs associated with it such as implicit (time) and explicit (financial). These costs burden the consumers in addition to their existing expenditure on Education or otherwise escalate inequality in a state where education is a constitutional⁴ right for children.

1.2 Objectives and Research Questions

Given the gaps in the literature, this research aims to explore the motivation of students and perceptions of parents towards private tuition in Pakistan. This research sets the following research objectives and questions. Overall, there are two research objectives each followed by two research questions:

Research Objectives:

- To explore the intrinsic and extrinsic motivational factors of secondary school students towards private tuition.
- To explore the inclination of parents towards private tuition for their children.

Research Questions:

- How intrinsic motivation drives secondary school students to opt and perform in a private tuition center?
- How extrinsic motivation drives secondary school students to opt and perform in a private tuition center?
- Why do parents choose to send their children to private tuition center?
- How do parents manage time and finances to support their children availing private tuition?

1.3 Significance of the Study

There are few researches in the proposed area in Pakistan. This research will help to understand why secondary school students are motivated to opt for private tuition (being a dependent actor) and how the role of parents exists (as an independent authority/actor). Research findings could

³ The emergence and continued presence of parallel systems of education in Pakistan i.e., private schools and Madaris, apparently violates the principle of the uniformity of the educational system adversely. (NEP, 2009, p. 10)

⁴ Article 25A of the Constitution of Pakistan state: “The State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law”.

help suggesting preliminary ideas to contextualize the sector in national purview and consider examples from international policies and practices.

1.4 Organization of the Study

The first chapter preliminary explains the concept of shadow education, a situational analysis in local context and draws problem statement, aims and significance of research. Chapter two broadly discuss the scope of research and key concepts discussed in first chapter. Chapter three draws the methodology while Chapter four analyses the findings of in-depth interviews, participant-wise. The final chapter elucidates conclusion, and some policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the review of literature and theoretical directions leading this research study. Section 2.2 discusses shadow education and geographic dispersion. Section 2.3 discusses parental perceptions about tuition. Section 2.4 discusses student's motivations to take tuition. Section 2.5 refers to policies towards shadow education. Section 2.6 explains the conceptual framework employed for the research. The last section summarizes the chapter.

2.2 Shadow Education

In earlier decades, shadow education was primarily associated with parts of East Asia (Lee, 1996) and perhaps South Asia (de Silva, 1994). During the present century, the phenomenon has spread globally. (Bray, 2009). The phenomenon of tuition-taking is termed as the "shadow education system" (Bray, 2007, p. 17). Coined by Stevenson and Baker (1992), they termed shadow education to own parallel features of public schooling (i.e: grades, curricula and examinations) and sought it as problematic given the potential influence of shadow schooling on public education outcomes and national assessments.

The tuition industry differs from private schools in way. It is dependent on mainstream education system. Therefore, it does not exist as an independent activity. Private tuition is treated in various ways by policy makers, either by imposing a ban or keep ignoring the sector (Bray, 1999). Tuition exists widely but has received a little attention both by the planners and researchers because the mainstream system is within the reach of government while the private tuition is not. In mainstream system, monitoring, budgeting, school regulation and observation is easy while the data-collection system and earning of tuition centers, for instance, are not well-reached by the government (Bray, 2007).

Dang and Rogers (2012), employed drivers of private tuition through micro and macro variables composed of various characteristics. The micro variables included individuals, households, schools and communities while macro variables included spending to public education, characteristics of education system of a country, its cultural values and labor market. On the basis of these variables, they gauged that tutoring itself is tricky because it carries endogeneity which bias the estimates. They pointed out that students receiving private tuition and those who

do not differ in important, yet unobserved dimensions, such as parents' level of concern for child's education. It was pointed that measuring this variable was hard; similarly, a students' motivation to take tuition is also difficult to measure. If these two variables are not controlled properly in regression analysis, such unobserved characteristics ends up as error term. Therefore, the estimations are turned as unreliable and inconsistent. The nature of private tuition needs more research in some countries due to its financial, non-cognitive and psychological implications (Raffick, 2002). Patel (2008, p. 2) stated: "every next student, whether gifted or average, rich or poor, takes tuition, which has made this culture to take root in the present education system".

The occurring theme of shadow education curtails social inequality. Prosperous families can easily buy greater and better quantities and qualities of supplementary tuition as compared to less prosperous and poor families. Such pattern of inequality can be also viewed in context of official policies on fee-free education policies adopted in international conventions and constitutions of countries such as Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Georgia, Japan and Pakistan. Shadow education is argued not to be covered by such statements because of its prevalence in the private sector rather than the public sector (Bray and Lykins, 2012).

Bray and Kobakhizde (2014), explained various drivers of demand for private tuition. Families were often seen as not considering regular system adequate to meet their needs. In post-Soviet countries, the expansion of tutoring was related to decline in quality of mainstream schooling. Education sector faced qualitative challenges since early 1990s. It happened with the expansion of schooling which boosted demand for tuition, i.e: to meet Millennium Development goals and achieve International Education for All (EFA). A Canadian-based study about tuition concluded that generalized culture of competition fuels tutoring despite its uncertain dividends, which has also become a competitive strategy for families. (Aurini and Davies, 2004)

Bray and Lykins (2012), while studying Asian region concluded that shadow education can no longer be ignored; having its vast regional⁵ existence and clear signs of further growth in future. They tabulated patterns⁶ from across several Asian and South Asian countries which revealed

⁵ See Annex-1 for Cross-National indicators of private tutoring in different Asian countries.

⁶ The sample size, level of education and interpretation of private tutoring is, however, highly varying. (Bray & Lykins, 2012, p. 3)

statistical indicators of private tuition. In Pakistan, private tuition was found to be very common in urban areas and wide-spread in rural areas. (Annex – 1).

Aslam and Mansoor (2011) narrated the relationship between private tuition and student achievement and its increasing trend as a policy attention. They further suggested that it raises questions about ability to pay and ability to access this extra help. If the system of public education does not prosper, a shadowy education system will strengthen which poses a danger to the formal education system, society and equity of education. (Bray, 1999; Silova and Bray, 2006; Aslam and Atherton, 2012).

2.3 Parental perceptions and motivation towards private tuition:

Many parents are appealed by tuition as a tool of individualized attention to their children. Some assume it more than supplement of public schooling (Scott, 2004). Ireson and Rushforth (2014) explored psychological factors that influence demand of private tutors in England. His research indicated two drivers of demand through parent participation which were to increase child's confidence and improve understanding of a subject. His findings also indicated that more than half of respondents (parents) indicated private tuition as too expensive.

Parents who preferred private schools for their children education and also spend on private tuition pays two times in lieu of education. In a survey in India (West Bengal), 62 percent students studying in private schools also received private tuition (Pratichi Trust, 2009, p. 6).

Some parents feel the longer their child stays connected to education, the better would the learning be. Considering that, parents spent in private tuition in addition to regular schooling feeling that the latter will serve as an ad-on to education and also enhance future prospects to earnings (Bray and Lykins, 2012). Aslam and Atherton (2012) explored and analyzed that parents in rural India and Pakistan are turning to private tuition more frequently. The incident in urban areas was likely to be much more prevalent. Tuition clearly imposed burden on relatively low-income families in rural settings whereas being rich increase the likelihood of a child to take private tuition; thus, suggested private tutoring to exacerbate social inequalities.

2.4 Students perceptions and motives towards private tuition:

Raffick (2002) explained various reasons for popularity of private tuition among students. One of the reasons is that students receive less individual attention in class room for their large size as

there may be less financial resources allocated to the education sector. Both Pakistan and India also have large class size with 41 and 63 students in each, respectively. Peer pressure is one of another factor for private tuition. If one student goes for tuition, his peer follows his tracks. Another dimension of students taking tuition is their attitudes towards tutors. In year 2012 in Hong Kong, Bray and Kobakhizde (2014), interviewed some students. Those students appreciated their tutors more than the teachers and commented:

"At school, Teachers speak fast and in less detail."

"I get bored at school, besides, school has too many students."

"Tutor answers my question promptly and clearly."

Dang and Rogers (2012) explained endogeneity factor in tutoring. Students' motivation is one of the difficult measures to assess. Highly motivated students are more willing to take private tuition than their less motivated peers and are likely to outperform their peers not interested to take tuition.

2.5 Policies towards Shadow Education:

Bray (2009) suggested a range of measures which can be considered in different contexts. These measures are to be dealt with private supplementary tutoring by: (1) to do nothing; (2) to prohibit private tutoring; (3) to regulate private tutoring; and (4) a combination of regulation and prohibition. Each of policy⁷ measure will differ in each country's context, history and culture. Prohibition may let the participants at demand side to go underground and avail it. Bray and Lykins (2012), indicated regulations towards private tutoring in various countries. (Annex – 2). Bray (1999), wrote that private tutoring is existing widely, yet has received a little attention both by the planners and researchers because the mainstream system is within the reach of government while the private tutoring system is not. In mainstream system, monitoring, budgeting, school regulation and observation is easy. While the data-collection systems and earnings of tuition centers, for instance, is not reached by government.

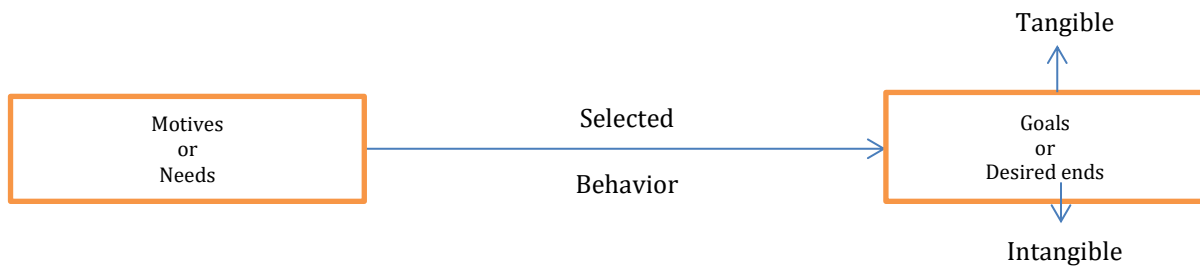
2.6 Conceptual Framework:

Buchmann, Condron and Roscigno (2010) theorized and elaborated shadow education as an activity outside formal educational system so designed to improve a student's chance of success inclusive of certain behaviors and intents such as earning grades, learning skills, mastering

⁷ See Annex-2 for Regulations on private tutoring across Asian countries.

curriculum and passing examination. The intents and behaviors are attempted to connect to a students' motivation and parents' perception using basic theory of motivation and theory of expectancy. Motivation is concerned with “*why* people do (or refrain from doing) things. A motive is a need or a driving force within a person. The process of motivation involves choosing between alternative forms of action in order to achieve some desired end or goal” (Cole, 1990, p. 36).

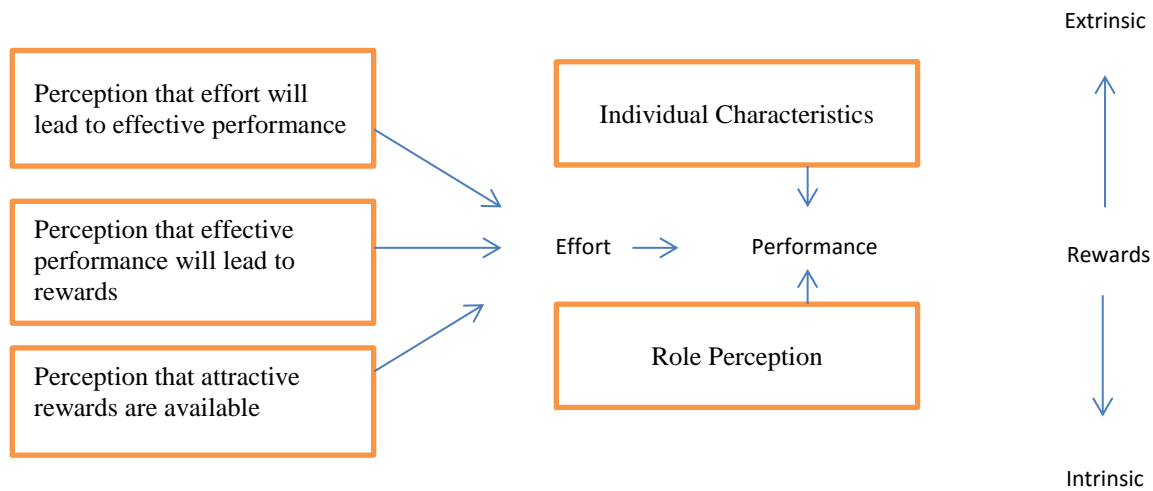
Fig. 2.1: Basic Model of Motivation



Source: Management Theory and Practice by G.A Cole, 3rd Edition, DP Publications, London, 1990

Now, according to expectancy theory, "motives induce selected behavior directed towards some desired end or goal. In themselves, they are only part of the total motivational process. One set of ideas which does attempt to study the process of motivation has been named as 'expectancy theory'. Furthermore, "the strength of the attraction of particular outcomes or rewards for an individual is termed 'valence'. The degree of belief that an act will produce a particular outcome is termed 'expectancy'. Valences and expectancies depend on the individual's own perception of a situation" (ibid, pp. 54-55)

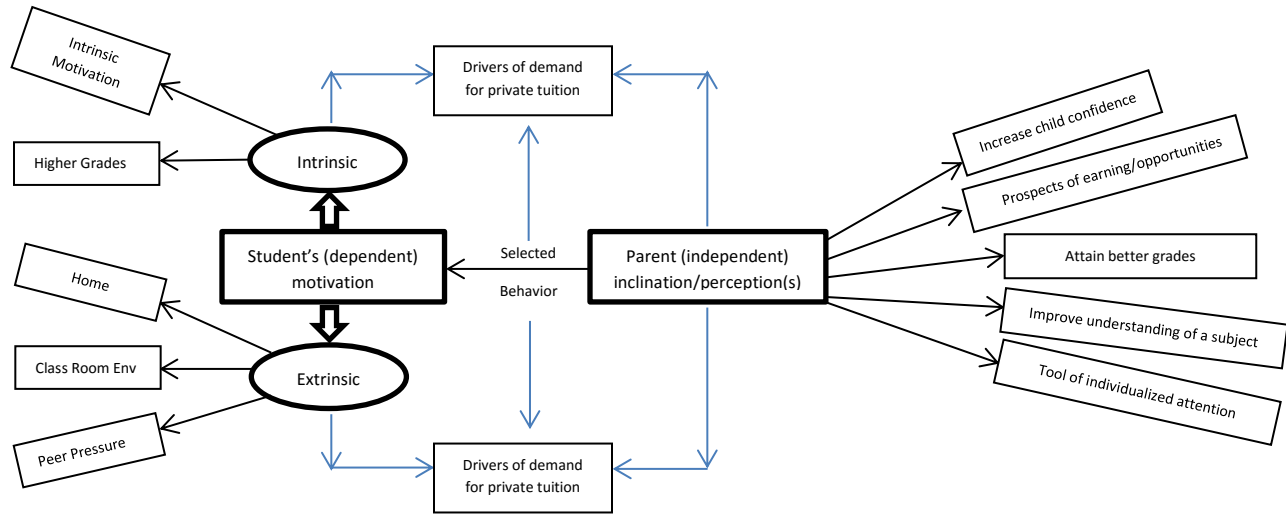
Fig. 2.2: Expectancy Theory



Source: Management Theory and Practice by G.A Cole, 3rd Edition, DP Publications, London, 1990

Saunders (2009), reproduced that where a researcher made use of existing theory to formulate research questions and objectives, he may also add theoretical propositions to devise a framework to help organize and direct data analysis (p. 489). A student being dependent (or dependent actor) on parent willfully opts for private tuition being motivated, either intrinsically or extrinsically. Keeping in mind a perception about an outcome (or desired outcome); a student predicts certain rewards tied to tuition. However, this decision may possibly be suggested or enforced by parent. Similarly, parent also perceives about tuition and behaves as an independent authority (or actor) upon child. Parent may opt for a selected behavior to influence the decision of child to take tuition keeping in mind some available rewards. Thus, the motivations and perceptions drive the demand to take tuition denoted demand drivers (indicators). From the above two theories, a hypothetical model is generated:

Fig. 2.3: Demand for Tuition Explained in a Broader, Hypothetical Framework Under Which Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation of a Student and Perceptions/Inclination of Parents Acts as Drivers of Demand



DEMAND FOR TUITION DRIVEN BY MOTIVES OF STUDENTS AND INCLINATION OF PARENTS AS DECEISIVE AUTHORITY

Source: Formulated by researcher

The model drew indicators based on empirical findings generated from various national and international contexts.

- Intrinsic motivation terms as behavior arises within an individual.
 - Self-motivation: A student feels motivated for extending his efforts towards regular studies.
 - Achieving higher grades: Achieving higher grades through tuition which is impossible otherwise.
- Extrinsic motivation terms to behavior arises in an individual due to outside factors contrary to intrinsic motivation.
 - Home environment: Students' home environment affecting the decision about tuition.
 - Class room environment: Students' class room environment affecting the decision about tuition.
 - Peer pressure: An encouragement to take tuition carried by another student through his peer.

- Parental perception(s)/inclination has the following indicators:
 - Increase child's confidence: To add to child's confidence by tuition.
 - Prospects of earning/opportunities: Child may harness better career and opportunities in future.
 - Attain better grades: Tuition as dedicated lessons to score further in addition to existing grades.
 - Improve understanding of a subject: A subject-area requiring more attention.
 - Tool of individualized attention: Tuition as a tool of individualized attention in comparison to class room environment.

2.7 Summary:

The chapter presented a detailed overview of literature from across the world including Pakistan about the meaning, scope, dispersion, perceptions and indicators of shadow education. Furthermore, a conceptual framework deriving a hypothetical model based on existing theory was also presented. The next chapter deals with research methodology.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The overall approach to the research process is referred as its methodology. This chapter highlights research methodology of the study. Section 3.2 deals with selection of research method. Section 3.3 deals with sampling. Section 3.4 explains the data collection while 3.5 deals with analysis procedure. The last section summarizes the chapter.

3.2 Selection of Research Method

Since the research is directed to focus motivational and perceptual responses of the participants rather than more quantifiable variables employed in quantitative methods, a qualitative research method called phenomenology, phenomenological inquiry or transcendental phenomenology was used the reason being the limitations of quantitative methods and to obtain rich, contextual and in-depth data/information using in-depth interviews. Phenomenology is used extensively in research emanating from sociology, psychology, health sciences, and education (Creswell, 1998). A phenomenological inquiry “is an attempt to deal with inner experiences unprobed in everyday life” (Merriam, 2002, p. 7). A key characteristic of phenomenological research is its rich, detailed descriptions of the phenomenon being investigated. The description should present “how” the participants experienced the phenomenon investigated rather than any preconceived perception the researcher may have of the phenomenon being studied. The phenomenological reduction process assists the researcher with this, allowing the researcher to keep an open mind and listen in a receptive manner to the participants’ descriptions of the studied phenomenon process (Moustakas, 1994). That phenomenological research generally deals with:

- people’s perceptions or meanings;
- people’s attitudes and beliefs;
- people’s feelings and emotions.

Traditional phenomenological research follows the phenomenological process of epoche or bracketing and imaginative processes (Katrina, 2015). A phenomenological approach not only encourages the researcher to provide a detailed description of experiences, it also advocates the need to do so with a minimum reliance on the researcher’s own beliefs, expectations and

predispositions about the phenomenon under investigation. Out of different versions of phenomenology, two of its main types are derived; one from the European tradition of thought and the other the North American version of phenomenology which is more commonly linked to the disciplines of sociology, psychology, education, business studies and health studies. It emanates from the 'social phenomenology' of Alfred Schutz (1962, 1967). Schutz was primarily interested in the mental processes through which humans make sense of the many things they experience. (ibid)

Husserl (1859-1938) considered transcendental phenomenology to be a valid alternative to the scientific method research. He believed that by using the transcendental reduction process one could delve deeply into consciousness and uncover the underlying structures of a phenomenon. Two other concepts that Husserl considered important in the understanding of transcendental phenomenology were intentionality and the essences (Moustakas, 1994). Intentionality, Husserl believed, represented the researcher's conscious intent to investigate a phenomenon. By consciously directing one's attention towards an object, he perceived, one could form a description of the phenomenon. In Husserl's estimation, every intentional experience consists of a noema and noesis. The noema represents the objective experience of the object, whereas the noesis represents the subjective experience. (Katrina, 2015)

3.3 Sampling:

The country Pakistan was selected as the population for the research. The capital Islamabad, was chosen as the sampling frame and case for research out of which the potential research respondents were discovered. The city being diverse in its cultural, educational and ethnicity was of advantage. Islamabad is divided on rural-urban basis in its geographical context. The respondents for research were drawn from among 58 registered tuition centers/academies by PEIRA up till January 2016 (Appendix-A)

The research participants (students) were from among enrolled both in tuition academies and government and private schools under Matric⁸ program. Parents of same students were also the research participants. As per the prescribed theoretical framework of the research, a student was considered a dependent actor while the parent an independent actor. A school-going child is mostly dependent on parents in terms of fulfilling financial costs and taking career decisions.

⁸ Students of Matric Science program were selected.

The interview guide was designed keeping in accordance to the research questions, theoretical framework, empirical evidences, themes and sub-themes of the research listed in Table-2..

Considering the exploratory nature of the research, unstructured interviews were chosen to gather appropriate primary data from the field. Berg (2007) suggests interviewing as a tool that builds a holistic snapshot, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants to gather in-depth information. Two unstructured interview guides were designed for each potential participant, the student (Annex – 5) and parent (Annex – 6). The term non-probability sampling is an umbrella term to capture all forms of sampling that are not conducted according to the cannons of probability sampling. Snowballing sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others (Bryman, 2012). Thus, the rationale of purposive-snowball was purposively done to sample most relevant research respondents.

Bryman (2012, pp. 197-198), suggested various means of sample size terming the decisions to take a sample owes “no definitive answer”. However, Creswell (2014) suggested a minimum of three and maximum of ten participants while conducting in-depth interviews in phenomenological research. Therefore, 40 interviews were conducted with 20 students and 20 parents each representing public and private schools divided on gender proportions.

Table 3.1: Sample Size

Respondent(s)	No.
Male students	10 (5+5)
Female students	10 (5+5)
Total No. of students	20
Parents/Head of student’s family	20
Total Respondents:	40

Source: Formulated by researcher

3.4 Data Collection

Since unstructured interviews are considered a pivotal tool in qualitative research for collecting in-depth and enriched information by research participants as regards with their motives and perceptions, this was made possible through inflow discussions with each of respondents. The flow in conversation was maintained through continuous probing and generating responses by the interviewee also keeping flow with the interview guide, side-by-side. The fieldwork started in October 2017. Prior to collecting data in field, academies offering tuition for up to Matric was

compiled and contacted. Apart from making telephonic contacts, academies were visited personally. Formal meetings were conducted with various academy heads in which the researcher explained scope and purpose of the research. To interview the students and parents, a suitable place, most preferably inside the academy was chosen.

Research sample was composed of students of public and private schools. The students of public schools were enrolled in Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) Administration in Matric grade. The reason to take two different stratum of formal schooling was to contextualize and obtain enrich information about the phenomena of shadow education with a valid contrast and comparison. It is generally understood that public school students represent average income households whereas students of private schools belong to well-off households which was proved in field while probing. It is pertinent to mention here that students and parents of public sector schools were mostly available in terms of time and space as compared to parents of private school students. Mostly, females were more dominant playing the role of guardian among private school students; hence were interviewed as parent. The researcher faced no trouble in taking consent of respondents for volunteer participation to the research.

The interviews were conducted in a confidential and highly informal environment. Only such participants were interviewed who had portrayed a fair slot of available time and foremost the interest for the research topic. Prior to conducting each interview, each student was asked whether they are enrolled into a public or private school with their grade. Similarly, parent(s) were asked whether they are government employ, private employ, self-employed or serve as a housewife. Respondents were well-informed about the confidentiality policy of the research (see Annex – 3 and Annex – 4). Therefore, none of the names of respondents are reproduced. Mostly, the consent was obtained at the very site of first interaction between researcher and the respondent(s). Only a few respondents denied to had been interviewed. Moods and gestures of respondents were also assessed prior to taking interview. Some were in a hurry or seemed depressed, hence, such respondents were not considered. A MP3 recorder was used to record interviews with consent of the respondent so as they might not have had hesitated being recorded.

3.5 Data Analysis

Bryman (2012, p. 82) quoted that “all research is constrained by time and resources”. He investigated into key resources during and after the research varying from time, time management, sought supervisor’s support and software tool for quantitative & qualitative research. The primary collected (raw) data was transcribed according to the themes and sub-themes. The themes were assessed using thematic framework approach. Bryman (2012), termed thematic analysis as one of the most common approaches to analyze qualitative data which can be applied in relation to different kinds of orientation to qualitative data analysis. A theme is defined as a category identified by the analyst through his/her data relating to research questions. It then builds codes identified in transcripts and/or field notes (p. 580, 164). The analysis of transcripts was carried out as follows:

- Data Management: Reviewing raw data, leveling, sorting and synthesis, (the first stage of data management)
- Descriptive accounts: Researcher used ordered data to identify key dimensions and diversity of each phenomena, (the second stage of data management).

The basic rules of interpreting qualitative data were carefully followed. Bryman (2012), suggested criteria for judging or evaluating qualitative studies terming two primary criterions: (1) trustworthiness and (2) authenticity. The four criterions of trustworthiness are:

- credibility (whether there is a good match between researcher’s observation and theoretical ideas)
- transferability (degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings)
- dependability (adopting an “auditing approach” to establish merit of research keeping complete record of all phases of research)
- conformability (not to allow personal values or theoretical inclination to strictly meet research objectives)

The criterions of authenticity are:

- fairness (fair representation of different viewpoints among members of social setting)
- ontological authenticity (does the research help members of society to understand a social milieu?)

The above-mentioned rules were carefully implied while analyzing the data from semi-structured interviews. Themes and sub-themes were separated for each potential participant. Eg: Motivation--> intrinsic motivation--> higher grades. However, harnessing maximum of responses by respondents was one of the key objectives while interviewing the reason being nature of research exploratory in nature and scope of the research topic. Saunders (2009) narrated about categorization of qualitative data through developing different categories and assigning meaning to them in two ways: either from devised theoretical framework or from the derived data. The identification of categories will be guided by the purpose of research explained in research questions and research objectives. (p. 492)

Table 3.2: Themes, Sub-themes and Indicators

Themes	Sub-themes	Indicators
Motivation (students)	Intrinsic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-motivation • Achieving higher grades
	Extrinsic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home environment • Class room environment • Peer pressure
Inclination of parents		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase child confidence • Prospects of earning/opportunities • Attain better grades • Improve understanding of a subject • Tool of individualized attention

Source: Formulated by researcher

Primarily, the interviews were conducted in Urdu language while some of interviews were conducted in English language. Interviews conducted in Urdu were carefully translated with the help of grammar tools.

3.6 Summary

This chapter dealt with the methodology of the research. A qualitative approach was employed considering the nature of research; the sample frame (population) as Islamabad, the Capital of Pakistan. Unstructured interviews were employed for obtaining information from potential respondents; the students and their parents defined as dependent and independent actors of the research, respectively. A thematic framework approach was considered to analyze the data.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

The current chapter shall discuss the findings interpreted through in-depth interviews. The findings are generalized and categorized under different heads; each for student (dependent actor) and for parent (independent actor).

4.2 Students' Motivations and Perceptions

Respondents were asked how they perceive learning at public and private schools and what motivates them to opt for tuition along with regular schooling. The following responses were noted:

4.2.1 Class Room Environment and Interaction:

Class room environment is one of the broadly discussed indicators exploring students about how they perceive about their learning inside class room and whether the class room environment works as a factor of motivation for tuition:

“The teacher mostly does not appear. The study is good but it is not maintained consistently. If a teacher does not come, we have an arrangement class with an alternate teacher who does not teach us anything. In an arrangement period, we are forced to stay silent or either asleep on our desks”. (Public School Student)

“I do not understand anything inside class! The reason being the classroom is overcrowded with students. In this academy, the environment is not like that of school and I am able to understand topics and concepts better.”. (Public School Student)

“Everything is alright at school except studies”. (Public School Student)

“Teachers are mostly busy. They stay inside staff rooms. If they bother to come inside class, they do not put their best while teaching. They are careless, simply!”. (Public School Student)

“I take tuition to understand those concepts I failed to learn at School”. (Public School Student)

“I take tuition because of my teachers at School. At school, there is no quality of education”. (Public School Student)

“There never had been quality education at school unless our new principal arrived! All teachers are now habitual of being inside classes. Prior to new administrator (the principal), teachers were used to of staying on leave or even if they were at school, they deliberately missed classes. Since we have a new principle, there is a good check-and-balance on teachers and the

students as well. Earlier, we were not asked or bounded by teachers to make workbooks (copies) but with the new principle, we not only maintain our workbooks but these are also checked by him on weekly basis” (Public School Student)

“I take tuition to cover the gaps at School”. (Public School Student)

“Tuition (...) studying at school is good, but what I believe is that I am groomed here at tuition, not school. My work mistakes are corrected here and due to that, I learn well”. (Private School Student)

“Learning inside the classroom is good but for better understanding of a concept, tuition is a necessity”. (Private School Student).

“...the leftover concepts at school are covered at tuition”. (Private School Student)

The classroom environment was interchangeably recognized as school environment by the respondents. Most of students of public schools opted for tuition for the reasons emerged as a result of class room environment or, extrinsically. Whereas all students of private schools opted for tuition being intrinsically and did not related this tuition as a result of classroom environment.

4.2.2 Time management and routine

Respondents were asked about how do they spend their day along with regular schooling and tuition and how do they manage their routine.

“I wake up for Fajr prayers and leave for school. I return home at 02:45 p.m and leave for academy, immediately. I return home around 08:30 p.m at night and sleep till 12:00 midnight. I am able to spend time with family”. (Public School Student) *“I leave for school with my father early in the morning. (shrugs confusingly) ... and return home for 30 minutes only and leave for academy. I leave for home again at around 08:30 p.m”. (Public School Student)*

“I have no life with schooling and academy”. (Public School Student)

“My day is very busy! Getting up at 6'o clock in the morning and academy with a very little of rest; return home at 10:00 night (...) it is just (...) as it is!”. (Public School Student)

“...with such a routine, I do face management issues. I am not satisfied with it. Sundays are the only occasion I spent time with my family”. (Public School Student)

“I am partially satisfied with such a routine. It is difficult to manage school and tuition. I barely get time for everything in my life other than studies”. (Public School Student)

“I spend time with my family only at night”. (Private School Student)

More than half of students in both public and private school deliberated keeping school and tuition together as a poor activity. However, most of students were satisfied with extracurricular activities held at school occasionally.

4.2.3 Achieving Higher Grades:

Attaining higher grades is one of the most prominent indicators adapted from literature. Interestingly, students of only private schools were dominated by such motivation as compared to those of public schools.

“When I was in 9th Class, my grades were too good and I did not take any tuition. I assumed that with tuition, I shall be able to bring the best of me and attain even more higher grades, so I started to take tuition”. (Private School Student)

“I take tuition to clear certain concepts and attain grades”. (Private School Student)

“I take tuition to again better grades (smiling). I cannot study at home due to Television and Mobile phone”. (Private School Student)

None of the students from public schools opted for tuition to achieve higher grades (or being motivated intrinsically) instead extrinsic factors compelled them to do so. Whereas almost all students of private schools opted for tuition being goal-oriented, hopeful for better rewards and intrinsically motivated.

4.2.4 Board Examinations and Revision of Syllabus:

This indicator was revealed as prominent among both the students and parents aside from its high relevance from literature context from both developed and developing countries.

“I think there are management issues at school otherwise education is good. At school, there are no mock tests for board exams”. (Public School Student)

“I am able to revise my syllabus at tuition academy. I was an average student but now I consider myself a good student”. (Public School Student)

“I cannot find more time for studies at home. At tuition, I revise school work. I wish to attain more marks in board exams”. (Public School Student)

“At school, there are no mock exams or board exams test preparation exercises. But at academy, I am well-prepared to appear in board exams. Besides, I am hesitant to ask my school teachers when I am unable to understand a concept”. (Public School Student)

All students of public schools narrated that there should be pre-board⁹ exam tests (mock tests) and revisions. Since there was not, they opted for tuition. A few students of private schools revealed that their respective schools offer mock tests exams for board examination preparation.

4.2.5 Tuition as an activity

Respondents were asked how they viewed tuition affecting their learning and overall performance:

“...as of now, my grades are not improved. However, they will certainly”. (Public School Student)

“Yes, my grades were improved after tuition, exceptionally!”. (Public School Student)

“...I might not have such good marks (83%) without taking tuition”. (Public School Student)

“Yes! With tuition, my grades have been improved. It is because I am able to re-take lesson(s)”. (Private School Student)

“...yes, with tuition my grades have been improved extensively”. (Private School Student)

Almost all the respondents were satisfied with their habit of taking private tuition and were ascertain that their grades have been improved. It was observed that they had no complaints or issues about tuition academies and the tutors unlike school(s).

4.3 Parental Perceptions and Inclination towards Tuition

Parents were asked why do they feel necessity of tuition with regular schooling:

4.3.1 Choosing Tuition with Regular Schooling:

Parents were asked whether they chose tuition for their child with regular schooling as an independent authority and if so, further probed the reasons thereof. Asking this question by parents tallied or negated children’s prospect as true or false. Aside from that, parents being mature and judgmental were better able to reveal about institutional paradigms.

“There is no study at public schools. Teachers come, kill their time and leave”. (A Government employee)

“It is not necessary but we are COMPELLED to do it! We are concerned for the future of our children. You have seen doctors in our country. They do not treat their patients as well as they do in a private clinic owned by them. We are just not sincere to Nation, our kids, and our country. We are NOT sincere.” (A banker)

⁹ Board means a Government-based agency authorized to conduct final exams upto Matric or higher grades.

“...because there are more children in a class. A teacher is unable to dedicate their time to students, individually. But at tuition, there are less number of students and so does the dedication of tutor is more significant. A school teacher knows no matter what he/she does, he/she shall get paid. A tutor is concerned about his customers and earnings so he does well as compared to a school teacher.” (A semi-government employee)

“Children do not dedicate time for studies at home. So, we prefer academies for them.” (A government employee)

“Parents usually do not have time. I don’t want my child time get wasted at home.” (A mother)

“...because there are too many children in a class. A child does not get enough attention by the teacher. If there are less number of children in a class, it is obvious that a teacher would be able to have an eye on them instead of more children. A teacher cannot manage overcrowded classrooms.” (A landlord)

“(...) there is lack of testing systems at school. Besides, school teacher cannot clear students, conceptually. Maybe its due to lack of time? Yes! Schools often remain closed and there are a lot of holidays.” (A mother)

“School teachers are not fair. Some are fair, some are not. Nowadays, it’s a common practice that teachers deliberately do not teach good at schools but performs exceptionally well at academy. They do it because they are paid insufficiently and earns from tuition.” (A mother).

“Children result speaks of it; the reason why we send them to tuition. Be it Public or a Private School, tuition is not needed IF teachers’ interaction with their students is accompanied with focus, attention and dedication. As for myself, I never went to tuition since my father was able to support my study at home in after school hours. So, in today’s busy lifestyle with five kids and poor quality of teaching at schools compels us to choose tuition for our children. It is not a choice anymore!”. (A mother)

“The quality of education is very good. My daughter had good grades in 9th class. I believe with tuition, she will be able to do more. Therefore, I chose an academy for her.” (A mother)

“If the staff at private schools performs dedicatedly, I do not think there is a reason to choose tuition for child.” (Self-employed)

“Tuition is necessary for a few subjects in which a child is unable to follow-up and understand, conceptually. It is an exception that they study six-seven subjects both at school and at tuition.” (A mother)

The responses indicated about teachers being underpaid, less dedicated, less checks and balances on teachers’ attendance and behavior and over-crowded class rooms inclined parents to choose tuition for their children who were enrolled in public schools. Other than that, individual attention and parental education also revealed as drivers of demand for tuition. Parents with their

children enrolled in private schools were positive about teaching quality at schools. However, they were concerned about teachers' qualification and training.

4.3.2 Quality of Education at School:

Leading from discussion and probing further for reasons about opting for private tuition, they were further asked what they perceive about quality of education in schools:

"There is no education in Public schools. There are barely 1 or 2 teacher(s) who is/are concerned about child. My child appears for a few minutes at home in afternoon and later leave for academy. He returns home by 9 p.m at night. When I was in school, this didn't happen." (A government employee)

"No one teaches well at school; the reason why we have to choose private academy. They are the very same teachers who teaches HERE but do not teach well there at Schools. They do not teach students good enough for board exams preparations. We are FORCED to pay here in lieu of fee and taxi charges (giggles)" (A Banker)

"In school, the quality of learning is average. Maybe, there are too many students in a class" (A semi-government employee)

"The quality of education is not as bad. Very often, the children do not study themselves. At home, I being a parent often do not find time for my child. So, I wish him to be busy at academy." (A government employee).

"There are around fifty-sixty children in a class with one teacher to handle them for 45 minutes. To what extent will he guide a child and stay focused? If we do not opt for private tuition, children would become zero (...) We are not excited to put children in such private academies since we have a limited earning." (A landlord).

"The schools are good. There is merely a perception about academies that they will deliver a result. There is at least something better about where my daughter studies and its exceptional! Academies are running their businesses only." (A private employee).

"Look, I myself studied in a public school and had never been satisfied, personally. My kids have been studying in a public school and to date my impression has not changed about it. To date, I believe that a public school does not deliver the way it should!". (A mother)

"It's just too difficult to manage financial costs (private school fees)". (A mother)

The overall responses indicated trust deficit of parents on public sector school and teachers. A very few of parents deemed public schooling as imparting quality learning to their child. Since parents representing private schools narrated private schools as highly competitive and able to impart quality education among their children, the most reasons narrated by them to invest in tuition were to further support their children education to gain additional grades.

4.3.3 Associated costs:

The use of shadow education is costly as participation requires resources in terms of both finances and time. The monetary cost of shadow education includes fees for teachers and agencies, and the cost increases as lessons are more individualized. There are additional costs to the use of shadow education. Students who participate in shadow education face what Bray (1999) has termed “opportunity cost” in the form of time spent traveling to and from the education center, preparation for the lesson, time in the lesson, and time for administration tasks. This opportunity cost also varies cross nationally. (Southgate, 2009)

Parents were asked about how do they manage associated costs (financial and time) with tuition:

“Its just not easy. I am Government employee in a middle scale. I barely run my household expenditures. I am sure a Govt. employee is unable to meet such expenses! I spend around four~five thousand rupees on a child in this private academy. As for my son and daughter, the net fee comes upto Rs. Ten thousand a month.”. (A government employee).

“I get paid well. I am a banker and working in such grade that it makes me able to pay for tuition of my children. But as for those who are not earning well are also paying for it. They are the same people who are barely able to meet their household expenditures. Besides, I do pay for a time cost too.” (A Banker)

“I get paid out of pension and I am able to manage but picking and dropping children to academy after schools is an obvious time cost for me”. (A semi-government sector employee)

“We are forced to pay such expenses which includes their tuition fee and transport charges. I believe we should do it till my children goes up to college”. (A government employee)

“...look! I can earn something in evening. I am an electrician by profession but I am engaged in children’s pick-and-drop activity. This begins from around 4:00 p.m on daily basis and lasts till 09:00 p.m. Thus, I become useless between these hours!”. (Self-employed and Technician)

“Look, me and my daughter came here from Barakahu. I pay for school transport charges up to Rupees Three Thousand a month. For tuition, I pay another Rupees Thirty Five Hundred a month. Now that I am not taking transport facility offered by tuition academy, I have to pick-and-drop my daughter by myself. With all that, I also have to pay for Tuition fee.” (Private employee)

“We don’t have problem paying for tuition since my husband earns good. But for time as a cost, yes, it gets too unmanageable for children. I often do not see my child’s face.” (A mother)

“...when we privatize something, we make sure it happens! With the cost and investment on tuition, we may dislocate other costs such as leisure since we spend more on education.” (A mother)

“It’s just too difficult! It takes a lot of struggle.” (A mother)

“I regard it as an extra burden. But we have to afford such costs for their (children) brighter future.” (Self-employed)

“Affording these costs is very difficult. As you see today, there is a lot of competition for better result of children. There’s a tug-of-war between private academies; for each of it proclaim as the best and the sole entity for education of child terming School as unimportant. So, costs double this way: Paying for schooling and tuition also.”. (A mother)

“Both of us (husband and wife) earns, therefore, we manage it, easily.” (A mother)

“We are helpless. We have to pay such costs. Sometimes easily, sometimes in trouble”.
(A mother)

It was evident from findings that respondents from public sector schooling were alarmingly reluctant, unwilling and unsatisfied with the costs associated with tuition. The costs were both financial (explicit) and intangible (implicit) where time management was also seen as a pivotal determinant affecting parents in terms of cost. A very few of respondents representing public sector were found satisfied in terms of costs related to tuition. Almost all of parents representing private sector schooling were satisfied with managing time and financial costs associated with tuition of their children.

4.3.4 Tuition as an activity:

Some parents send their children to private tuition classes merely due to peer pressure (in certain cultures, it is even considered prestigious) and not because of any perceived learning benefits (Bray, 2007). The expectations to take education are meant to advance or maintain a socioeconomic position. These expectations about education are creating a generalized culture of markets for private competition and its education and tutoring, despite longer-term hopes is fueling their uncertain dividends. (Aurini and Davies, 2004)

Parents were asked about how tuition affects learning of their children:

“There is a weekly test system in academy. Teachers in academy check their workbooks on daily basis. While in school, there is one or two tests after three-four months, each. Besides, school teachers do not give any kind of work.” (A mother)

“From a process of learning, I believe my child wastes his time at school for the reason there are no proper classes at school. The very same teachers are teaching good enough at academies. They are blind-eyed towards the fact that such a habit of their wastes precious time

of children. In last few months, teachers went on strike and thousands of children had their time wasted. Therefore, what my son is supposed to learn there at school, he does so inside this academy. Things turn right when we pay for something.” (A banker)

“It burdens students, yet it benefits.” (A semi-government employee)

“Tuition matters (...) if the provider is good. Somehow it also depends on Student. Truly, it’s an era of competition. Merit of colleges and universities is getting higher day-by-day. So, we wish children to contribute maximum for studies since we do not have time.” (Government employee)

“(…) yes, off course, tuition does affect children abilities. But, it also depends on a student. We somehow push them for tuition but if a child is careless, neither we (parents) nor the teachers would do any good for him. He will be wasting his time in academy too.” (A mother)

“With tuition, I have seen significance improvement in my daughter’s grades. This year, she took 945 marks out of 1050. If she was not enrolled into this academy, we would have had 500-600 marks.” (A landlord)

Probing further, the respondent said: *“No, it was not possible without tuition. The government school is not able of anything (giggles).”*

“Basically, it’s a perception that unless a child is not enrolled into private tuition, they will not get marks. This has been injected into their tiny minds! (angrily). We are helpless! When they (children) sit together, they are of strong perception that we must go to tuition side-by-side regular school. When I talk to someone at School, they suggest me NOT to send my child to tuition and that they shall extend every support. I have seen a lot of care at that public school.” (Private employee)

“Tuition poses immense burden on Students in lieu of time and activity. What they learn at school is completely different to what they learn here.” (A mother)

“Even at a tuition center, a child learning is dependent on teacher. The advantage at tuition is individual attention for the reason there are usually 50-60 children in a class. In academy, a teacher will deliberately, and certainly will improve a child’s, for example: Writing or Grammatical skills. It happens only in academy. This cannot be done by a school teacher. In fact, it is not humanly possible for school teacher to take a quality check on students as well as control 50 children. To what extent school teacher be burdened?” (A mother)

“Tuition affects children learning for sure. The private sector schools do not offer for qualified, well-trained and experienced teachers, thus children face troubles in some subjects. By tuition, this gap fulfills.” (Self-employed)

While parents were asked how they perceive tuition as an activity, a mix of responses were catered. Parents believed that regular schools do not offer cram/mock tests prior to board exams which forced them to choose tuition. Several parents informed that the supply side of tuition (teachers at academy) were those very teachers who taught their children in a regular school but fail to deliver. However, the very same teachers taught children more fairly at tuition. They presumed that this practice as an intentional act due to the reason the teachers being underpaid. Also, there was yet one more time, trust deficit among parents representing the public-sector schools.

4.3.5 Trend of tuition:

Parents were asked how do they view tuition as a trend:

“Tuition has evolved as a business. They call students at their homes often. Teachers deliberately do not teach children at home. Those children who do not take tuition feels inferiority complex” (A government employee)

“This phenomena (giggles) has dwelled into our psychology. We have entered into a race! I tell you, what race is it! Because we want admission into colleges. Therefore, unless a child takes tuition, he cannot compete. And we perceive that without tuition, nothing good can happen. Off course tuition is yet good but if there was quality education at school, you and I would not see such academies.” (A banker)

“...because children are not look-after in school. Hence, tuition is an alternate.” (A semi-government employee)

“What we as parents studied does not exists today. I cannot educate my child to the quality of level I should. Today, my education is neither relevant nor up to dated.” (A government employee)

“The trend of tuition is more of symbolic. It’s merely an environment for the reasons our minds have been directed towards it. We are forced to believe if our child won’t go to tuition, he/she will not be able to attain good grades. We are literally forced to do it. We are just not happy to opt tuition for our children.” (A private employee)

“We do not have time; or either we are not well-educated with modern day’s techniques. Obviously, the time we were at school, around 20 years ago, what we studied is completely different from what our children study. The fact is, I cannot teach the course of Matric holding a Bachelor degree.” (A mother)

“...look! All parents are not able to teach nor they have income sources. If someone has a lot of time and a lot of money, they take their child to tuition, happily.” (A mother)

What we studied in our schools is completely different from what our children have been studying. I am able to support my children education up to certain grades, i.e: Grade Six or Seven, but for higher grades, my self-understanding of concepts is outdated.” (A mother)

“Private sector also plays a role in boosting the trend of tuition. During regular school hours, they deliberately leave certain loopholes. Their buildings (in which the school exists) is of no use in evening. So, they call upon the same students hence multiplying their earnings. Education is merely a “business” for private sector. (Self-employed)

“We need tuition to touch merit criteria. If we are unable to meet minimum merit criteria required for future enrollment of our child, we will not be able to enroll our child at college level.” (Self-employed)

The most interesting and important findings revealed when parents were asked how do they perceive about the trend of tuition. A mixed pattern composed of differentiating and enriched responses was decoded. Parents representing both the public and private schools strongly believed that tuition is driven a lot by perceptions. They described its existence so evolved over time that it became a psychological phenomenon and dwelled into minds of students and parents as a necessity and has no real significance. Yet, there existed a trust deficit for quality of schooling in their minds. Probed, and the respondents never avoided to point out serious loopholes prevailing the formal education system that pushed them to opt for private tuition. One of the newly emerged themes was “parental education”. Some parents narrated that they did supported their child’s education up to a certain level/grade. However, they found existing course structure(s) as more evolved over time which detached them from understanding of core concepts used in science subjects, so they were unable to help children in learning at home and found tuition as a substitute. Most of mothers responded as parent of private school students the reason being unavailability of their spouse, mostly engaged in to business activities.

4.4 Summary of the Chapter:

This chapter discusses findings interoperated from in-depth interviews discussing students and parents respectively. The findings were both categorized and generalized on patterns of themes and newly emerged themes in-line with the criterions of research i.e. (summarizing, categorization and structuring).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This research was aimed towards exploring the drivers of demand for shadow education among students and parents in Pakistan. This research helps to learn about shadow education as to why it prevails and what are its driving determinants. Thus, this research contributes to a very minimal existing literature about shadow education in Pakistan. This chapter presents key findings of this research inferred from the analysis of primary data followed by policy recommendations and suggests avenues for future research.

5.1 Key findings:

Most of the students at public schools were highly demotivated about their learning and education skills, respectively, therefore, turned motivated to take tuition. Teachers' absenteeism, individual attention by teacher and teachers' dedication were the key reasons identified by students which motivated them to take tuition. In addition to such reasons, overcrowded class rooms and revision/lack of preparation for board exams were also among prominently emerged themes motivated for opting tuition. On average, a class of Matric in a public school contained between fifty to fifty-five students whereas between thirty to thirty-five in private school. From among students of public schools, no one was motivated to take tuition as part of intrinsic trait but were compelled to do so the reason(s) being dissatisfaction by school teachers and environment vis-à-vis influenced from extrinsic factors. In one case only, the behavior of management (school principal) was found to be exceptional. A case went prominent in which one of the principles of public schools took an initiative to curtail the complaints lodged by the students and parents. It resulted into betterment of issues and had been highly acknowledged by students and their families.

Whereas most of the students in private school were intrinsically motivated to take tuition to attain even better grades to existing or otherwise did not explained reason(s) thereof. Almost all students in private schools rated schooling as good and believed their communication with teacher as e. They Students were intrinsically motivated to take tuition meant for achieving higher grades and further improvement among themselves. They had no trouble at school at all. Average number of students in class in private school varied between 30-35.. All students

considered the activity of tuition as fruitful and contributing both to their learning skills and academic achievements. Even if they did not find tuition as good for time being, they strongly believed that it shall have positive outcomes in the long-run, thus considered it as an investment and inclusive.

About more than half the students of both public and private schools believed the routine they follow in which they had to manage both schooling and tuition as unhealthy. The students (or the children) mostly aged between 15-16 years had to wake up too early in the morning for school and stay connected to a single activity till late night: study. Although not all of the children were able to recognize such a routine as poor and unhealthy, yet utilizing a regular day in such a manner (spanning over years) is generally a highly inappropriate and disapproving way of living a quality life in early ages in terms of physical, mental and psychological well-being. Thus, tuition posed a cost to them in terms of time and health. Some respondents from both public and private school believed their home environment was not enabling for their studies due to privacy issues and a feeling of irresponsible attitude at home. There seemed a trust deficit only among public school students about their schooling. As a result, they mostly depended on tuition and hoped it to be continued till intermediate. Unlike complaints and dissatisfaction about public school teachers, students had no complaints about both the tutors and academy environment, which proved tuition as inclusive. Therefore, public schools being subsidized and with less fee structure seemed to perform poor as compared to private schools with high fee structure and being operated as a business. It also revealed from the responses that student of public schools represented households with average or low income while those of private schools belonged to well-off families. Parents who enrolled their children into public schools were mostly government employees and underpaid whereas parents who enrolled their children into private schools were self-employed and well-earned. Thus, there remained a clear distinction between the two groups pointing to a social inequality the reason being the prosperous families could invest more in their children education by supporting both private schooling and tuition at the same time. Those with low income profiles were barely able to meet the expenditures involving both schooling and tuition. Therefore, prosperous families could buy more and better quantity and quality of education than those with low or average income level.

As for parents, the findings were not dissimilar. There existed an enormous trust deficit among parents regarding public sector schooling. The perceptions were so serious in nature that even if a child attained better grades at school, it was yet considered that public schools do not deliver at all. Rare exceptions existed where parents acknowledged and pointed out dedicated teachers and better governed schools. However, such examples were least found. The trust deficit, unfortunately, was more than a perception. Teachers attendance, shutting-down of schools over weeks, strikes by teachers and teachers' deliberate behavior to avoid clearing concepts inside class room emerged prominently as those themes contributing to trust deficit. Thus, trust deficit arose as a key theme that inclined parents towards choosing private tuition for their children.

Respondents representing public schools revealed immense displeasure for the costs incurred by them in terms of time and money. They indicated that tuition, apart from paying fee also brings about other additional costs such as transportation. If no transport is availed, they were bound to pick and drop children for tuition academy on daily basis, hence wasting plenty of their time. Some of parents expressed that they could earn or work during the time dedicated for children tuition. Either way, parents were burdened by in terms of costs. Those parents who enrolled their children into private schools were mostly self-employed and entrepreneurs. More than half of those expressed a neutral opinion regarding associated costs with tuition. Hence, it became evident that prosperous parents spent more for their children education than others. Thus, social inequality remained a dominant factor. Parents representing public sector schools chose tuition as a supplementary also tool for the reason being "individualized tool for attention" due to overcrowded class rooms. Whereas most of parents representing the private sector schools decided about tuition wanted their children to "attain better grades" and "improve understanding of certain subjects". "Competition" or "enrollment into higher education" also emerged on an average score. The second most important revelation was "parent's education". Most of parents of private schools informed that they did support their child's education up to certain level. However, the failed to do so at higher grades (i.e: Matric). It is evident from the research findings that shadow education is a definite cost in terms of money and time. The determinants of private tuition pointed to institutional failures and issues affecting children-at-large, negatively, in numerous ways. Furthermore, it became evident that shadow education curtails social inequality.

5.2 Policy recommendations:

In light of the research findings and suggestions by respondents, this research recommends the following:

- The Government should plan to address trust deficit in public regarding public schooling system and education sector which exists at large.
- Since education is a free-to-provide public good to children of age between five to sixteen years by the supreme law of Pakistan, it should be implemented in spirit with redressal of concerns (i.e: costs) which invalidates the meaning of such provision.
- Since education is an exclusively devolved subject to provinces after 18th amendment, the provinces are solely responsible to implement the constitutional provision in letter and spirit. However, free education being a constitutional provision and a fundamental right was enacted by the Parliament (National Assembly and Senate) and not any provincial assembly. Therefore, the amendment left huge financial liabilities on provinces in terms of finances and institutional capacity.
- The role of federal government is not bound only to Islamabad Capital Territory by definition of the State¹⁰ in the constitution. Therefore, the role of federal government to facilitate free education remains debatable.
- Since private tuition is posing definite costs to its consumers, these costs should be assessed at policy most preferably through cost-benefit analysis. Following that, it should also be determined at policy whether private tuition behaves as inclusive or extractive as a practice.
- Teachers' attendance at public schools should be monitored strictly. School Principals should play an active role in ensuring teachers' attendance. They should encourage students and parents to address complaints. A monitoring mechanism in Federal schools should further be scrutinized both at departmental and ministerial ends.
- Class-room size should be brought to a maximum of 30-35 students a class so a teacher is able to assign attention to as many students inside a class.
- Routine tests, mock examinations and board exams preparatory schedules may be encouraged among public schools. Aside from the demand of students and parents, it shall

¹⁰ Article 7 of Constitution defines state as: In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires, "the State" means the Federal Government, a Provincial Government, a Provincial Assembly and such local or other authorities in Pakistan as are by law empowered to impose any tax or cess.

further create an environment of competition among schools performing at public and private level.

- Other than yearly registration of private tuition academies, PEIRA (Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority) should regulate and monitor private academies taking examples from international contexts and policies.

This research helped providing a detail description of shadow education and its determinants or drivers of demand in Pakistan. This research could be expanded on large quantile scales in order to obtain statistical incidences about any area of interest.

5.3 Limitations of the research

Despite advantages of using primary data and unstructured interviews, this study has some limitations. Given the very broader scale of tuition across Pakistan, the data had been collected only from urban outskirts of the city having ease of access in terms of time and money. Besides the reason quoted above, the rural areas had less number of academies. The sample adapted for the research may not be reflecting a country-wise population's motivation and perceptions. Respondents were drawn only from among registered academies only by PEIRA. Home tuition and home coaching was also a limitation to this research. Students of Matric were chosen given the context of problem statement.

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Annex – 1:

Cross-National Indicators of Private Tutoring

Location	Pattern
Bangladesh	Nath (2011b) analyzed data from household surveys. He found that in 2008, 37.9% of primary students and 68.4% of secondary students were receiving tutoring. In Grade 10, over 80% received tutoring.
Cambodia	Respondents in 31.2% of 77 primary schools surveyed in 1997/98 indicated that pupils received tutoring, which consumed 6.6% of the costs of primary education (Bray 1999a:57). A 2004 follow- up study showed that costs increased markedly at the secondary level (Bray and Bunly 2005:42). Dawson (2011:18), surveying eight primary schools in three locations, found that about half of the students had received tutoring. Brehm and Silova (2012) presented data echoing these findings.
China, People’s Republic of	The 2004 Urban Household Education and Employment Survey of 4,772 households indicated that 73.8% of primary students were receiving supplementary lessons, including in non-academic subjects. Proportions in lower and upper secondary were 65.6% and 53.5% (Xue and Ding 2009).
Hong Kong, China	A 2009 telephone survey of 521 students found that 72.5% of upper primary students had received tutoring (Ngai and Cheung 2010); and a survey of 898 secondary students found that 72.5% in lower-secondary had received tutoring, while proportions in middle and senior-secondary were 81.9% and 85.5%, respectively (Caritas 2010).
India	Sujatha and Rani (2011:113) reported on a survey of senior secondary students in four states: Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh: in the sample, 58.8% of Grade 10 students were receiving tutoring. Sen (2010:315) stated that at the primary level in West Bengal, 57% of students were receiving private tutoring. Data from a nationwide rural survey showed rates in Grades 4–8 ranging from 2.8% in Chhattisgarh to 77.2% in Tripura (Pratham 2011:58).
Japan	A 2007 survey found that juku served 15.9% of primary 1 children, that this proportion rose steadily in later grades, and that it reached 65.2% in junior secondary 3. In addition, 6.8% of junior secondary 3 pupils received tutoring at home, and 15.0% followed correspondence courses (Japan 2008:13).
Kazakhstan	Kalikova and Rakhimzhanova (2009) asked 1,004 first year university students about their experiences in the last year of secondary schooling. They found that 59.9% of students had received tutoring (private lessons, preparatory courses, or both).
Pakistan	Private tutoring is very common in urban areas (Mulji 2003), and also widespread in rural areas (ASER-Pakistan 2011). Concerning the latter, a 2010 survey of 19,006 households found that only 80% of children attended school. Among those who did attend school, 14.3% received private tutoring (ASER-Pakistan 2011: 52).
Uzbekistan	Silova (2009a) did not provide numerical estimates but indicated that levels of tutoring were comparable with those in other parts of Central Asia.

Source: Bray, Mark & Lykins, Chad (2012b). Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia. Journal for Education Research, Center of Excellence and Research (CERC) Monograph Series in Comparative and International Education and Development (No. 9), Published jointly by Asian Development Bank (ADB) and CERC, University of Hong Kong in 2012.

Regulations on Private Tutoring

Location	Pattern
Bangladesh	According to the Non-government Secondary School Teachers Service Rules 1979, no full-time teacher may provide private tutoring or other employment without prior permission of the employing authority (Article 9). In 2010 and 2011, various public comments demanded tightening of the regulations. The High Court became involved, raising the pressure on the Ministry of Education and on various schools from which teachers were said also to be working in coaching centers (The Daily Star, 5 January 2012).
Cambodia	In the mid-1990s, the Cambodian government attempted to ban private supplementary tutoring. However, the measure was ineffective. The subdecree on teacher ethics approved in 2008 prohibits teachers from collecting money, charging informal fees, or running businesses in classrooms (Article 13). It also states that teachers must avoid running a business in state schools.
China, People's Republic of	Private, or nonpublic, institutions are known as minban enterprises. The Minban Education Enhancement Law (China, People's Republic of 2002) covered tutoring centers alongside other institutions. It stated that they may enjoy tax allowances and earn a reasonable economic return. Subsequent regulations (China, People's Republic of 2004) stated that tutors in tutorial centers should have the same minimum qualifications as teachers in schools. Paid private tutoring by public school teachers is strongly discouraged.
Hong Kong, China	Chapter 279F of the Laws of Hong Kong, as modified in 2004, permits tutorial centers to be classified as private schools offering nonformal curriculum. Tutorial centers must register if they provide for 20 or more persons during any one day or eight or more persons at any one time. To register, they must demonstrate that their premises comply with the regulations of the Fire Services Department; and class size is restricted to a maximum of 45 students.
India	Regulations are set at the state and local levels. In Uttar Pradesh, coaching centers should register under Coaching Regulation Ordinance 2002, though not all do so (Sujatha and Rani 2011:143). In Maharashtra, coaching centers are registered under the Shop Act of the State Revenue Department, while bureaus that provide tutors for home tutoring are registered under the Charity Commission Act. Registered coaching centers pay 1% tax to the Revenue Department, while tuition bureaus pay 8% service charge to the Charity Commission (Sujatha and Rani 2011:152). The West Bengal government prohibits teachers from providing tutoring, though it has had difficulty implementing the prohibition (Times of India 2010)
Japan	Dierkes (2010:25) stated that "shadow education institutions are entirely unregulated as educational institutions and only have a legal role as a small (and sometimes very large) business." In 1988, regulations were established for regulation of juku by the then Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Mori and Baker 2010:44).
Kazakhstan	The delivery of supplementary educational services is regulated by Decree 1438 of 1999 (Kalikova and Rakhimzhanova 2009:94). Private tutoring is defined as the provision of additional classes in school subjects to students on an individual basis in addition to the academic hours prescribed by the state curricula. Schools are also permitted to offer supplementary programs.

Source: Bray, Mark & Lykins, Chad (2012b). Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia. Journal for Education Research, Center of Excellence and Research (CERC) Monograph Series in Comparative and International Education and Development (No. 9), Published jointly by Asian Development Bank (ADB) and CERC, University of Hong Kong in 2012.

Information Sheet



**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET, FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS
“EXPLORING THE DEMAND FOR SHADOW EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF
ISLAMABAD”**

About the researcher: I, Sajjad Yousaf, am a student of M.Phil Public Policy at the School of Public Policy, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) Islamabad. I am conducting my MPhil research on the above titled topic.

What is the purpose of this study: This research intends to explore the motivations of high school students and their parents towards private tuition in Pakistan.

What areas will be covered in this research? In the light of research aim, the following areas will be covered:

- **Intrinsic motivation of students (such as peer pressure and excellence)**
- **Extrinsic motivation of students (such as home environment, classroom environment, the school system, teacher motivation)**
- **Parents inclination towards private tuition**
- **Time management and financing**

Why have you been asked to take part? BECAUSE OF YOU ARE AN ENROLLED STUDENT OR PARENT – AVAILING THE SERVICES OF A TUITION CENTRE.

What will happen if you take part? If you agree to participate, I would like to conduct a face to face interview with you (and your parent) lasting approximately 20 minutes. Your participation will be on a confidential basis and you are free to withdraw at any stage. A copy of interview questionnaire will be shared in advance.

Policy on confidentiality: Your identity and personal information will be kept confidential. All information collected during the interview will be kept strictly confidential; only collective results will be reported.

Contact for further information:

Sajjad Yousaf

M.Phil Candidate, PIDE

Cell Phone: 0321-9560666

E-mail: sajjadyouasaf_15@pide.edu.pk

Annex – 4:

Consent Form



For participating in research titled:

“EXPLORING THE DEMAND FOR SHADOW EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF ISLAMABAD”

1. The purpose of this study has been explained to me in writing.
2. The policy on confidentiality has been explained to me.
3. My participation in this research is voluntarily.
4. Permission to record my interview:

a. Audio recording b. Notes c. Both

Name of Researcher/Student: Sajjad Yousaf	Details of the Participant:
Institute: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad.	Name: _____
Address: School of Public Policy, PIDE, Islamabad.	Age: _____
Cell Phone: 0321-9560666	Studying year & discipline (O-Level/Matric): _____
E-mail: sajjadyouasaf_15@pide.edu.pk	Name of Academy: _____

	Locality/Area/Sector of Academy: _____
	Name of Parent/Guardian as participant: _____
	Contact #: _____
	E-mail: _____
	Address (to be followed up to schedule an interview):

Annex – 5:

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS

Name of the Interviewee: _____

1. How do you spend the most of your day?
2. How you perceive learning/quality of education at school?
 - a. Location of School (far or closer to house)
 - b. Number of students in class?
 - c. Do you participate in class?
 - d. Do you have effective communication with teacher?
 - e. What do you think about available facilities at your school (inside and outside the class room)
3. Do you have extracurricular activities at school like sports etc.?
4. Why do you feel motivated to take tuition?
 - a. Class/school atmosphere
 - b. Peer pressure?
 - c. Average student/careless attitude
 - d. What do you think about your grades prior to and after tuition?
5. How do you consider your overall routine in a day with schooling and tutoring?
 - a. Do you get enough time for extracurricular activities as you explained above?
 - b. Are you satisfied keeping both tutoring and schooling together?
6. Do you have enough time to spend with siblings/family?
7. What do you think why the trend of tuition is increasing day by day?

Annex – 6:

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PARENTS

Name of the Interviewee: _____

School: (Public / Private)

1. How you perceive learning/quality of education at school?
2. Why you feel for the necessity of tuition in presence of regular schooling?
3. How do you manage financial cost (like tuition fee, transport and additional learning material) associated with tuition?
4. How you manage your time (other than financial) associated with tuition of your child?
5. How do you think tuition affects learning of your child?
6. What do you think why the trend of tuition is increasing day by day?

Appendix – A:

List of Private Educational Institutions/Academies

Serial	Sr. (PEIRA)	Name of Institution	Address	Level	Date of Estb	Registration Valid Upto
1.	5	Abdullah Academy	Khanna Dak, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jul-03	12-Jun-15
2.	9	Academy of Islam & Modern Sciences	Pindori Road, Burma Town, Lehtrar Road, Islamabad.	N - X	1-Feb-02	30-Jun-15
3.	11	Academy of Secondary Education	Nai Abadi, GT Road, Rawat, Islamabad.	N - X	2-Oct-99	31-Mar-15
4.	12	ACE International Academy	Phase II, Bahria Town, Islamabad.	PG - A Level	1-Sep-08	31-Mar-16
5.	30	Al Azhar Science Academy	House No. 28, Model Town Humak, Zimni, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Apr-99	28-Sep-13
6.	34	Al Falah Academy	Alipur, Lehtrar Road, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jan-94	5-Feb-15
7.	42	Al Hadi Education Academy	Bhangrile, Dhoke Rajgan, PO Rawat, Islamabad.	N - V	5-Apr-10	31-Mar-16
8.	70	Al Noor Academy	House No. 1823, Street No. 85, Sector I-10/1, Islamabad.	IX - XII	1-Jan-07	7-Jan-09
9.	71	Al Noor Educational Academy	Jabbi Town, PO Alipur, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jan-92	30-Aug-11
10.	85	Al Suffah Academy	House No. 11, Street No. 34, Sector G-10/1, Islamabad.	PG - I	5-Mar-89	26-Mar-11
11.	142	As Sadaf Academy	House No. 176, Street No. 61, Sector G-7/2-4, Islamabad.	PG - V	1-Dec-99	24-Sep-15
12.	168	Bahria Town International Academy	Safari Vilas-2, Phase-VII, Bahria Town, Islamabad.	PG - A Level	17-Mar-12	26-Mar-16
13.	196	Best Future Academy	Nai Abadi, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Apr-02	1-Jul-15

14.	203	Blossom`s Academy	Plot No. 523, Street No. 18, Sector G-8/1, Islamabad.	PG - V	1-Apr-84	28-Sep-11
15.	215	Bright Ideal School & Academy	Flat No. 4, Panorama Centre, G-11 Markaz, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jul-02	11-Feb-12
16.	218	Bright Star Academy	House No. 686-687, Street No. 06, Model Town, Hummak, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jan-94	27-Sep-13
17.	316	English Academy	House No. 1463 & 1506, Street No. 18 & 88, Sector I-10/1, Islamabad.	N - XII	20-Aug-07	24-Aug-11
18.	331	Falcon Educational Academy	Madina Town, PO Alipur, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Feb-98	2-Jul-09
19.	334	Faraz Academy	House No. 431, Service Road (North), Street No. 35, Sector I-8/2, Islamabad	I - X	1-Jan-11	15-Aug-13
20.	337	Fatima Educational Academy	PO Jagiot, Islamabad.	N - X	1-Mar-00	1-Jul-15
21.	434	Ideal Education Academy	Dhoke Haji Abdul Hameed, Mohallah Nain Sukh, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - VIII	5-Mar-08	4-Mar-14
22.	437	Iftikhar Model Academy	Lehtrar Road, PO Khana Dak, Islamabad.	N - X	14-Apr-98	30-May-15
23.	442	Innovative Academy	House No. 1060, Street No. 22, Sector G-11/1, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Sep-07	18-Oct-09
24.	446	International Children Academy	House No. 398, Street No. 89, Sector G-9/4, Islamabad.	N - V	3-Apr-94	13-May-15
25.	460	Iqra Academy	Abdullah Town, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - V	11-Nov-93	30-Aug-13
26.	471	Iqra Madina Tul Atfal Academy	Bobri, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - V	20-Nov-11	27-Dec-15
27.	485	Iqra Rouza tu Atfal Academy	House No. 713, Main Road, Sector G-11/1, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jan-13	21-Mar-15
28.	497	Iqra Toddlers Academy	Plot No. 1218, Street No. 08, Sector I-10/2, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jan-88	1-Jul-15

29.	551	Junior Officer`s Academy	Chak Mohri, Dakhli Sihala, Islamabad.	PG - V	1-May-05	31-Mar-15
30.	552	Junior's Academy	House No. 18, Street No. 09, Simly Dam Road, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Mar-05	30-Jun-13
31.	559	Ken Academy	House No. 527-B, Ibn-e-SinaRoad, Sector G-9/3, Islamabad	N - XII	N/M	30-Aug-11
32.	564	Khwarizmi Sciencec Academy	Nai Abadi, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - X	28-Dec-92	29-Jun-15
33.	583	Le Zone English Academy	House No. 1011, Gali No. 105, Sector I-10/4, Islamabad.	PG	1-Aug-08	5-May-14
34.	639	Muslim Academy	House No. 89-A, Main Double Road, Sector F-10/1, Islamabad.	PG - V	N/M	13-Sep-15
35.	672	New Educational Academy	Sodhran, PO Tarlai Kalan, Islamabad.	N - VIII	3-Mar-03	1-Sep-15
36.	674	New Era Science Academy	House No. 341, Street No. 97, Sector G-9/4, Islamabad.	PG - VIII	1-Jan-89	31-Mar-15
37.	676	New Iqra Academy	Phulgran Road, Sari Chowk, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Jan-06	25-Nov-13
38.	735	Paragon Academy	House No. 920, Sohni Road, Sector I-10/1, Islamabad.	IX - XII	15-Aug-98	28-Aug-09
39.	778	Quaid Academy	Sari Chowk, Phulgran, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jan-92	30-Aug-15
40.	835	Royal Public School & Academy	House No. 1245, Street No. 173, Sector G-11/1, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jan-98	29-Jun-13
41.	838	Rumi Academy	House No. 91, Street No. 34, Sector G-9/1, Islamabad.	PG	1-Nov-84	22-Oct-09
42.	839	Saad Children Academy	Near Allah Wali Masjid, Sharifabad Road, PO Koral, Islamabad.	N - V	1-Apr-11	19-Jun-14
43.	843	Saint Hall Academy	Lehtrar Road, Khana Dak, Islamabad.	N - VIII	8-Apr-97	22-Jun-15

44.	874	Shahkar Academy (Informal Education)	House No. 04, Street No. 09, Block G, Swan Garden, Islamabad.	IX - XII	1-Jan-10	18-Feb-15
45.	877	Shear Wood Academy	Plot No. 18, Park Road, Sector F- 8/2, Islamabad	X - XII & O Level	1-Nov-07	6-Nov-09
46.	879	Sheikh Zayed International Academy	Street No. 09, Sector H-8/4, Islamabad.	PG - A Level	13-Aug-03	30-Aug-15
47.	881	Sidra tul Muntaha Academy	Chak Mohri, Dakhli Sihala, Islamabad.	VI - VIII	1-Aug-08	31-Mar-16
48.	882	Sir Syed Academy	Main Bazar, Nai Abadi, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - X	18-Apr-93	30-Jun-15
49.	899	Sirat e Mustaqeem Academy	17 Meel, Express Way, Angoori Road, Ali Street, Islamabad.	N - V	13-Jan-09	18-Sep-13
50.	911	SS Academy	Peshawar Road, Tarnol, Islamabad.	N - VIII	N/M	28-Sep-15
51.	943	Taj Din Academy	Kot Hathial, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - VIII	3-Jul-07	2-Jul-15
52.	944	Takbeer Academy	Behra Pull, Bara Kahu, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jan-99	28-Sep-15
53.	958	The Best Academy	House No. 120, Street No. 08, Ghouri Town, Khana East, Islamabad.	VI - XII	1-Nov-07	5-Nov-09
54.	1102	Zawiya Academy	Flat No. 2, 3rd Floor, Al Babar Center, F-8Markaz, Islamabad.	IX - XII	1-Jan-97	11-Feb-14
55.	1103	Zia ul Islam Public Model School	Sector E-11, Golra Sharif, Islamabad.	N - X	1-Apr-00	28-Sep-13
56.	1105	Zohra Public School	Durani General Store, New Sohan, Islamabad.	N - VIII	1-Jan-07	30-Sep-15