

Implications of Private Supplementary Tuition on Students' Academic Performance in Secondary Education in Awendo Sub-County, Migori County, Kenya

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Abstract: Private demand for supplementary tuition is increasing globally due to the expected high rate of return of education investment. It is viewed differently in different regions of the world and has been banned in some countries. While private tutoring may have many positive effects, it also produces a number of negative effects. The purpose of this study was to find out the role of private demand of supplementary tuition on students' academic performance in secondary education in Awendo Sub-County, Kenya. Descriptive survey design was used in the study. It focused on students receiving supplementary tuition from secondary schools, their parents/guardians, teachers and managers. The study targeted a population of 9,117 students, 341 teachers, 31 principals and about 31 parent representatives in the Sub-County. The sample of the study consisted of 31 schools in Awendo Sub-County in which a total of 341 teachers, 31 principals, 487 students and 31 parents were picked. A sample of students was done using random technique by aid of table of random numbers and saturated sampling was employed to pick out 341 teachers, 31 principals, 4 Area Education Officers and 31 parents/guardians.. Descriptive statistics was used to analyze the quantitative data while qualitative data was analyzed in narrative form. The major findings are: Students attend private tuition because they want to obtain high marks in examinations; it was established that students attending private tuition pay an average of Ksh. 2000 per term; private supplementary tuition helps in improving the academic performance of students.

Keywords: private tuition, academic performance, private demand, cost effectiveness.

I. INTRODUCTION

Private tutoring is defined here as fee-based tutoring that provides supplementary instruction to children in academic subjects they study in the mainstream education system. Because the literature focuses primarily on tutoring for children or adolescents paid for by their households, tutoring can generally be considered a form of private education. However, the definition is broad enough to cover special tutoring programs financed by other sources, including the government, (Bray, 2003)

Many educational surveys worldwide reveal the existence and widespread practice of private tutoring. It is commonly called shadow education in developed countries. In Brazil, a study in Rio de Janeiro public schools found that over 50% of students receive tutoring and saw it as a way of reducing repeating rates (Bray, 2003). A survey in Japan found 60 percent of secondary students attending juku, some form of private tuition (Silova, Iveta & Kasimzade, Elmina, 2006). In the Republic of Korea, it was indicated that 59% of high school students received tutoring. The African continent is not spared of shadow education either. It is a common practice in Egypt, Guinea, Mauritius, Morocco, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Kenya among other countries. It has evolved as a parallel sector that provides supplementary education to students

enrolled in the mainstream public school system. A cursory survey indicates that the practice is also fast growing in Kenya (Bray, Mark & Percy Kwok, 2003).

Recently, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Kenya banned holiday tuition in all public schools with the minister of education warning that action would be taken against schools that violate the ban (Wachira, 2012). He said that extra tuition is a crime, adding that school boards risk dissolution if they allow tuition in their institutions. The minister said the extra tuition directive still stand since nothing has changed. "I am not ready to shelve the policy, neither have I heard that there is an overload in the curricular that necessitate extra tuition," he said adding that the 13 week schools calendar which translate to 195 days are enough.

Extra holiday tuition is tiring to the children who also need to rest, parents should also do parenting during holidays and I have also found out that some parents cannot afford tuition fees", the minister said. Private tutoring has elicited mixed responses from policy makers. In some countries, it is ignored; others, it is actively controlled and regulated. Private tutoring has been banned at various times in Cambodia, Korea, Mauritius and Nyanmar (Bray, 2003), out of concern that it exacerbates social inequalities, disrupts the public education system and fails to increase academic performance or build human capital.

For many children in Kenya and other parts of the world, formal instruction does not end during the normal school official hours. Many pupil/students proceed from their school to some form of supplementary tutoring. Others do not leave their institutions. Instead they receive extra tuition even from their own mainstream teachers. Supplementary tuition is a common practice during school holidays, weekends and evenings and even within the normal school hours (Ngugi, 2012). In Kenyan secondary schools, parents and households are asked to meet the cost of these programmes by the Parents Teachers Association (PTA). Households and guardians make many vital choices regarding their children's education beyond the decision to enroll them in school. These choices range from deciding on which type of school their child attends to the use of private tutoring. The availability of school fees can have important implications for each of the decisions. In many countries, parents spend a huge portion of their income to educate their children, a burden that is often greatest for the poorest families.

Despite the Kenya government's educational policy outlawing the practice in all public schools, many teachers, parents and school managers still tolerate it. Teachers Services Commission (TSC) code of conduct and ethics No. 4 of 2003, article 15 states that "a public officer shall not charge or accept any fee for tuition of a student, even if the tuition is given outside official working hours; or establish or retain an interest in a private school or work at such a school". Nevertheless, teachers and school managers continue to charge parents extra levies for extra lessons, what they call "remedial teaching."

Article 43 (1) (f) of the constitution of Kenya (2010) makes education a right of every Kenyan and underscores the importance of education in sustainable development. The provision holds that every child has a right to free and compulsory Basic Education and access to affordable tertiary education, training and skills development. Basic education is also provided as a basic Human Right in the Bill of Rights, thus implying that the citizenry will hold the state accountable in ensuring that every school-age going (4-18 years) child is in school. In pursuit of the declaration of the Jomtien Conference on Education for All (EFA) of 1990 and subsequent Dakar Conference of 2000, the Kenya Government has adopted the policy of Free primary Education (FPE) and Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE). As a result of these commitments, the government has realized rapid quantitative expansion of schools and other educational facilities. This practice has spread in most secondary schools in Kenya.

Factors that Motivate Private Demand for Supplementary Tuition:

The principal cause of private tuition is the mad race on the part of secondary school students to join prestigious courses at universities and a desire on the part of teachers to earn an additional income. Nevertheless, there are probably also other causes at the basis of private tuition such as teacher dedication and teacher reputation. (Wachira, 2012).

Macro factors, which refer to economy wide factors, influence high demand for holiday tuition. Firstly, the transition to a market economy has drastically increased the demand and supply of private tutoring. Countries like China, Vietnam, some African countries and many Eastern European countries in the former Soviet bloc have witnessed growth in the phenomenon (Bray, 1999). Many capitalist economies such as United States of America (US), Canada and Japan have continued to embrace private tuition.

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Lee and Kim (2004) conducted household survey on the effects of Pre-Class Tutoring on Student Achievement in South Korea. He selected a sample of 1640 in an urban set up and issued out questionnaires. The results indicated that parents sent their children for private tutoring due insufficient education system, high demand for quality grades and peer pressure. They recommended more cross national research to cover students' perceptions and governments' response. Consequently, my study seeks to address some of these inadequacies using diverse respondents.

According to Davies (2004), intensive parenting is a greater cause for supplementary tuition. Parents seem to place a higher premium on the hiring of teachers as part of a wider strategy on education. This study was conducted using a sample of 3200 high school preparatory students and parents through logistic regressions to examine tutoring in Canada. He focused on the Characteristics of parents whose children participate in tutoring. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods can give more knowledge on this subject as is done in the current study. Davies' remark is not only applicable in Canadian context but also in Kenyan situation. Most working parents in Kenya often opt to send their children to private tuition during school holidays as a way of structured monitoring and engagement. The chairman of Kenya Secondary schools Heads Association (KESSHA) re-affirmed this during his address to press in Nairobi (2012). He started that: "The biggest problem is that the parents are unable to come up with and develop ways that will keep our children in during holidays..."

However, the pressure to excel in examinations which accentuates student or parent demand for private tuition is not the only cause of tutoring. Indeed, it seems that there is also a very strong supply side to the issue. While there is no doubt that many teachers give private tuition solely for financial reasons, teacher's dedication to good result and desire for status are equally important factors (Davies & Scott, 2004). In fact, some teachers, especially at the primary level, have such a high sense of professionalism and of teaching ethics that they not only share the anxieties and worries of their students at every moment, but also offer extra classes on a purely voluntary basis to all their students either before or after school hours. Moreover, to motivate or force students to work hard and eventually to perform well in examinations, teachers use every possible means

Foondum and Raffic (2002) had argued that tight linkages between education and work results in intense competition for more education and thus private tutoring. An extreme form of these linkages is what is called "Diploma Disease." (Dore 1976). Modern bureaucratic organizations may use a person's degree as an initial screening tool for employment, regardless of whether the person exhibits the qualities and attitudes attested in the certificates. This phenomenon arguably fuelled the demand for private tutoring in a number of countries.

In Ghana, Montgomery et al. (2000) sampled 1,535 pupils in 39 schools in a range of communities around the country. Among the primary pupils, 32.8 per cent were receiving supplementary tutoring. This compared with 49.5 per cent of junior secondary pupils and 72.3 per cent of senior secondary pupils. The survey revealed that teachers' economic situation and parental concern for quality education were contributing to the increasing demand for supplementary tuition. The current research has attempted to analyze micro factors other than economy wide factors.

Cost Effectiveness of Private Tuition on Students' Academic Performance:

Bray and Kwok (2003) undertook a study on the cost of private supplementary tuition in Hong Kong, China. They used telephone survey to collect data from secondary students and parents. A sample of 506 students was randomly selected from a population of over 12,000 respondents. The largest number of students from low-income households appeared to be spending HK\$301–500 per month on fees for private tutoring, while the most common range for middle income households was HK\$701–1000, and for high income households it was HK\$1001–2000. In addition were costs of materials and transportation, though most students indicated that the costs of materials were fairly modest and that the tutoring was received in locations close to their homes. For all income groups, the tutoring fees appeared to consume between 1.1 and 5.0% of monthly incomes. However, for an estimated 3.6% of low-income families and 12.5% of middle-income families, tutoring fees consumed between 15.1 and 20.0% of monthly incomes.

Whereas this study was done in a developed country outside Africa, my study focuses in a developing country, in a cosmopolitan area of Awendo Sub-Country, Kenya. Other education stake holders like, teachers and education officers are included in the sample to bridge the gap. Moreover, descriptive statistics is used in the analysis compared to the correlation research employed by Bray and Kwok. Their objectives did not address impact of private tuition on students' academic performance.

Tutoring can contribute to the livelihoods not only of the tutees but also of tutors. In some societies, tutoring has become a big sector of the economy. For example, expenditure on tutoring in South Korea in 2003 was estimated at US\$ 12.4 billion which was equivalent to 55.9 percent of the National government budget for education (Lee, 2005) and generated considerable employment. These results are from a National education survey whose objectives were: to determine the main reasons for the demand of supplementary tuition, to establish the intervening parameters in private tutoring and the perception of the public towards it. Lee gathered his data using interview schedules and questionnaires. Stratified random sampling was used to select a sample from a group of teachers, students and education officials. This research nevertheless had some limitations. A good number of teachers used in the study were either not willing to give accurate data or declined to respond. The researcher consequently recommended triangulation methodology in finding out cost-effectiveness of private tuition.

Tanzel and Bircan (2006) found in Turkey that the urban households seem to have 11 percent higher economic burden than her households. On the other hand, rural households' income earning variables are negatively associated with household burden for private tuition expenditure. A 1994 survey secured data on expenditures from 3,898 households. In the lowest-income quartile, only 6.5 per cent of households spent money on tutoring, but in the highest-income quartile 24.6 per cent did so. In the latter group, among 28.8 percent of households the expenditures on tutoring accounted for over 10 per cent of total expenditures, in some cases exceeding 30 per cent. The result implies that private tuition has become necessity good. It should not be taken that all types of tutoring in all circumstances are necessarily a good investment. As with other forms of education, much depends not only on the quality and orientation of the tutoring but also on the motivations and aptitudes of the students, and on the structures and context of education systems. This literature points out some financial implications of private tuition. Additional research is still necessary in other set-ups due to inadequate data, especially in Kenya.

A few studies have been done on this topic in developing countries including Africa. One such study was done in Egypt by Sarah Hartmann titled "The Informal Market of Education in Egypt. "Private Tutoring and Its Implications" (Sarah, 2008). A combination of qualitative research methods, primarily participant observation, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were used to collect data from tutoring centers. Through private tutoring, a direct financial relationship was found established between students and teachers. In addition to paying taxes, private households directly subsidize teachers' salaries and take over a substantial share of education expenses.

In Tanzania, Sambo (2001) collected data from 100 students, 50 parents, and 50 teachers and head teachers in Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Zanzibar. Seventy per cent of the students and 72 per cent of the teachers said that they participated in private tutoring. Sambo remarked (p.107) that "from one perspective, private tuition is a possible solution to the varied quality of education and teachers' need for supplemental incomes". However, he added, from another perspective "there are serious concerns about the long-term side effects".

A study done in Gatundu South District, Kenya found out that students attending private tuition on school holidays spend an average of Kshs. 1,000 to Kshs 1,750 a week, while those attending during the school term spend between Kshs. 500 and Kshs. 1,000 per session. The study also indicated that private supplementary tuition helps much in improving the academic performance of students (Ngugi, 2012). The study carried out a cost-benefit analysis of private supplementary tutoring, by analyzing the scale, cost, and educational outcomes of holiday tuition in secondary schools in Gatundu South District. The study employed a survey research design, and was targeting all the 31 head teachers, 362 teachers and 8,149 students in the 31 secondary schools in this district. The study sample was 10 schools randomly selected from the 31 schools from which the head teacher, 30 teachers and 240 students were selected. Data was collected using three types of questionnaires, one for students, one for head teachers and one for teachers. The study finally indicated that while private supplementary tuition may have some academic benefits, it could also be counterproductive as students and teachers become fatigued. The study recommended; legalizing and regulating the private supplementary tuition by the government, schools making it accessible even to those unable to meet the cost in order to enhance equity, teachers to manage the mainstream contact hours properly so that they can complete the syllabi on time and finally the offloading of some of the content in the school curriculum to manageable levels. The study suggested further research to include primary schools, other districts in Kenya and also to find out other effects of private supplementary tuition on students.

Private tuition in Kenya is mainly funded by households and individuals benefiting from such programmes. They forego other essential services and family obligations to meet the cost of private tutoring. A part from paying for regular fees charged by the government, parents must meet the extra cost-direct and indirect, thereby overburdening them financially.

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In recent times, virtually all public and private schools offer supplementary tuition. Research that has been done on this topic reveals some economic and social implications, both to the society at large and to individuals. Major determinants of private tuition expenditure include the level of education of parents, employment status and level of disposable income. Ranasinghe and Hartory (2002) found out that households whose parents have higher educational background may demand children's education more than those of lesser educated parents. Thus they are likely to spend more money on their children's education such as private tutoring. They allocate at least few percent of their budget on their children's private tuition classes.

Critics argue that tutoring schools are parasitic, that they waste financial and human resources that could be better allocated to other uses. For instance, Shumow (2002) supported this view. He asserted that private tutoring can damage the bases of economic production especially in system dominated by traditional examinations.

The way in which private tutoring may undermine the impact of measures such as the School Fee Abolition Initiative (SFAI) deserves attention. UNICEF has been the lead actor in this scheme, launching it in conjunction with the World Bank in 2005 and organizing a workshop in Nairobi, Kenya in April 2006. Another meeting held in conjunction with the Association of the Development of Education (ADEA) in June 2007 revealed the irony. While governments may devote much of effort to abolishing fees in the public sector, they only find that costs increase in the parallel sector of supplementary private tutoring. Even low income and vulnerable households find themselves forced to pay for supplementary tuition because otherwise they cannot keep up with their peers.

Statement of the Problem:

Private tuition in Kenya has been banned several times through ministerial policy directives, only for it to resurface. The demand and supply of private tuition is on the increase worldwide despite governments' policy of providing education equitably and cost effectively. Such tutoring has major social economic implications, and it can have a far reaching impact on mainstream education systems. The use of private tuition to supplement public funded education is an educational policy issue not only in Kenya but globally (Davies, 2004). Teachers viewed the ban on extra tuition payment under Free Primary Education (FPE) as detrimental to their motivation. It has previously served as an incentive to them and allowed teachers to have additional time to finish teaching the syllabus and help students with special needs. This extra tuition for additional classes supplemented their income (UNESCO, 2005). Supplementary tutoring is not a new phenomenon yet little research has been done. It is apparent that government policy regarding private tutoring often clash with the interest of policy implementers-teachers, parents and school managers. This conflict of interest poses -questions as to whether it is legal to engage in supplementary tuition, charge extra cost, or extend school term dates. This study seeks to determine the effects of private demand supplementary tuition on student's academic performance in secondary education.

Purpose of the study:

The purpose of the study was to establish the role of private demand for supplementary tuition on student's academic performance in secondary education in Awendo Sub- County,

Kenya. Specifically, the study sought to find out the factors contributing to the demand for private tuition and its cost-effectiveness.

Objectives:

The objectives that guided the study were to:-

- a) Establish the factors that motivate private demand of supplementary tuition in secondary education in Awendo Sub-County.
- b) Analyze cost-effectiveness of private supplementary tuition in improving students' academic performance in Awendo Sub-County.

Research Questions:

- a) What factors drive the private demand for supplementary tutoring in Awendo Sub- County?
- b) To what level is supplementary tuition cost-effective in improving students' academic performance in Awendo Sub-County?

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design:

Cooper and Schindler (2010) describe a research design as a master plan, or framework, which outlines the methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing data. The study used both quantitative and qualitative designs. Descriptive survey design of the ex-post factor type was used since the researcher had no direct control over the independent variables which had already manifested. This method is concerned with describing, recording, analyzing and interpreting relationships or conditions as they exist without manipulation of variables (Kothari, 2003). According to Sekaran (2009), the finding of a descriptive research project help a researcher to think systematically and to understand the characteristics of groups in given situations. Descriptive research not only offers ideas for further probes but also helps in making certain simple decisions. The common data collection methods used in descriptive research surveys, expert panels and participant observations (Cavan, Delahaye & Sekaran, 2001). The design was used to describe and explain the phenomenon of increasing demand for private tuition in Awendo Sub-County. It focused on students receiving supplementary tuition from public and private secondary schools, their teachers/tutors as well as parents and managers.

Area of Study:

The study was carried out in Awendo Sub-County, Kenya. It is bordered by Rongo district to the south, Uriri district to the north, Ndhiwa and Transmara to the west and east respectively. Geographically, it ranges from $0^{\circ} 40'$ and 0° South and longitude 34° and $34^{\circ}50'$ east. It is found south of the equator and covers an area of 256km^2 . The Sub-County has four divisions, namely: Awendo, Dede, Mariwa and Sare. According to the 2009 population and housing census, the Sub-County has a got a total human population of 384,692. There are 189,268 males (49.2%) and 195,424 females (50.8%). The population of the youth is 111,561 of which 46,780 are of secondary school going age (14-17 years). The population growth rate is 3.2 percent. The sub- County has a number of learning institutions. It has one satellite campus of a public University, two middle level colleges, four village polytechnics, 31 secondary schools and 85 primary schools. The district has no special learning institution. Economically, the Sub-County lies slightly below the object poverty line. The dependency ratio is 100:98. The main economic activity is sugarcane plantation. However, some inhabitants practice small, scale subsistence farming, brick making and gold mining. It has a sugarcane factory which provides livelihood to members of the Sub-County. The district was chosen for research because it is a metropolitan region with inhabitants having diverse backgrounds.

Target Population:

The study targeted a population of 9,117 students, 341 teachers, 31 head teachers (Principals), 31 PTA Chairpersons (parents) and 4 Area Education officers (AEOs) in the Sub-County. These were from 31 secondary schools as indicated in appendix E.

Sample and Sampling Techniques:

In qualitative research, samples are selected using non-probability sampling methods whereby units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of the sampled population (Richie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). Samples were selected on the basis of the characteristics of the population. The unit of analysis was 31 secondary schools. Saturated sampling was employed in picking a sample involving 31 principals, 341 teachers, 4 AEOs and 31 PTA Chairpersons. Saturated sampling was vital due to the size of the population. Orodho (2004) recommends that for a small population of research subjects, saturated sampling would yield reliable results by selecting an intact group. A sample of 467 students was done using simple random technique, by aid of table of random numbers. This is because, time and resources would not allow for the inclusion of all students.

III. RESULTS

Characteristics of Private Supplementary Tuition in Awendo Sub-County:

The scale and forms of private tuition in the Sub-County is varied. Some tutoring is provided one-to-one in the home of either the tutor or his/her client. Others are provided in tutoring centers in urban areas. One such centre surveyed is called Cornel Tuitions which provides private holiday tuition to secondary students. According to the proprietor, increasing demand for private tuition led him to open a tutoring centre. He engages the services of teachers from the surrounding schools, especially during the holidays. "Our aim is to provide supplementary tuition to secondary students in

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Mathematics and Science subjects, equip them with excellent examination techniques, motivate learning and build strong linkages amongst students”, echoed the founder.

Among the determinants of the scale of tutoring scope, and thus its geographic spread are cultural, educational and economic factors (Bray, 2003). The research survey found out that the practice is more pronounced in urban areas and in larger, established schools. Comparatively, rural areas and small new community secondary schools had relatively low intensity of private tuition.

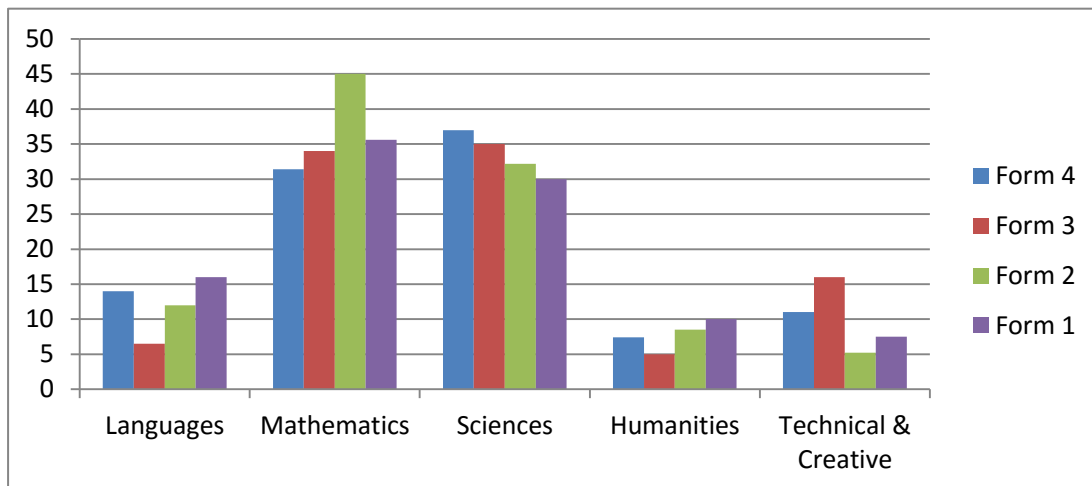


Figure.1: Subject Distribution of Students having Private Tuition in Percentage

Figure 1 indicates the percentages of surveyed students receiving private tuition in Awendo Sub-County in each class. Mathematics and sciences are the leading subjects with high demand for private tuition. These subjects are perceived by students to be more challenging yet rewarding. The bar graph shows that the intensity of private tutoring is higher at senior classes. This can be attributed to the proximity to the National examinations leading to the increasing demand for extra coaching. The findings of Ngugi (2012) in Gatundu South district are consistent to this data.

Table.1: Background Characteristics of Students taking Private Tuition

Background Characteristics	Boys	Girls	Total
Class	%	%	%
Form 1	74.00	72.00	73.00
Form 2	82.00	83.00	82.50
Form 3	87.00	85.00	86.00
Form 4	92.00	90.00	91.00
Average	83.75	82.50	83.125
Urban/ Rural			
Urban	85.50	84.00	84.75
Rural	79.50	80.50	80.00
School type			
Public	83.00	81.50	82.30
Private	81.50	80.00	80.80

Source: Field Survey Data 2013

From table 1, the prevalence of private tutoring in Awendo Sub-County is high. Among Form 1 students, 74.00% boys and 72.00% girls attended some form of private tuition with an average of 73.00%. In Form 2, 82.00% boys and 83.00% girls attended giving an average of 82.50%. Furthermore, 87.00% boys and 85.00% girls in Form 3 took private tuition, translating to 86.00% in total. In Form 4, 92.00% boys and 90.00% girls took it, giving a total of 91.00%. The total average of 83.125% took private supplementary tuition. It is fast growing into a parallel shadow education system. Percentages of students receiving private tuition increases towards the examination class, with more boys attending private lessons than girls. Although the study area is a cosmopolitan region, the respondents were sorted as either from rural or urban backgrounds. There were more percentages of students receiving private tuition in urban (84.75%) areas

than in rural (80.00%). Moreover, public schools practiced private tuition (82.30%) private ones (80.80%). Students whose parents/ guardians live in urban centers seem to have high economic background, making them to afford. The range between them and their rural counterparts in terms of the level of private tutoring is not so wide in contrast to the situation in Nigeria (Bray, 2003)

The study area had just some few private secondary schools, located within Awendo town and around Sony Sugar Company. A head teacher from one such schools reported that their students receive private tutoring outside the school. He said that they face tough competition from public schools which has more qualified, experienced and motivated teachers. They also strive to make some profit, unlike the public schools.

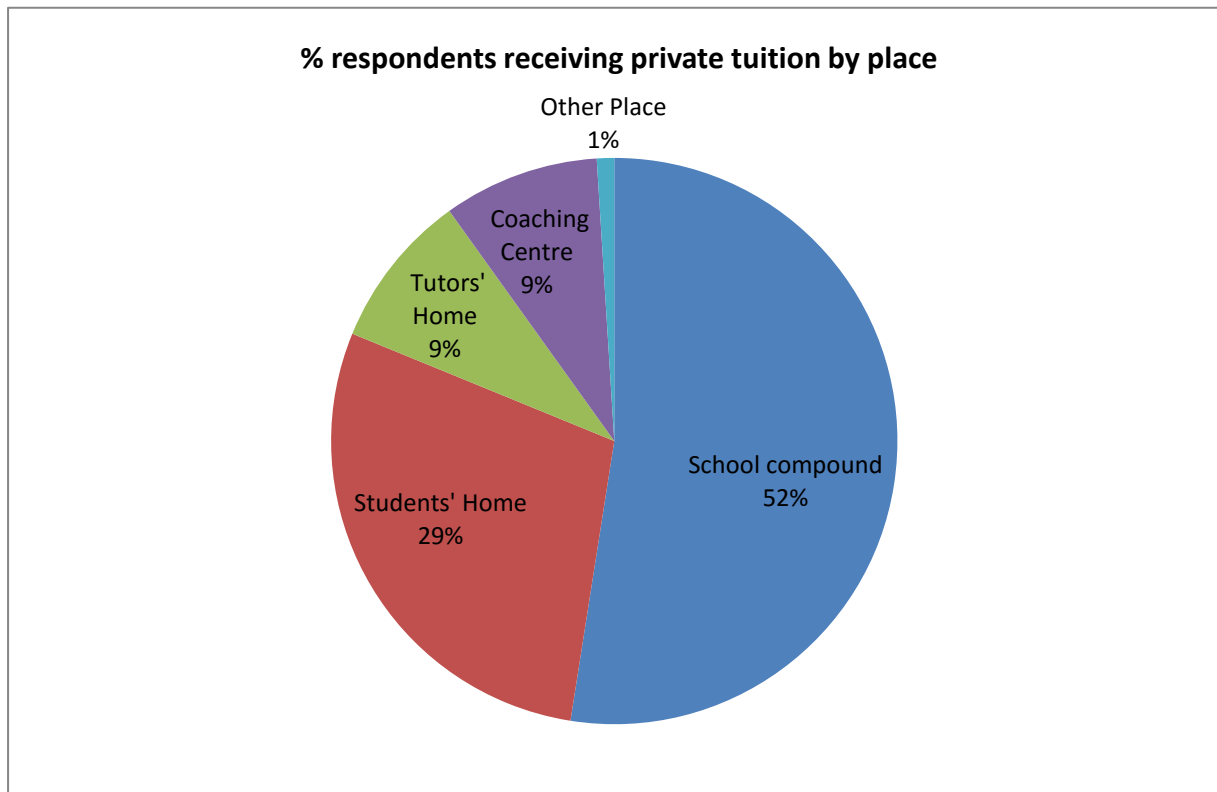


Figure.2: Place where Private tuition is taken by students

Figure 2 indicates the venue of private tutoring. Students who received private tuition in school compound were 52%, student’s home 29%, tutors’ home 9%, coaching centre 9% and others were 1% of the total respondents. A larger portion of the respondents (52 %) attended tutoring in the school compounds. This was common among boarding schools during evenings and weekends. A student observed that their teachers engage them after regular lessons. It is compulsory in some schools. Respondents from day schools also receive private tuition in their schools including during weekends and public holidays. Private tuition conducted at the students’ or tutors’ home were largely done by siblings or parents of the students. In many instances, these tutors are not full time, qualified school teachers. Parents and guardians at times hire private tutors in specific subject areas to supplement their children’s education. University students and unemployed graduates come in handy in this respect. During school holidays, some students attend their supplementary tuition at coaching centers. Some of these centers are owned by reputable teachers. Social halls are sometimes used to facilitate private tuition

Factors that drive the private demand for supplementary tutoring in Awendo Sub-County:

The first research question that was responded to was: what factors drive private demand for supplementary tuition in Awendo Sub-County? The research question was responded to by 428 students, 24 PTA Chair persons, 278 class teachers and one AEO.

Students’ Responses on Factors that drive the private demand for supplementary tutoring:

Students were requested to give reasons for taking private tuition. Table 4.4 shows their responses.

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Table.2: Likert scale showing Perception of Students on some reasons for taking PT

	Reasons for taking	SA	A	U	D	SD	TF	TS	AV	% S
i	The private tutors help me for doing my homework	74	87	108	83	70	422	1278	3.03	60.60
ii	I can express my difficulties and can ask questions easily	113	124	77	50	64	428	1456	3.40	68.03
iii	There is no person in the house to help me in my studies	97	143	84	62	42	428	1475	3.44	68.93
iv	I want to obtain higher marks in examination	169	98	93	36	18	414	1706	4.12	82.42
v	In tuition classes I learn how to answer examination questions	178	86	79	55	30	428	1611	3.76	75.28
vi	Syllabi are not covered well in school.	26	36	87	92	182	423	988	2.34	46.71
vii	I can use my free time profitably because of tuition	145	120	63	46	54	428	1540	3.59	71.96
viii	Private tutors do not give punishment	19	15	54	132	208	428	789	1.84	36.87
ix	All students who learned from tutor have passed well.	103	115	98	50	62	428	1431	3.34	66.87
x	Because my parents/guardian wants me to attend tuition.	179	114	92	16	27	428	1686	3.94	78.79

N=428
Source: Field data 2013
Legend: Strongly Agree (SA) -5 Agree A -4 Undecided U-3 Disagree D-2

Strongly Disagree SD-1

From Table 2, the reasons that were given by students why they take private tuition are the following: the private tutors help students for doing their homework as evidenced by an average score of 3.04 (60.60%) on the 5-point Likert scale; students can express their difficulties and can ask questions easily to the private tutors as indicated by 3.40 (68.03%); there is no person in the house that of the student to help in their studies (68.98%); they want to obtain higher marks in examinations (82.42%); in tuition classes they learn how to answer examination questions (75.28%); syllabi are not covered well in school (46.71%); they can use their free time profitably because of tuition (71.96%); Private tutors do not give punishment (36.87%); all students who learned from their tutor have passed well (10.84%) and because their parents/ guardian want them to attend private tuition (30.62%).

On the basis of the foregoing revelations, the major reasons why students take private tuition are that they want to obtain higher marks in examinations (82.42%); in tuition classes they learn how to answer examination questions (78.79%); parents wants them to attend (75.28%); they can use their free time profitably because of tuition (71.96%); there is no person in the house to help in their studies (68.93%); students can express their difficulties and can ask questions (68.03%); all students who learned from tutor have passed well (66.87%); the private tutors help students in doing homework (60.60%); syllabi are not covered well in school (46.71%) and that private tutors do not give punishment (36.87%). There is thus a heavy emphasis on examinations whose main function is to select the best students, which therefore, leads to a situation where students are required to seek outside help. In fact, the system is so competitive that almost all students, afraid of being overtaken by their peers, flock in large numbers to attend such classes. These results are consistent to the findings of Davies in Canada that private tutoring is demanded due to high stakes people put on examination results. Moreover intensive parenting propel parents to send their children to private tutors (Davies, 2004)

Factors that drive the Private Demand for Supplementary Tutoring in Awendo Sub-County by Parents (PTA Chairpersons):

The researcher interviewed PTA chairpersons, representing parents whose students were enrolled in secondary schools in Awendo Sub-County, on factors that motivate private demand of private tuition. Results indicate that the demand for private tuition is positively related to the occupation of parents. During an interview, a parent had this to say:

An atero nyathina ne jopuonj molony mondo ojiwe. Be ing'eyo ni jopuonj ok chaire? Moko ohero tijegi kendo nyinggi oluor. To jopuonj moko ok ket chunyi e tich. Jopuonjre ong'eyo jopuonj ma beyo kendo ma giwinjo... (Interview G/02)

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This can be translated literally as:

I take my child to a qualified teacher to be motivated. Don't you know that teachers are not similar? Some love their work and are famous but others are not dedicated. Learners know their best teachers and whom they understand.

The excerpt above (Interview G/02) illustrates how parents rate teachers in terms of their classroom performance and reputation. Most reputable teachers get more students for private coaching at the expense of their lazy colleagues.

From this interview, it is evident that parents and students place high premium on teacher's ability, professionalism and dedication. Students seek for coaching from teachers because they want to understand concepts and content well, which would otherwise not be possible with some of their regular teachers. This revelation is closely linked to another view that some teachers only cover some aspects of the curriculum during normal classroom lessons and require the rest to be covered during the private tuition sessions. In relation to this, a respondent had this to say:

Teachers are very cunning. They complain that the syllabi are too wide to complete without extra lessons. Wengine wanatumia masomo ya ziada kumaliza masomo. Mzee, just imagine some leave vital content to be covered during extra tuition. During parent days they ask us to pay for this arrangement... (Interview Parent, 2013)

From this interview, it can be seen that wide syllabi content, need for extra income by teachers contribute to the demand for private tuition. The findings of Tansel and Bircan (2005) that parents demand for private tuition for their children due to inadequate syllabus coverage further confirms it. They feel that their children are not getting enough preparations for National examinations.

The study revealed that most students whose parents were engaged in service and business occupations attended some form of holiday tuition. This could be seen as an alternative parenting. A number of parents (PTA Chairpersons) interviewed said that they prefer that their children be kept busy during school holidays. Parents also tolerate the practice of private tuition due to the benefits of high scores in National examinations. With high popular interest, they cannot ignore to pay for their children's' extra tuition. They feel that without extra tuition, their children would be left behind. 74 percent of parents interviewed sent their children for some form of private tuition. They are convinced that it is a good investment, but not all parents are in favor of private tuition. Those who are poor find it expensive. Others think that the child becomes tired or has little time for extra curriculum activities.

Teachers' Perspective on Reasons which drive them to offer Private Tuition:

Teachers were asked to state the major reasons that drive them to offer private tuition in QT item number 9. Table 4.5 shows their responses.

Table.3: Teachers' perspective on reasons which drive them to offer private tuition

	Statement	f	%
i)	To complete the syllabus in time	28	10.07
ii)	Low pay	57	20.50
iii)	Requests by parents/ guardians	42	15.11
iv)	Payment from tuition is certain	12	4.32
v)	To make up for lost time during the term	09	3.24
vi)	To subsidize my income	13	4.68
vii)	The school management require that I attend	06	2.16
viii)	I want to help weak students	11	3.96
ix)	The syllabi are too wide to complete in stipulated time	08	2.88
x)	I do it for charity	05	1.80
xi)	The payment is negotiable	19	6.83
xii)	To compete with other schools	16	5.76
xiii)	To earn promotion	17	6.12
xiv)	The classroom is overcrowded	07	2.52
xv)	I do it as remedial teaching	20	7.19
xvi)	No response	08	2.88
	Total	278	100

N=278

Source: Field Data 2013

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The results show that 28 teachers (10.07%) engage in private tuition to complete the syllabus in time, 57 (20.50%) teachers are driven by low pay. Other reasons are: requests by parents/ guardians, 42 (15.11%); Payment from tuition is certain 12 (4.32%); to make up for lost time during the term, 9 (3.24%); to subsidize their income, 13 (4.68%); the school management require that they attend 06 (2.16%); to help weak students 11 (3.96%); the syllabi are too wide to complete in stipulated time 08 (2.88%); for charity 05 (1.80%); the payment is negotiable 19 (6.83%); to compete with other schools 16 (5.76%); to earn promotion 17 (6.12%); the classroom is overcrowded 07 (2.52%); for remedial teaching 20 (7.19%). 08 (2.88%) of the teachers gave no response.

Evidently, most teachers were not satisfied with their pay (20.50%). Low pay especially the ones employed by the school Board of Managements motivates supply of private tuition. This phenomenon was confirmed by one principal who echoed the following words.

Teaching profession for a long time has been regarded as a calling, requiring sacrifice and volunteering to the society. It is less rewarding to be a teacher compared to other professions. Many of us joined the service as a last resort or without volition. Others view it as a stepping stone to other occupations...While medical doctors or engineers will charge for services of consultations; teachers are required to offer free remedial consultations. Nevertheless, the change in economic situation forces us to demand for extra cash through private tuition. It is a way of motivating teachers (Interview, Principal, 2013)

It is clear from this interview transcript that the reasons why Principals encourage private tuition are; the teaching profession is less rewarding; many teachers joined it as a last resort; it is a stepping stone to other occupations; the profession does not require consultancy like other professions and it is a way of motivating teachers.

Both demand and supply factors contribute to the proliferation of private tutoring in Awendo Sub-County. The combination of a low remuneration and social status and difficult working conditions renders the teaching profession rather unattractive for young Kenyans and results in a high level of dissatisfaction and frustration among teachers. Different strategies of income diversification have become a necessity for most teachers working in the public sector. Being a teacher, the easiest and most efficient strategy for gaining a "tax-free" extra income is private tutoring. As the above quote shows, for many teachers private tutoring has indeed come to serve as their main source of supplementary income.

While little prestige is connected with the teaching profession in general, private tutoring seems to be a means not only of turning a low-paying public-sector job into a means of gaining considerable extra income, but also of gaining prestige and a certain degree of professional self-confidence. In this regard, the findings confirm the thesis of Popa and Acedo (2006) that private tutoring can be regarded as a strategy for not only regaining a higher socio-economic status, but also professional autonomy and self-esteem. Paradoxically, one of the implications of the informal practice of private tutoring is, thus, that it leads to a "reprofessionalization" of teaching, i.e. increased service orientation and more professional autonomy for teachers (Popa & Acedo 2006: 99). However, one has to keep in mind that the methodological freedom gained through private tutoring is limited. After all, it takes place within the framework of the mainstream education system, strictly following the official syllabus and focusing almost exclusively on exam preparation.

Increased competition due to the expansion of higher education and the increased number of students being admitted to universities has generated a "rat race". This "rat race" is characterized by further competition among pupils, not only to be admitted to the university but to enter the best institutions for the most highly valued degrees or diplomas. This obviously creates demand for private tutoring. A school principal alluded that the practice encroached to counteract the recent ban on holiday tuition, following the enactment of the new Basic Education act of 2013. Part IV, article 37 of this act provides that no pupil shall be subjected to holiday tuition. He asserted that:

We engage in extra tuition due to a number of reasons. The syllabus is wide and is difficult to cover in stipulated time given many interruptions during the term. We used to utilize school holidays to clear the syllabi. Never the less, the government outlawed it forcing us to set aside sometime early in the mornings and evenings for remedial lessons. To motivate teachers, we charge something small. Private tutoring allows for more relaxed learning atmosphere for the students and they are free to choose their tutors (Interview, Principal, 2013)

The interview participants agreed that the relationship between teachers and students in the context of private tutoring differs considerably from their relationship at school. School is often quite anonymous due to the large numbers of students and a lack of class time. There is hardly any opportunity for individual attention and, as I was told, teachers might not even know their students' names. In contrast, private lessons at home, and even in tutoring centers, allow for

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more personal interaction between students and teachers. Private tutors usually know their students quite well, and they might even be familiar with their personal and family background. While it is, in many cases, closer and more personal, the relationship between teachers and students on the informal market of education is also a customer-supplier relation. Unlike at school, students are free to choose their private tutors according to their abilities and reputation, although this is not always.

While the focus of remedial teaching is to provide help to weak students, schools in Awendo Sub-County engage all students at a price. The ban on holiday tuition did not go well with teachers who viewed it as detrimental to their motivation and students academic progress. Consequently, they have rescheduled holiday tuition and rebranded it as remedial teaching. Most principals interviewed said that the main purpose of providing remedial teaching has been to assist weak students cope with their studies. This is especially true when the number of students in most school classes is often unmanageable and, with the teacher having to complete the syllabus within a limited time. Nevertheless, parents are required to pay for this service every term. In one school, parents were charged Ksh.8, 010 in the year 2013 ostensibly for “Academic Support Programme”.

The Kenyan government policy is to provide affordable and quality basic education. Therefore, teachers are required to help weak and slow learner students through remedial work. Given their inadequate numbers coupled with over enrolment, they are often overwhelmed and would not hesitate to seek for payment. Acknowledging this, one respondent said the following statements (Interview, DQASO, 2013):

Strong regulations ... have almost eliminated the competition among secondary schools, but definitely not among students.... Many students feel that the schooling provided in their high school is not adequate enough for them to prepare for university entrance examinations because schools or teachers do not effectively teach the students, since the academic background for the students in a typical secondary school class are very diverse. Also in the absence of competitive pressure, schools have not been very responsive to such needs of the students and their parents. Consequently, the equalization policy, which intended to reduce private tutoring, has made private tutoring more popular.

The factors that favor private tuition from the above transcript are: stiff academic competition among students; inadequate teaching and examination preparation; the urge to join universities and unresponsiveness on the part of schools towards the needs of their students.

The remark echoed a phenomenon that had already been seen in Japan. Russel (2007) described Japanese tutorial schools, known as juku, as “a necessary organization”, adding that they “close a sensitive gap in the Japanese education system between the teaching at public schools and the demands of the entrance exams”. Japanese society accepts the uniformity and egalitarianism of the public school system in part because the juku act as a safety valve: parents of high achievers send their children to juku to study advanced materials, and parents of low achievers send their children to juku to catch up with remedial work.

Cost effectiveness of Supplementary Tuition in Improving Students’ Academic Performance in Awendo Sub-County:

The researcher sought to find out the cost- effectiveness of supplementary tuition in improving student academic performance in Awendo Sub-County to address the second research question. The respondents included 428 students, 23 PTA Chairpersons, 431 class teachers and one AEO. Question items in the students’ questionnaire covered the relative cost of private tuition. On average, students were charged about Ksh. 1,000 per term by their schools.

Table.4: Cost of Private Tuition per term in Awendo Sub-County

Average cost (Ksh)	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid 0 -199	8	2.2	2.2	2.2
200-499	36	9.8	9.8	11.9
500-999	56	15.2	15.2	27.1
Over 1000	269	72.9	72.9	100
Total	369	100	100	

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Source: Field data 2013

From the table, it is evident that 8 respondents paid less than Ksh. 200 accounting for 2.2%. Those who paid Ksh. 200 and Ksh. 499 were ksh 9.8%. 15.2 percent of the respondents paid Ksh. (500-999) while a larger proportion of 72.9% reported to have paid over ksh.1, 000 in a term. The respondents who paid less than Ksh 1000 per term were mostly from day CDF schools located in rural areas. This reaffirms the assertion that the cost of private tutoring is dependent on family's level of income (Benergee et al, 2007).

Education is demanded due to its expected economic returns. One may pose a question as to whether the accrued benefits exceed marginal costs. Nevertheless, the private and social benefits arising from private tuition may be difficult to measure. This is because education investment is a long term venture requiring longitudinal study. Moreover, spill over benefits arising from supplementary tuition may not be quantified, so is the social returns.

This revelation is related to Glewwe's view that private tuition not only benefits the student but also gives them opportunity to venture into other economic activities. The opportunity cost of sending a child for holiday tuition does not exceed perceived socio economic returns. Indeed, advocates of human capital theory might consider tutoring to be more tightly related to economic enhancement, because it is closely tied to the demands of the market place. Advocates of the screening hypothesis would approach the issue from a different stand point, but reach a similar conclusion about the ways in which students who have received greater amounts of tutoring are allocated to more highly remunerated positions, (Glewwe, 1994)

Table.5: Portion of average monthly income spent by parents on private tutors

Range %	No. of respondents	No. of respondents in %
0	1	4.167
1-9	15	62.50
10-19	4	16.67
20-29	2	8.33
30-39	1	4.167
40-49	0	0.00
50-59	0	0.00
No response	1	4.167
Total	24	100.00

N=24

Source: Research survey 2013

Parents were asked to state the average proportion of their monthly income used in private tuition. Only one respondent accounting for 4.167 percent did not spend on private tuition. Fifteen parents (62.50%) spent a range of (1-9) percent of their average monthly income in private tuition while 4 respondents (16.67%) used a range of (10-19) percent of their average monthly income. The calculated mean portion of monthly income used by households for private tuition is 8.71%. This is a relatively high percentage considering that parents also have to foot direct and indirect costs. Some parents revealed that they often cut down on their important expenditure of the family for making payment to the private tutors. Such opportunity costs renders education to be very expensive despite the government's commitment to providing affordable education. This average percentage is slightly higher than that found in Gatundu South district (6.34%) by Ngugi, 2012.

Private supplementary tuition may also have several important effects on the labour market which help to harness human resources. First, the survey in Awendo Sub-County revealed that it has a sort of child -minding function which liberates parents to take up employment elsewhere. Indeed, 58 percent of private tuition was found in families where both parents were employed. One parent had the following to say:

I have four children yet both of us are full time government employees. The cost of employing a house help is cheaper than sending my children to private tutors. You know these teachers support our children by keeping them busy and safe. They are professionals unlike most house girls we engage to look after our young ones... (Interview, Parent, 2013).

This was not just a reflection of the financial resources and the ambition of those parents; it is also reflected the fact that families in which both parents were employed wanted structured framework for supervision of children. This revelation is linked to another possible effect on the labour market and is consistent to the findings of Bray (2002). In Awendo Sub-County, gender expectations remain highly stratified and married women are normally expected to undertake paid employment. The need for extra income to pay for extra tuition and other forms of supplementary education is among the acceptable reasons for mothers to engage in economic activities outside their home. This in turn permits the mothers to contribute their skills to the economy.

Another obvious effect on the labour market concerns the employment of tutors and supplementary income of school teachers. The researcher attempted to find out how much income the school teacher and private tutors gain from the service. Scanty information was obtained partly because of the fear of the respondents on the legality of such incomes. In fact, at one school, the researcher was denied access to information due to the perceived sensitivity of the topic, considering policy implications. After assurance of confidentiality, one teacher echoed the following. “Sisi kama walimu hatuwezi kusaidia wanafunzi bila malipo. Hapa, tunapewa shilingi elufu mbili kila wiki. Saa zingine tunapata marupurupu kulingana na kazi na matokeo ya mitihani”. This means: “We, as teachers, we cannot give extra help to students without payment. Here, we are paid two thousand shillings weekly. Sometimes, we get other allowances depending on work done and examination results”. Such statements show the importance teachers attach to extra income.

Average Household Annual Expenditure on Private Tuition and School Fees:

There are significant differences in the average level of expenditure on private tuition between households in Awendo Sub-County. The cost of secondary education includes direct and indirect costs. Direct cost is incurred by the households and the state. They can be quantified, such as school fees charged by schools, government subsidies and Development levies. Some other costs like transport expenses, uniforms and cost of private tuition may not be precisely quantified. There are also other hidden expenses involved, including the forgone earnings.

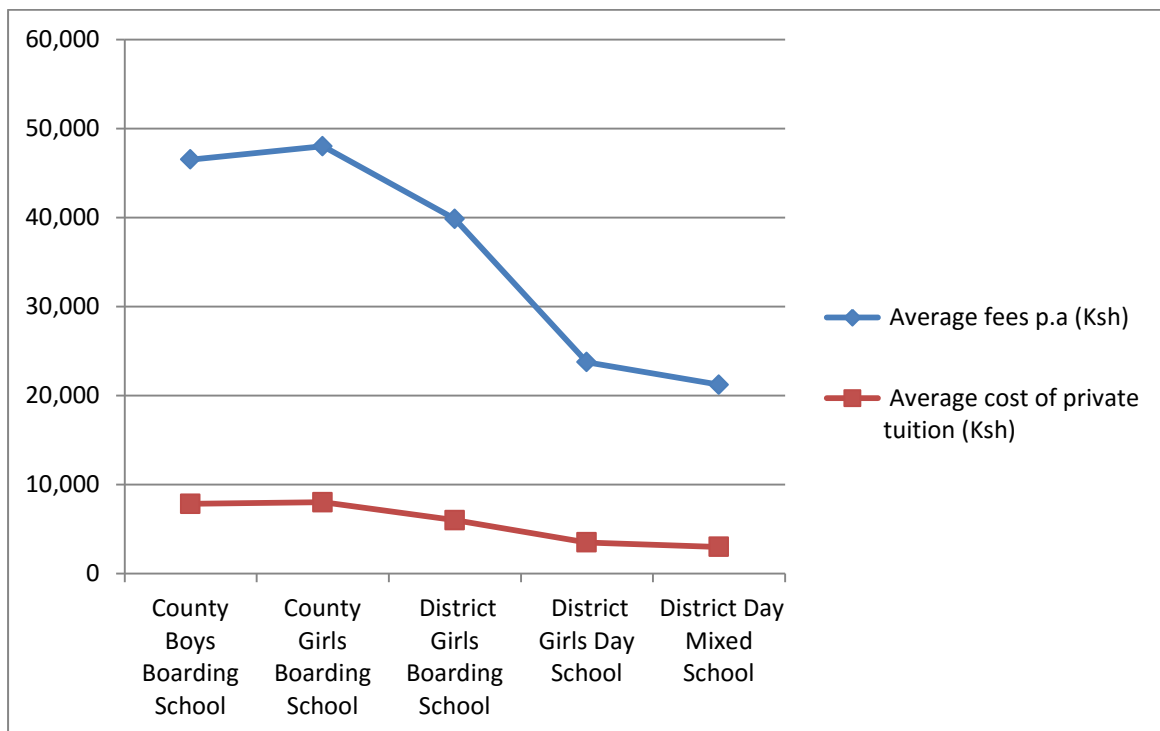


Figure.3: Private tutoring expenditure compared to average School fees in 2013

Figure 3, indicates that the cost of private tuition is highest in County Girls Boarding schools and lowest in District Mixed Day schools. The study area had only three county girls’ schools, one being extra-county school. These schools charged an average of Ksh 48,000 and Ksh. 8,000 for school fees and private tuition respectively. This translates to 16.67 percent for private tuition cost against school fees. County Boys Boarding schools were also three in number and charged

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an average of Ksh.46, 500 for school fees and Ksh.7, 840 for extra tuition. It is therefore slightly expensive to educate a girl than a boy in the same school category. District schools charge relatively low fees, with an average Ksh. 22,000 per year. The corresponding private tuition charges stood at Ksh.3, 250 in 2013. Most students from day schools are from relatively humble backgrounds, which explain their level of demand and expenditure on extra coaching. It can be concluded from the data that the level of school economic status influences the provision of supplementary tuition in the Sub-County.

School fees abolition policies are supported by many development organizations and aid agencies and have been spurred worldwide by initiatives such as Education for All, the Millennium Development Goals, and the School Fee Abolition Initiative. Promises to abolish school fees are often politically motivated and featured in election campaigns, and may also be part of a wider policy reform, often including educational decentralization. School fees may be abolished through a 'big bang' approach, officially eliminating tuition fees (although other user fees often continue to be assessed at the school/community level), through a phasing-in approach by region or grade/age level, or through targeted exemptions aimed at vulnerable groups. Although surges in enrolment following the abolition of school tuition fees in Kenya, there is little empirical evidence available to date on the impact of eliminating school fees on educational outcomes in developing nations. Schools however still charge fees for extra tuition. This phenomenon is comparable to findings of Silova (2006) in New York.

IV. CONCLUSION**Factors that motivate private demand for private supplementary tuition:**

This research has established that the proliferation of different forms of private tutoring is determined by a combination of demand and supply factors: An overburdened and underfunded public education system fails to provide quality education to an ever growing number of students. Structural deficits like overcrowded classrooms and poor facilities often impede effective teaching and learning in public schools. This situation is aggravated by a very dense and rigid syllabus, an emphasis on rote learning and the exam orientation of the education system. Teachers, who are among the lowest paid employees in the public sector, are often unmotivated due to their low salaries and social status as well as their poor working conditions and, deliberately or not, fail to fulfill their duties during regular class hours. While students thus resort to private tutoring in order to cope with the curriculum and prepare for centralized exams that determine their future career opportunities, teachers depend on the additional income offered by this informal practice in order to make a decent living.

Cost effectiveness of private tuition in improving students' Academic Performance:

The results of this thesis suggest that parents are willing to pay for better quality education. Private tutoring in Awendo is a necessity in the household budget for lower secondary students, and the trend to attend private tutoring is stronger at higher education levels. The world emphasis of education has spurred the private demand of education owing to its benefits. Private tutoring has evolved as a supplementary form of education. Tutoring provides incomes for tutors, and can create constructive out-of-school activities for young people. The practice may also lead to double payment, a situation where both the state and parents pay for the same service.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

Since private tuition and repetition are direct manifestations of examination pressures, one might well consider a review of the national examination which tests mostly factual information. An in-depth research is therefore needed so that a new examination system which takes into consideration both high-flyers and slow learners and which eliminates the relentless race can be devised.

Secondly, while it may be welfare enhancing to ban private tutoring when all tutoring is provided by corrupt teachers, a total ban is difficult to implement and is likely to have the unintended effect of preventing more beneficial tutoring by tutors who are not corrupt. Resources would be better allocated to monitoring and regulating, rather than trying to eradicate private tutoring. Public teachers should be prohibited from tutoring their own students and charging fee for extra tuition. They should be reminded to adhere to the Education Act of 2012, which outlawed holiday tuition.

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Some tentative policy recommendations can be proposed based on these results and the casual observations about the association between private tutoring and government policies. First, since private tutoring is widespread and growing, it is time for governments to devote more attention to it. The neglect by the governments runs the risk of letting tutoring-related corruption go unchecked in regions with weak control over corruption. Even regions in this group with stronger control over corruption may be missing opportunities to use tutoring to address imbalances between education supply and demand. Possible government actions range from monitoring (for example, collecting data on private tutoring attendance and private tutoring business) to trying to ensure that private tutoring can operate free of corruption and unnecessary barriers to competition.

Policy makers should monitor the development of the industry and address concerns. This may require going to the root of the education quality problem rather than holding the private tutoring sector responsible. Where tutoring appears to exacerbate social and geographical inequalities, government action will be most effective if it targets the source of the underlying inequalities, possibly by equalizing public school finance across rich and poor districts. Finally, governments may want to explore financing tutoring programs as flexible means of educating disadvantaged children. While more evidence is needed, the finding on targeted NGO-financed tutoring programs suggests that this can be an effective means of improving education outcomes for disadvantaged children. Such programs have the added benefit of avoiding any equity-efficiency tradeoffs: by increasing the productivity of disadvantaged children, they promote equity goals as well.

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