

ESP Working Paper Series

**Hidden Privatization of Public Education
in Cambodia: the Impact and Implications
of Private Tutoring**

William C. Brehm, Iveta Silova and Tuot Mono

2012 No. 39

EDUCATION SUPPORT PROGRAM



**OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS**

About the Privatisation in Education Research Initiative (PERI)

The changing dynamics of education in most countries over the last thirty years obscures an understanding of how the requirements of human rights and economic and social justice are to be met under the new and increasingly pervasive conditions of private, public and private-public provision in education. The Privatisation in Education Research Initiative (PERI) is a multi-annual global initiative supported by the Education Support Program of the Open Society Foundations that seeks to contribute to a better understanding on whether, through what mechanisms, with what outcomes, and for whom the increasing adoption of a widening range educational service regulation and delivery mechanisms might lead to more effective and equitable education systems.

PERI has two key objectives.

1. To animate an accessible and informed public debate on the relative merits and demerits of alternative education provision that leads to informed choice by governments and parents. To this end, PERI is a forum through which different normative, theoretical and empirical positions on the privatization of a range of education services can be debated.
2. To centralize a social justice lens through which to debate the consequences of changes in the coordination of education services.

This will be achieved through a twin-track approach of scholarly research and media work, which will be accessible through the PERI website – www.periglobal.org – that features resources, discussions and forums.

PERI aims to:

- **Raise questions** – by contributing to the better understanding of the fundamental change in the nature of public education under conditions of de-regulation, de-centralisation, de-nationalisation, privatisation and competitive tendering of public functions in education.
- **Support new research** – by funding in-depth analysis and collection of new empirical data providing insights into the ways in which the interplay among different local, national and international educational agents acting in multi-level, often interdependent institutional structures, with different and sometimes conflicting interests, shape the quality of compulsory educational service regulation and delivery.
- **Enhance knowledge** – by undertaking critical case-based and comparative empirical analysis of distributed educational service delivery in the case of compulsory schooling, especially focusing on the desirability of state provision under conditions of market failure, complex agency problems, and the challenges faced by input-based policy.
- **Develop research capacity** – by providing opportunity for educational researchers to conduct and learn about educational policy analysis and by creating sustained networking opportunities among themselves internationally.

In the period 2011-2012 PERI supported primary research into different facets on privatisation in and of education in fourteen countries in Africa and Asia. These will be published as a Special Series of ESP Working Papers.

About the authors

William C. Brehm is a PhD student at the University of Hong Kong. His research focuses on Cambodia and private tutoring. He graduated with a bachelor of arts in international relations from Lehigh University (Bethlehem, PA, USA) in 2008, and completed his master's degree in comparative and international education from the same institution in 2010. With a focus on international education development and educational history, he has written numerous publications in peer-reviewed journals of education. From 2010 until 2012, Brehm lived in Siem Reap, Cambodia, working for This Life Cambodia (TLC) as the director of research. During his tenure at TLC, he managed the PERI research grant that resulted in this report. As the associate editor of *European Education: Issues and Studies*, he is also able to stay connected to comparative education research in Europe while living in Asia. He can be reached at wbrehm@hku.hk.

Iveta Silova, PhD, is an Associate Professor and Program Director of Comparative and International Education in the College of Education, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, USA. Her research and publications cover a range of issues critical to understanding post-socialist education transformation processes, including professional development of teachers and teacher educators, gender equity trends in Eastern/Central Europe and Central Asia, minority/multicultural education policies in the former Soviet Union, as well as the scope, nature, and implications of private tutoring in a cross-national perspective. She serves as the co-editor (with Noah W. Sobe) of *European Education: Issues and Studies* (a quarterly peer-reviewed journal published by M.E. Sharpe). She can be contacted at ism207@lehigh.edu

Tuot Mono is a graduate student at Build Bright University in Siem Reap, Cambodia, working towards a master's of business administration. After completing an associate degree in English-Khmer language teaching at the Battambang Regional Teacher Training Centre, Tuot was a state schoolteacher at Samdech Euv high school since 2002. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in translation and interpretation (English-Khmer and vice versa) in 2009. Since early 2011, he has worked for This Life Cambodia as a research assistant. Tuot can be contacted at mono@thislifecambodia.org.

Table of Contents

1 Introduction.....	7
2 Conceptualizing Private Tutoring: The Public-Private Hybrid Education System	8
3 Research Design and Methods	17
4 The Nature, Impact, and Implications of <i>Rien Kuo</i> : Findings.	22
5. Conclusions.	34
References.	36

Tables

Table 1. – Different types of private tutoring in Cambodia	16
Table 2. – Number of observations by subject and grade	19
Table 3. – Tracking of student attendance and achievement (sample)	20
Table 4. – Number of focus groups (and participants) in rural and urban areas	21
Table 5. – Overview of research methods	22
Table 6. – Intensity of private tutoring by subject, Grade 9.	24
Table 7. – Similarities between government school and private tutoring classes	24
Table 8. – Average non-practice and practice classroom activities in percent (minutes) of total class time, private tutoring vs. government school	27

Figures

Figure 1. – MoEYS budgeted and actual recurrent expenditures.	13
Figure 2. – Research design and methods.	18
Figure 3. – Average monthly score for rural Grade 9 students.	28
Figure 4. – Average monthly score for urban Grade 9 students	29
Figure 5. – Average monthly score for Grade 6 students	29

Appendix A: Instruments	40
-----------------------------------	----

Abstract

Private tutoring is typically conceptualized as an institutionalized fee-based supplementary education that occurs because of high stakes testing, remedial classes, structural issues like overloaded curriculum, and intensive social competition. The common metaphor for private tutoring is “shadow education,” implying a separation between public schooling and private tutoring. While most of the factors are present in the Cambodian context, they nevertheless fail to explain the complicated arrangements between the public educational system and private tutoring that emerged in the 1990s. This report argues that in Cambodia the main form of private tutoring is not a shadow separate from mainstream schooling. Rather, it may be best understood as a key element in a *hybrid* arrangement between public schooling and complementary private tutoring, which operates as *one* single system and casts its own shadow.

This report directly addresses some of the quality and equity implications of private tutoring in the broader context of the privatisation of public education in Cambodia. Building on extensive qualitative and quantitative data collected in Cambodia in 2011, this report reveals inequities resulting from a public-private hybrid system of schooling. This report also highlights the differences and similarities between private tutoring (*Rien Kuo*) and government school classes. Focusing on the scope, nature, and implications of *Rien Kuo*, the findings are organized around the following three main categories: (1) curriculum differences between *Rien Kuo* and mainstream schooling, (2) achievement differences among students attending private tutoring and those who do not, and (3) societal affects of private tutoring.

I. Introduction

The boundaries between the public and private provision of schooling in Cambodia have become increasingly blurred. While the number of private schools remains marginal and generally limited to elite schools in urban areas, privatization is entering public schools—invisibly and often unofficially—on an unprecedented scale. Given policy pressures from international financial institutions, the boundaries between the public and the private are sometimes purposefully erased by government officials in the name of universal primary education and Education for All (EFA) in order to channel private funds into a severely underfunded public education system. In this context, the private provision of education not only becomes attractive to policymakers as a viable mechanism in closing the funding gap but also reflects government's commitment to deregulation, decentralization, and marketization of the economy since the 1990s. In addition to government-led efforts, hidden privatization of education also thrives at the grassroots levels in the form of private tutoring, which allows teachers to supplement their meagre salaries with additional income and offers students education of higher quality compared to public schools.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of private tutoring—such as expanding knowledge and interests for individuals (Bray 2007), accumulating human capital for societies (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2002), and providing new strategies for coping with rapid geopolitical transitions for a variety of education stakeholders (Silova 2009; Silova and Brehm 2013)—the private tutoring in Cambodia has grown in size to such an extent that it is now arguably greater in demand, value, and income generation than the public education system. In essence, private tutoring has become more important to both teachers and students in Cambodia than the public education system because of its ability to generate higher incomes for teachers and provide a more complete (and individualized) education to students. The private provision of education through private tutoring has assumed similar forms to public education, becoming both a differentiated demand (focused primarily on subjects examined on national tests or thought to provide better job opportunities) and excess demand (meeting the inadequate supply of public education). It has, in effect, usurped the legitimacy of public education in Cambodia.

Although the Cambodian government made attempts to abolish registration fees in the 1990s, prohibit informal fees like purchasing examination papers from teachers in 2005, and label private tutoring unethical in 2008 (see Asian Development Bank 2008; Royal Government of Cambodia 2008), it has not enforced such policies. Left unregulated, the market for private tutoring has begun to distort the mainstream curricula by shifting significant portions of curricular content from the public to the private provision of education. For example, some studies report public school teachers “blackmailing” their own students into attending extra lessons (Bray 2007; Dawson 2009). Other studies have shown a significant amount of new curricular material or homework being presented in private tutoring classes (Brehm and Silova 2012). Since many teachers live in poverty because of limited or stretched income (Benveniste et al. 2008: 62), withholding information during mainstream education becomes one way to ensure a market for private tutoring. Yet, the costs associated with private tutoring prohibit many students from attending these supplementary lessons, thus contributing to socioeconomic inequities (Bray 1999a, 2007; Dawson 2009).

Building on previous research about the scope and nature of private tutoring in Cambodia (Bray 2007; Dawson 2009), this study aims to directly address quality and equity implications of private tutoring in the broader context of privatization of public

education. The main research question examines *why, how, and under what circumstances privatization of public education takes the form of private tutoring and what implications this hidden privatization has for the quality and equity of education provision for Cambodian youth*. Following an overview of previous research on private tutoring in the Southeast Asian and international context, we situate the study of private tutoring in the political, economic, and historical context of Cambodia. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data collected in 2011 in one district in Cambodia (including three schools in an urban location and three schools in a rural location), this study identifies factors driving the demand for private tutoring, compares pedagogies used in public school classes and private tutoring lessons, and examines implications of private tutoring for long-term social and economic equity among Cambodian youth.

2 Conceptualizing Private Tutoring: The Public-Private Hybrid Education System

Systems of private tutoring are growing worldwide. In Europe, most European Union countries experience some level of private tutoring (Bray 2011); in the United States, private tutoring is estimated to be a US\$5 billion industry;¹ and in Hong Kong, private tutoring has become so popular that images of famous tutors are regularly found in newspaper and bus advertisements (Kwo and Bray 2011). There is even a Chinese private tutoring company listed on the New York Stock Exchange.² However, private tutoring is not limited to Western and economically developed countries. It has also been found in countries as diverse as Egypt (Fergany 1994), India (Aggarwal 1998), and Kenya (Nzomo et al. 2001). Asia is perhaps the continent where private tutoring is most widespread (Bray and Lykins 2012), with the more economically advanced countries, like South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, being used as the empirical basis for what some have called “hyper-education” (Dierkes 2010).³

Despite the reach of private tutoring worldwide and its particular prevalence in Asia, it nevertheless takes different forms depending on context. Bray (2009) conceptualizes private tutoring as an institutionalized fee-based supplementary education that occurs because of a range of issues including high-stakes testing, remedial classes, structural issues like overloaded curriculum, and/or intensive social competition. The common metaphor for private tutoring is “shadow education.” Yet, in our view, in Cambodia the shadow education metaphor misses the hybridization between public and private schooling. Following the discussion of the larger literature on “shadow education” in the sections below, we elaborate the conceptualization of the hybrid system of education found in Cambodia, focusing on its divergent and convergent points with the “shadow” metaphor.

¹ <http://www.smartmoney.com/spend/family-money/behind-americas-tutor-boom-1318016970246/?mg=com-sec-sm> [accessed on 23 October 2011].

² http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2011-03/01/content_12095871.htm [accessed on 23 October 2011].

³ Julian Dierkes uses the label “hyper-education” to define systems of education where supplementary tutoring is widespread and institutionalized, and private investment approaches or surpasses public expenditures on education. See <http://blogs.ubc.ca/jukupedia/2011/10/11/an-era-of-hypereducation/> [accessed on 16 January 2012].

2.1 The “shadow” metaphor

Private tutoring is commonly referred to as “shadow education” because it mimics (or “shadows”) mainstream schooling (Stevenson and Baker 1992; Bray 1999b; Lee et al. 2009). The study of private tutoring within this conceptualisation is concerned with subjects taught on the national curriculum, not extracurricular activities, like guitar lessons or dance. The analogy to a sundial casting a shadow to tell the passage of time is often used to describe shadows cast by systems of education that tell about the changes in society (Bray 2007, 2011; Bray and Lykins 2012). Bray (2009) explains that the metaphor of the “shadow” is useful for several reasons:

First, private supplementary tutoring only exists because the mainstream education system exists; second, as the size and shape of the mainstream system change, so do the size and shape of supplementary tutoring; third, in almost all societies much more attention focuses on the mainstream than on its shadow; and fourth, the features of the shadow system are much less distinct than those of the mainstream system. (p. 13)

The shadow education metaphor clearly separates mainstream schooling from private tutoring, and focuses on how the two influence, and are influenced by, one another. Evidence of private tutoring around the world suggests that there are multiple factors driving the demand for shadow education. First, the prevalence of high-stake examinations has created a demand for private tutoring among students to better prepare for and successfully pass various examinations necessary to advance to higher levels of schooling. Second, private tutoring occurs when students need extra help in mastering a certain skill or topic that has proven too difficult to understand during mainstream schooling. Third, there are various structural issues that cause private tutoring, such as short school days and low teacher salaries. Impacting all three of these factors is the increased societal pressure put on parents and students to succeed in school. Acting as a non-academic factor leading to private tutoring, peer pressure also exacerbates the demand for extra classes, as parents and students perceive private tutoring as an effective way to earn an advantage in school, sometimes despite any real gains in academic achievement.

2.2 High-stakes examinations

Within the “shadow” metaphor, private tutoring is frequently associated with an “enrichment strategy,” highlighting its role in preparing students for high-stakes examinations (Baker and LeTendre 2005: 61). In particular, high-stakes examinations increase student and parental anxieties about retention, enrollment, or graduation. The assumption is that high-stakes examinations serve as “a gate-keeper to education and labor market opportunities” (Baker and LeTendre 2005: 62) and that student success on high-stakes examinations would lead to better education and employment opportunities in the future. This is why “cram schools” have emerged in many countries to prepare students of various academic abilities (from remedial to high achievers) for high-stakes examinations. For example, Tansel and Bircan (2006) report that highly competitive higher education entrance examinations in Turkey create the demand for private tutoring. Similarly, the secondary school selection process in Japan reportedly produces a strong logic for students to attend *juku*, an institution offering a variety of

private tutoring lessons across all educational levels (Sawada and Kobayashi 1986; Russell 2002; Roesgaard 2006; Dierkes 2008; Dawson 2010). Some studies, however, have questioned the link between high-stakes examinations and private tutoring. For example, Aurini and Davis (2004) observed that tutoring businesses are growing substantially in Canada, despite the fact that Canadian universities lack university entrance examinations and are not arrayed on a steep prestige hierarchy, as are universities in other countries such as the United States and Japan.

Although Cambodia has what appear to be “high-stakes” examinations in Grades 9 and 12,⁴ the commoditization of education that has resulted from the neoliberal structural adjustment policies in the 1990s has practically eliminated the high-stakes nature of these examinations. This has occurred because multiple goods and services are sold during the entire examination process, leaving the need to actually study or “cram” for the examination to only students who cannot afford the various fees or students who are ethically opposed to educational corruption. First, examination answers or reference guides (“cheat-sheets”) can be purchased from local photocopy stores days or hours before the examination. The various answer or cheat sheets cost different prices depending on their “known” quality (i.e. whether the origin of the answer or reference sheet is known to come from a teacher, a certain location, an administrator, or others). Why would students “cram” for examinations when they can easily purchase answers before the test? Second, during the examination, many services can be purchased from the two proctors (teachers administering the examination) in each classroom or controllers (the teacher overseeing a group of proctors) standing outside. Students can pay proctors to let them use mini-textbooks purchased at a photocopy centre or answer sheets, or to work in groups. Additionally, for a higher price, some proctors or controllers are willing to help students by either filling in a blank examination sheet and passing it along to students, or providing one-on-one help during the examination. Sometimes during the process, students pay proctors, proctors pay controllers, and controllers pay supervisors (teachers in charge of a group of controllers)—all to keep eyes looking elsewhere.⁵ In some cases, parents pay a fee to ensure a certain proctor or controller is assigned to their child’s class in order for that student to receive help on the more difficult subjects (typically mathematics or chemistry) from a teacher who teaches those subjects. The problems of cheating on national examinations have repeatedly made headlines in the Cambodian news, but the various practices are widely known to continue despite official warnings (see Cheng 2011; Chhron 2010; Saoyuth, 2010). As the semblance of any education meritocratic order is all but eliminated by the many fees during the examination process, these tests are “high-stakes” in name only; few if any students feel pressure from the examination beyond not having enough money to ensure a high mark. In fact, students unable to pay the high costs typically drop out far before the national examinations.⁶

⁴ The education strategy plan for 2009—2013 (MoEYS, 2010) aims to introduce standardized tests in grades 3, 6, and 9, as well as have an exit examination for high school, grade 12.

⁵ It is likely this patron—client relationship goes higher than teachers, but there is little empirical evidence to substantiate this claim. This system of patrons and clients has been identified at various times in Cambodia’s history (see, for example, Ayres 2000; Clayton 2000; Brinkley 2011), as well as contemporarily within industries like escort services prevalent in urban areas (Hoefinger 2013).

⁶ The net enrollment rate for lower secondary school (Grades 7—9) was 34.8 percent in 2007—08; and nearly 21 percent of enrolled students drop out of upper secondary school (UNESCO 2010). Meanwhile, the passing rate for the national Grade 9 examinations was over 90 percent in 2010 (Khuon 2010).

2.3 Remedial tutoring

Private tutoring is often thought of as helping some students keep up with the content taught in government school. For example, De Silva (1994) identified several factors that create the demand for remedial tutoring: “student and teacher absence, frequent closure of school, ineffective teaching and negligence on the part of the teacher,” as well as “immature, inexperienced or unqualified teachers handling these subjects may not be able to lead the students to a proper understanding of the sections taught” (p. 5). In these circumstances, remedial private tutoring serves to “overcome these gaps or deficiencies in students’ learning and build their confidence enabling them to compete with others and experience a happy and pleasant life” (p. 5). In addition to demand for remedial private tutoring by students and parents, some governments have also mandated or encouraged the use of it. The educational system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, provides mandatory supplementary classes for remedial students. Traditionally, if more than 50 percent of the students in a class are having problems mastering the subject matter, the teacher is obliged to organize so-called “remedial classes” in that subject. Remedial classes are held after regular school hours and are an opportunity for the teacher to do additional work with struggling students (Husremovic & Trbic 2006). Vouchers are another way governments can encourage the use of remedial private tutoring. In Australia, the government uses vouchers to fund students who fall behind to take remedial private tutoring classes (Bishop 2007).

Remedial private tutoring is also available in Cambodia, but it is only one of the many types of private tutoring (see Table 1). Students who need extra help with various school subjects can purchase additional educational services to fill gaps in their knowledge. However, this is not the main reason for attending private tutoring lessons. Generally, Cambodian students attend private tutoring lessons conducted by their teachers as a *continuation* of their regular school day, not necessarily for remediation purposes (Brehm and Silova 2012). If students need *remedial* tutoring, they would have to take these lessons in addition to “regular” private tutoring (*Rien Kuo*).⁷ Remedial private tutoring is often referred to as “extra special private tutoring” (*Rien Kuo Pises*) and is offered by teachers to students in one-on-one or small group lessons. Typically, these remedial classes cost more than *Rien Kuo* (regular private tutoring), sometimes as high as US\$100 monthly for one hour of studying one subject. However, the separation of these two types of private tutoring is not always along remedial lines. Some students attend *Rien Kuo* when they need extra help on a certain lesson, and some students attend *Rien Kuo Pises* because it offers a better learning environment than *Rien Kuo*.

2.4 Structural issues

The demand for private tutoring also stems from structural issues, such as an overloaded curriculum, lack of financial resources, or educational corruption. First, overloaded curriculum is often attributed to the growing demand for private tutoring, suggesting that public school teachers may engage in private tutoring after school to teach the material they were unable to cover during school hours. For example, curriculum reforms implemented in many of the post-Soviet republics in the 1990s “stretched the

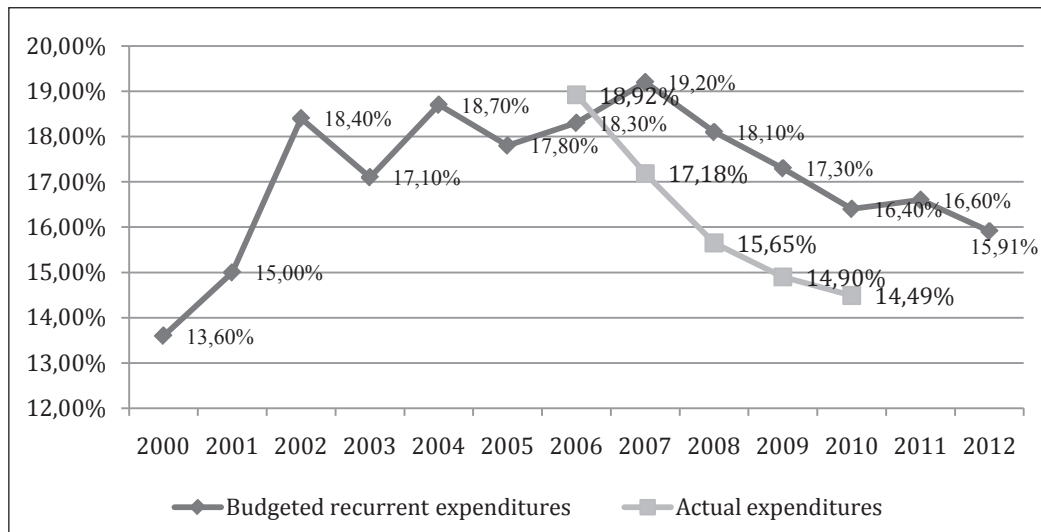
⁷ We have done all translation and transliteration from Khmer to English. The first time a Khmer word transliterated into English appears, we place it in italics followed or preceded by its English translation. In the case of those words that appear often in the text, such as *Rien Kuo*, we do not provide the English translation every time.

existing curriculum” by introducing new academic subjects (e.g. information and communication technologies, civics, and foreign languages) without substantially changing the inherited Soviet curriculum. In Lithuania, Budiene and Zabulounis (2006: 213) report that the newly introduced student-centred teaching methods consumed more time than the previous teacher-centred approaches. Private tutoring was thus used to meet the demand for more time necessary to complete the required national curriculum, using new teaching/learning methodologies. The association between an overloaded curriculum and private tutoring is also reported in studies of private tutoring in Cyprus, Indonesia, Lebanon, Nigeria and Russia (Bray 2007: 37), as well as Southeast/Central Europe and Central Asia (Silova 2009; Silova et al. 2006). In Cambodia, students and parents perceive private tutoring as a mechanism enabling teachers to properly teach the subjects included in the national curriculum (Brehm and Silova 2012). In particular, many parents believe that there is simply not enough time in the school day to cover the whole curriculum, making specific references to the reduction of the school day following the introduction of double- and triple-shift schooling. Despite the few reported cases of teachers purposefully “slowing down” content delivery to create a market for private tutoring (Bray 1999a: 55), the perceived lack of time nonetheless leads to a perceived need for more instructional time simply to provide requisite coverage of the national curriculum.

Second, low educational expenditures contribute to the demand for private tutoring. In countries financially unable to adequately support public education, private tutoring emerges as a mechanism to supplement low teacher salaries, provide smaller class sizes, and offer learning materials to students outside the national curriculum (Silova et al. 2006; Silova 2009; Bray 2010; for the Cambodian case see Bray and Bunly 2005; Silova and Brehm 2013). For example, Cambodia spends 2.3 percent of GDP on education, placing it among the lowest in the Southeast Asia region and below the world’s average of 4.8 percent (European Commission 2012). Although the budget allocation to the MoEYS recurrent expenditures experienced an increase starting in the 2000s, there has been a steady decrease since 2007 (see Figure 1). According to the European Commission (2012), there was a downward trend in budgeted recurrent expenditures between 2007 (19.2 percent) and 2012 (15.9 percent).⁸ Meanwhile, studies have found that households contribute a larger share on the education per child than does the government: whereas the government spends on average US\$50 per child per year (Ratcliff 2009: 11), households spend between US\$48 (rural areas) and US\$157 (urban areas) per child per year (NEP 2007: 18). Of household education expenditures, approximately 38 percent goes to education fees, which includes the cost of private tutoring (NEP 2007).

⁸ The decreases in education expenditures have disproportionately affected teacher wages. In 1997, wages made up 78 percent of recurrent expenditures, but in 2005 they accounted for only 60 percent; likewise, between 2002 and 2005, non-wage expenditures actually increased by 18 percent (Benveniste et al. 2008: 74).

Figure 1. – MoEYS budgeted and actual recurrent expenditures



Source: Education Sector Working Group, 2006; European Commission 2012

Third, the lack of educational resources disproportionately impact teacher wages. In Cambodia, there has been a broad consensus among educators, union leaders, administrators, and society in general that teacher salaries are insufficient to cover living expenses (Benveniste et al. 2008). In 2007, for example, a primary teacher’s base salary was US\$44 per month, which made it difficult (if not impossible) for many teachers to afford the basic necessities of food, housing, and health care, as well as support any children or elderly family members (Benveniste et al. 2008: 59).⁹ To some extent, private tutoring has helped underpaid teachers generate additional income. For example, a common second occupation among Cambodian teachers, especially in urban primary schools, is private tutoring (41.5 percent of urban teachers identified tutoring as out-of-school work [Benveniste et al. 2008: 69]). Earnings from private tutoring can represent approximately two thirds of the monthly average base salary with basic allowances (Benveniste et al. 2008: 38). Similar to teachers in other geographic areas (such as the Southeast/Central Europe and the former Soviet Union), many Cambodian teachers have adopted the logic of “service provision,” using private tutoring as a key income-generation activity (Silova & Bray, 2006).

Fourth, there is delay in the allocation of funds. In Cambodia, both teacher salaries and Program-Based Budgeting (unallocated money intended for individual schools, which used to be called the Priority Action Program, or PAP) are routinely distributed late. Teachers have claimed that the distribution of wages is typically delayed (VSO 2008). For example, salary disbursement in January 2012 had not been allocated to teachers in seven provinces by the end of the month (Denn Ayuthyea 2012). Anecdotal stories regarding the Program-Based Budgeting indicate that the money is often disbursed days before the District or Provincial Offices of Education require a report detailing how the money was spent. This typically leads to falsified reports detailing where money was “spent” simply to meet the requirements of the MoEYS. A second issue with delayed

⁹ According to the World Bank report (Benveniste et al. 2008), salaries increase after 16 years of experience by around 20 percent and after 28 years they increase by about 30 percent of the initial base salary. Salary levels also depend on grade/subject taught and location of school. For example, senior teachers in the sixth grade can earn between US\$80—100 per month (personal communication, 31 March 2011).

funds is the leakage that occurs between the Ministry of Economy and Finance (the ministry responsible for releasing money to the MoEYS) and when it reaches teachers. As money is passed from the Economy and Finance Ministry to the MoEYS, which is then sent to the Provincial and District Offices of Education and then finally received by the schools, money is lost (or “cut” in Khmer) at each stage. One common complaint from teachers is that their salaries are never the correct amount. Combined, low wages—made even lower by leakage—require teachers to hold second jobs, which nearly 70 percent claim to have (Benveniste et al. 2008: 68).

Finally, structural issues that lead to private tutoring by government teachers may result in what many observers consider educational corruption (Chapman 2002). Educational corruption has been defined as any practice where a teacher uses his or her monopoly of power (assigning grades, granting admission, etc.) over his or her students in a system with little accountability (Bray 2003). Donations given to teachers by students, for example, have been labelled as a “pernicious practice” (Hallack and Poisson 2008: 253) because some teachers may reward students who donate and punish those who do not. The practice of teachers holding private tutoring lessons for their own students, however, is more difficult to clearly label educational corruption. For example, Johnson (2011) has provided evidence that Kyrgyzstani “students blame the context, not the culprits [i.e. teachers]” (p. 254) of corruption, because “workers perceived to be contributing to the greater good of society... [are allowed to] deviate from the law” (p. 253). Moreover, Dawson (2009: 71) “problematize[d] the characterization of the practice as ‘corruption’” in Cambodia “with consideration toward the grossly inadequate income of state teachers and the problems inherent with curriculum time, content, and teacher pedagogies in the system” by situating the practice of private tutoring within the “wider societal issues.”

To summarize, the “shadow education” metaphor assumes that private tutoring can respond to the individual student needs (e.g. keeping up with the required school curricula or improving academic performance on tests) and even systemic educational problems (e.g. overloaded curriculum or low teacher salaries) with the help of the “shadow education” market. For under-achieving students, private tutoring may offer an opportunity for remedial education after school hours. For competitively minded students, private tutoring may assist with more intensive preparation for high-stakes examinations. For underpaid teachers, private tutoring may provide opportunities for supplementary income. And, in the context of an overloaded curriculum, private tutoring may provide a space for educators to teach the material that was not covered at school. On the surface, most of the factors commonly associated with the growing demand for private tutoring are present in the Cambodian context. However, they do not explain the complicated arrangements between the public educational system and private tutoring that emerged in the 1990s (see Brehm and Silova 2012; Brehm forthcoming A). As we suggest in this study, private tutoring is not a shadow that is separate from mainstream schooling. As the Cambodian case illustrates, it may be best understood as a key element in a *hybrid* arrangement between public schooling and private tutoring, which operates as *one* single system and casts its own shadow.

2.5 The “hybrid” metaphor

The metaphor of a “shadow” system of education reaches its conceptual limits in the context of Cambodia. During our research, we have found that the term caused more confusion than clarity among Cambodian academics, teachers, students, parents, and policymakers. The reason being that the term “shadow education” suggests fee-based

private tutoring is separate from, although influenced by, mainstream (government) school: no matter how a shadow is distorted by the shape or size of its object, it will never be the object casting the shadow. The assumption is that the shadow and object are fundamentally separate.

In Cambodia, however, it is commonly understood that a child's education requires *both* government and private tutoring classes. Both are inseparable parts of one system necessary to receive a complete education. As the mainstream schooling increasingly relies on private tutoring to complement what is defined as "education," the shadow and object of schooling have become one. Students typically attend one shift (4 or 5 hours) of government school and then attend another shift of private tutoring classes (1–4 hours, depending on student) each day, sometimes including Sundays, public holidays, and summer vacation. Students who can afford the 300–1000 Riel (US\$0.08–0.25) hourly fee for private tutoring return to school (or teacher's home) to have their government school teacher offer lessons in what appears to be the same system of education. In both private tutoring and government school classes, moreover, everything is for sale, thus blurring the lines between what is "public" (and free) and "private" (and for sale).

This hybrid system does not erase some of the features found in "shadow" education worldwide. Rather, the hybrid system of education that includes both government and private tutoring classes has cast a shadow of its own: some students will attend both government school and private tutoring classes with their government school teacher and classmates, and then purchase additional remedial or elective private tutoring in one-on-one or group settings—what is called extra special private tutoring—at a higher cost. There are even companies offering examination preparation courses to students in the capital, Phnom Penh. Thus, the boundaries between the typical conception of "shadow" education and the mainstream system of education, which is being privatized by private tutoring, are increasingly blurred in the Cambodian context.

Public-private hybrid education system

In the Cambodian context, private tutoring is best understood in terms of a public-private hybrid education system where public schooling and private tutoring seamlessly merge, casting its own shadow. This conceptualization implies that private tutoring is a compulsory (private) portion of public education, not a distorted shadow, and thus complements mainstream schooling where it is structurally deficient.

Unlike the metaphor of a "shadow," the concept of a public-private hybrid system suggests that public schooling and private tutoring constitute two parts of *one* system. This conceptualization moves away from *supplementary* private tutoring (that is, lessons that are extra to the national curriculum) and towards *complementary* private tutoring (that is, lessons that are essential to the national curriculum). A public-private hybrid system of education implies that students are *required* to attend and pay for both public schooling and private tutoring to successfully complete the full national curriculum. The function of complementary private tutoring thus extends far beyond "shadowing" the mainstream system through remedial and/or enrichment education opportunities (although these forms of supplementary private tutoring continue to exist in Cambodia). In the Cambodian context, the main form of complementary private tutoring—what is called *Rien Kuo*—assumes the functions of the mainstream education system itself by serving as an important mechanism necessary to complete the required national curriculum and increase teacher salaries—both structural failures that have complicated histories through French colonialism, genocide, Soviet support, and liberal internationalism/neoliberalism.

As an integral part of the public-private hybrid education system, private tutoring assumes the same classroom characteristics and pedagogy as mainstream schooling. Not only does private tutoring occur inside government school buildings (and often in the same classrooms where students receive official government school instruction) and is offered by public school teachers (usually by the same teachers students have during regular school hours), but also each class operates and functions in surprisingly similar ways. In particular, the use of teaching aids, group work, exchanging student work, mixing high and low ability students together, and even homework assignments occur in more or less the same manner in government school as private tutoring classes (Brehm and Silova 2012). In other words, it operates as a seamless system, which only functions effectively when the two parts—public schooling and private tutoring—are offered in tandem. Furthermore, the public-private hybrid education system does not stop functioning when school is officially closed. Instead, education continues in the form of *Rien Kuo Pel Vissmakkal* (Vacances) or extra study during holidays (vacation), when children attend private tutoring lessons during public holidays and summer breaks to either finish the previous year’s curriculum or get a head start on the upcoming year’s curriculum. In a way, private tutoring seems to have been systematically integrated in mainstream schooling, forming an institutionalized public-private hybrid educational arrangement.

Table 1. – *Different types of private tutoring in Cambodia*

Public-private hybrid education system	
<i>Rien Kuo</i>	<p>Extra study Some teachers conduct private tutoring lessons with their own students after school hours either in school buildings or in their home. The focus is on covering required school curriculum, which is not taught during school hours. This is the most common form of tutoring and the focus of this study. It is also referred to as <i>Rean Boban Porn</i> (supplemental study) or <i>Rean Chhnuol</i> (study for hire).</p>
<i>Rien Kuo Pel Vissmakkal</i>	<p>Extra study during holidays (vacation) When students finish school in July or August, they often have the choice of attending private tutoring lessons during the summer break. These classes are either conducted by their previous grade’s teacher to finish the curriculum from that grade or by the next grade’s teacher to start the curriculum before the next school year. This gives teachers enough time—either at the beginning or end of the year—to complete the national curriculum.</p>
Shadow Education	
<i>Rien Kuo Pises</i>	<p>Extra special study Government school teachers conduct private tutoring lessons one-on-one or for small groups of students, typically from the teachers’ government class. These lessons are conducted after school hours either at the teacher’s home or a student’s home. This type of private tutoring is more expensive than the former, sometimes costing as much as \$100 per month for one-on-one tutoring. This type of private tutoring is either used by students for remedial lessons (i.e. shadow education) or for replacing government school altogether. Indeed, we found one case during our data collection where a student came into agreement with his teacher to attend one-on-one <i>Rien Kuo Pises</i> and was not required to attend government school regularly because his teacher would mark him present. This type of <i>Rien Kuo Pises</i> resembles private schooling more closely than shadow or hybrid education.</p>
<i>Sala Akchoan</i>	<p>Private (tutoring) school There are many types of private schools in Cambodia. From English language—based schools to private universities to technology training centers—all of these schools are considered <i>Sala Akchoan</i> (private study). However, there is one type of private study within this category that is part of the shadow education system. In Phnom Penh (and perhaps other urban areas), there are a few test preparation centers that fill classrooms each night as students “cram” for the national examinations and university entrance examinations. The most famous is named <i>Chey Thavy</i>, which was started by a chemistry professor from the Royal University of Phnom Penh. For the Grade 12 examinations, many students start preparing in Grades 10 or 11. Preparation for the university examinations typically takes place during the four months between the Grade 12 examinations (July/August) and when the university examinations are administered.</p>
<i>Rien Kuo Anglais/Barang</i>	<p>English/French extra study Beginning in lower secondary school, the national curriculum requires students to take foreign language, either English (<i>Anglais</i>) or French (<i>Barang</i>). Despite that these languages are on the curriculum, some students purchase extra classes outside of government school in myriad private educational centers/schools/homes.</p>

This hybrid system of education has also cast its own shadow, reflecting the typical functions of private tutoring found within the “shadow” metaphor (see Table 1). Similar to private tutoring in other geographic contexts, remedial and enrichment tutoring opportunities are available in addition to the traditional *Rien Kuo* in Cambodia. In particular, students who need extra help understanding various subjects can purchase additional educational services to increase their knowledge. This type of tutoring is less common and is frequently referred to as *Rien Kuo Pises* or “extra special private tutoring.” It is offered in the form of one-on-one tutoring or small group lessons for students who need extra help mastering certain subjects. These classes typically cost more than *Rien Kuo*, sometimes as high as US\$100 per month for a daily class on one school subject. In addition, private tutoring for enrichment purposes is available through private tutoring businesses in Phnom Penh, where students “cram” for high-stakes examinations. In other words, the hybrid system—where public schooling is integrated with private tutoring—casts a shadow that is comprised of various remedial and enrichment tutoring spaces.

Building on the existing research of private tutoring in Cambodia, this study examines the equity issues resulting from a public-private hybrid system of schooling. This research looks at the differences and similarities between private tutoring (*Rien Kuo*) and government school classes. Data from this research project has also been used in other publications to examine how private tutoring is an extension of government school in terms of pedagogy and curricular content (Brehm and Silova 2012); the construction of a post-conflict social contract in the 1990s and its impact on the notion of public education (Brehm forthcoming A); and a historical analysis of compulsory education (Brehm forthcoming B). A Khmer version of this report (although not a direct translation) is also available (Tuot and Brehm 2012). This report takes an in-depth look at education inside government schools and private tutoring classrooms, as well as the implications of private tutoring for education quality and equity, thus offering a detailed review of the data collected for this OSI-funded research project (Silova and Brehm 2011).

3 Research Design and Methods

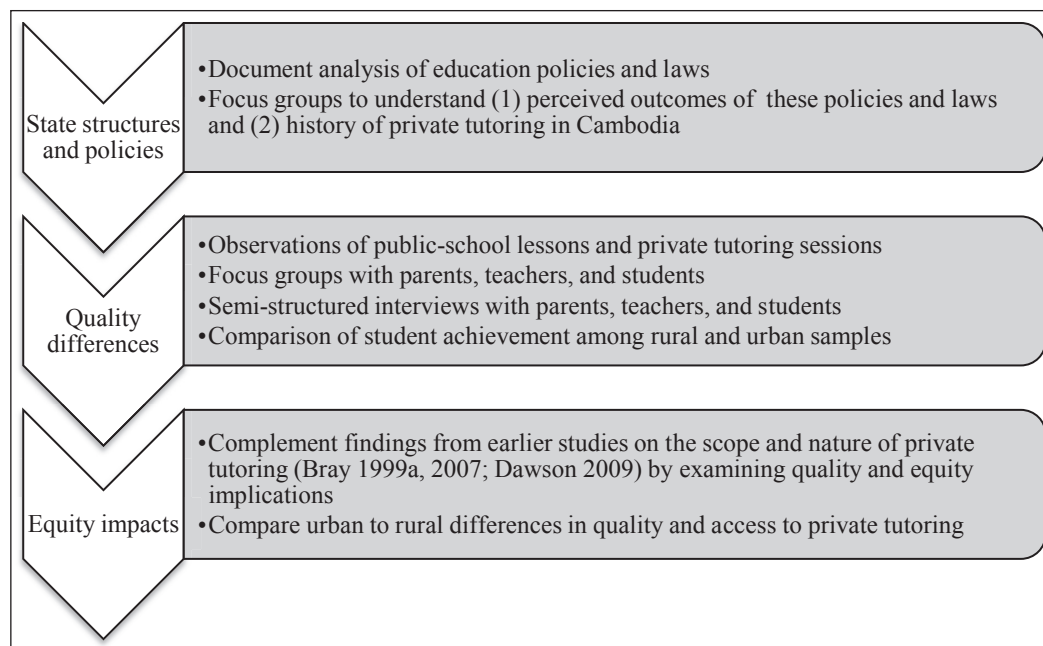
The research design consisted of three parts, including (1) an examination of the state structures, policies, and local practices that allow for the existence of the private provision of education through private tutoring; (2) the differences in the quality of education provision between public schools and private tutoring; and (3) the equity impacts on education and Cambodian society because of any quality differences and known cost barriers to accessing private tutoring (see Figure 2).

Using participatory research approaches, this study utilized methods commonly used in Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA). One of the benefits of using PRA methods is that “it provides a vast scope and space for both people as well as outsiders to actively participate at every stage” of the research (Narayanasamy 2009: 26). By holding focus groups (5–7 people) and conducting one-on-one interviews with many education stakeholders (sample described in detail below), our data involved the participation of many people within both the urban and rural schools under investigation. The semi-structured focus groups provided space for participants to explore issues of quality education and the role private tutoring plays in educational equity. We conducted semi-structured interviews as well over the course of the 12-month data-collection period to create mutual understanding and trust between the researchers and respondents in

hopes of generating more accurate information on topics that could be sensitive. Additionally, informal interviews helped us by “engaging in real or constructed dialogues in order to understand the people studied in their own terms (sometimes described as the insider’s view)” (England cited in Sin 2010: 986).

Another benefit of using the PRA method is triangulation of information. Our design incorporated not only data triangulation (collecting data from individuals and the interactive level among groups) but also investigator triangulation and methodological triangulation. Some focus groups were conducted by a team of two researchers who then worked through their findings collectively. Moreover, these data points were compared with data points obtained using different methods, namely classroom observations and the analysis of academic achievement (monthly grades and attendance) for students who were attending private tutoring lessons and those who are not. Additionally, we built off historical analyses and updated document analyses of government policies in previous research to the present. The methods used in each school are described below and the instruments used to collect the data can be found in the appendix.

Figure 2. – *Research design and methods*



This study is based on data collected between January and December 2011. The sample included six schools in one district in Cambodia, including three schools in an urban location and three schools in a rural location.¹⁰ The district is economically and geographically diverse, offering insight into various areas throughout Cambodia. The

¹⁰ For the purposes of this report, we use the terms “urban” and “rural” to differentiate between the schools located within the urban center and those located on the outskirts. The differences between the locations, although within the same district and perhaps best described as “semi-urban” or “semi-rural,” mainly center on the livelihood of the families: in the urban area most families do not farm for subsistence and their relative wealth is often higher (i.e. families have brick/concrete compared to wooden homes and use motorbikes or cars compared to bicycles for transportation) than that of the families located in the rural area.

sample was deliberately chosen to reflect a range of private tutoring costs in different schools depending on their geographic (urban or rural) location. After collecting preliminary data on the cost for one session of private tutoring within all lower secondary schools (13) in the district, we selected one lower secondary school with the highest private tutoring costs (1,000 Riel, or approximately US\$0.25, per session) and one with lowest (500 Riel, or approximately US\$0.13, per session), which also corresponded to urban and rural areas respectively. We then worked backwards to find two primary schools that fed into each lower secondary school. The final schools selected were chosen by their willingness to participate in the study.

3.1 Observations

A total of 28 observations were conducted, including 14 observations of public school classes and 14 observations of private tutoring lessons (see Table 2). However, these observations did not include private tutoring lessons in rural primary schools, because no such lessons were held during the four months of data collection. Observation rubrics were developed using instruments from a World Bank—commissioned report on Cambodia (Benveniste et al. 2008) that focused on teaching methodology, classroom characteristics, and class time use. The questions within each of these categories were then compiled into an observation checklist adapted for the last year of primary and secondary school (Grades 6 and 9 respectively), and used for observations of teaching/learning processes in both public school classes and private tutoring lessons.¹¹

Table 2. – *Number of observations by subject and grade*

Grade	Subject	Number of Observations		
		Government class	Private tutoring	Total
Grade 6	Khmer	7	2	9
	Mathematics	1	1	2
Grade 9	Khmer	3	2	5
	Mathematics	1	2	3
	Physics	2	3	5
	Chemistry	0	4	4
Total		14	14	28

3.2 Tracking student attendance and achievement

Data on academic achievement and attendance came from tracking 444 students (see Table 3), including 162 students in primary school (grade 6) and 282 students in secondary school (Grade 9). The students tracked in grade 9 came from six classes¹² across four subjects: mathematics, Khmer language, chemistry, and physics. Although we

¹¹ In particular, rubrics for teaching methodology included such categories as the frequency of high-ability students working with weak students, students exchanging work, students working in groups, as well as teachers calling on the weakest students in class, assigning multiple choice questions, showing examples of mistakes, using teacher aids, and solving example problem. Rubrics for classroom characteristics included the frequency of a teacher getting impatient with students, checking students' work, returning graded homework, and assigning homework. Rubrics for class time included such categories as the teacher's arrival at school, a review of written lesson plans, the frequency with which a teacher answers his or her cellphone in class, and the time spent on going over homework (see Appendix A for observation instruments).

¹² A "class" refers to the division of a grade. In this case, Grade 9 is divided into multiple classes (e.g. A, B, or C). During the school day, each class stays in one room while teachers move between the classrooms.

were able to track the same classes in the rural school across all subjects, a different group of classes was tracked in each of the subjects in the urban secondary school. Therefore, although 282 students in Grade 9 were tracked, the number of unique students in each subject varied depending on which group of classes was tracked in the urban Grade 9: 171 students in mathematics, 208 students in chemistry, and 203 students in Khmer language.¹³ At the primary level, one class of students was tracked in each school.

Table 3. – *Tracking of student attendance and achievement (sample)*

Experience with private tutoring	Location		Total
	Rural	Urban	
Primary			
Private tutoring	24	43	67
No private tutoring	67	28	95
<i>Total number of tracked students at the primary level</i>			162
Lower secondary			
Private tutoring	75	118	193
No private tutoring	38	51	89
<i>Total number of tracked students at the secondary level</i>			282
Total number of tracked students			444

Student attendance of private tutoring lessons was tracked using a private tutoring attendance sheet specifically designed for this study. While most participants used the attendance sheet, student attendance in private tutoring within some urban Grade 9 and all rural Grade 6 classes was provided by either the recollections of the teacher, the total money collected from students by the teacher, or an attendance sheet. These tracking systems were discussed individually with each teacher by going through the attendance list from school and having the teacher identify either how much money each student provided for private tutoring (a record kept by some teachers) or by indicating their perceptions of how often a student attended private tutoring (either by memory or an attendance sheet designed by the teacher). This allowed us to identify which students attended at least one private tutoring lesson during our data collection period. The principal of each school provided government attendance and monthly grade sheets. Data presented here covers attendance and monthly grades for one month,¹⁴ allowing for a comparison of academic achievement and private tutoring attendance among students who attend private tutoring and those who do not.

The academic scores for grade 9 focused on the subjects of mathematics, Khmer language, and chemistry. For grade 6, we focused on a combination of mathematics and Khmer language (Khmer dictation, Khmer writing, and Khmer reading). Although the sample is small, covers a short time, and does not take into consideration external factors affecting student achievement (parental education, past educational experience of the student, provision of tutoring other than that provided by the teacher, etc.), our

¹³ We were unable to track urban Grade 9 students in physics and therefore excluded the subject from our final report.

¹⁴ Originally, we planned to track students in all six schools over one term, which is about 4 months. However, the reality of organizing 6 schools—obtaining the agreement from the ministry, the principal, and then the teacher—to start and stop data collection on the same date proved too difficult. In some classes we were able to track students for over three months while in others we were only able to track one month. For this report, we use only data collected from the one month covered by all schools.

purpose here was not to determine causation between private tutoring and student achievement, but rather to highlight a disparity between students who go and do not go to private tutoring as one factor that divides students and contributes to inequality.

3.3 Focus groups and interviews

Focus groups and interviews were conducted with students, parents, and teachers. Participants were selected by consulting the principal or teacher of each school or class, who then helped arrange interviews and focus groups with community members and students. Although the principal or teacher could have purposefully selected or prepared participants, this strategy was the only politically feasible option given government restrictions. Notwithstanding these limitations, we did find all participants willing to talk openly about private tutoring and its exclusionary features. Overall, 21 focus groups were conducted, which included a total of 118 participants (see Table 4). Focus groups were split by stakeholder groups (students, teachers, and parents) and then by their participation in private tutoring lessons. The goal of separating the stakeholders was to increase the comfort level among individuals in each focus group in order to explore their experiences with private tutoring. The focus groups also discussed perceptions of the impact of tutoring on education quality and equity. In addition, informal interviews were conducted with 21 participants, including teachers, students, parents, and principals from other schools. These informal interviews focused on the experiences of individuals with private tutoring, helping us to interpret some of the findings from the observations and focus groups.

Table 4: Number of focus groups (and participants) in rural and urban areas

Stakeholders	Primary		Lower secondary		Combined grade levels		Total
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	
Teachers (total)							6 (28)
Private tutoring		1(3)		1(3)	1(8)		3(14)
Non-private tutoring	2(7)	1(5)					3(12)
Students (total)							11 (69)
Private tutoring	2(14)	2(12)	1(7)	1(5)			6(38)
Non-private tutoring	2(12)	2(12)	1(7)				5(31)
Parents (total)							4 (23)
Private tutoring				1(5)	1(4)		2(9)
Non-private tutoring	1(5)		1(9)				2(14)
Total							21(118)

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are the total number of participants within each category.

3.4 Document analysis

Document analysis included a review of government policies and laws related to education funding and teacher salaries. In addition, we analyzed various reports on education quality and equity in Cambodia published by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international agencies (such as the World Bank, UNICEF, and UNESCO). Combined data gained through document analysis, classroom observations, academic achievement and attendance as well as focus groups and interviews were triangulated to facilitate validation of data through cross-verification from multiple sources and data collection techniques. See Table 5 for an overview of the research methods.

Table 5. – Overview of research methods

Observations	<p>A total of 28 observations were conducted, including 14 observations of public school classes and 14 observations of private tutoring lessons.</p> <p>In primary schools, observations were conducted in mathematics and Khmer language classes. In lower secondary schools, observations were conducted in Khmer language, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. The same observation procedure was held for private tutoring lessons conducted by each teacher.</p>	<p>How does the teacher teach during mainstream education (teaching methods and curriculum content)?</p> <p>Does the teacher favour certain students? Who are they?</p> <p>What are the teaching methods and content in private tutoring?</p> <p>How are the two teaching styles different?</p>
Tracking of student attendance and achievement	<p>Data on academic achievement and attendance came from tracking 444 students, including 162 students in primary schools (Grade 6) and 282 students in secondary schools (Grade 9). The goal was to examine whether (and how) private tutoring impacts students' academic achievement in different subjects.</p>	<p>What are the differences in students' academic achievement for those who do and do not attend private tutoring?</p>
Focus groups and interviews	<p>Focus groups with students, parents, and teachers were held over the course of data collection to examine their experiences with private tutoring and their perception about the impact of private tutoring on education access and quality. A total of 21 focus groups were conducted. In addition, a total of 21 informal interviews were conducted with parents, teachers, and students throughout the data collection period.</p>	<p>What are the main reasons children attend private tutoring?</p> <p>Which subjects are most popular? How much does it cost?</p> <p>What are the differences in teaching between private tutoring and government school?</p> <p>How does private tutoring impact you, your family, and your village?</p>
Document analysis	<p>Government policies and laws related to education, 1992 to present. Focus on government funding of education and teacher salaries.</p>	<p>What are the system-driven factors (national policies and laws) contributing to the rise of private tutoring?</p>

4 The Nature, Impact, and Implications of *Rien Kuo*: Findings

Focusing on the scope, nature, and implications of *Rien Kuo*, the findings of the study are organized around the following three main categories: (1) curriculum differences between *Rien Kuo* and mainstream schooling, (2) achievement differences among students attending private tutoring and those who do not, and (3) societal effects of private tutoring. Before exploring each of these themes in more depth, it is important to provide a few descriptive statistics on the intensity and form of private tutoring within our sample.

4.1 General characteristics of *Rien Kuo*

Of the 282 students tracked in Grade 9, 193 students (68.4 percent) attended at least one private tutoring class during the time of the data collection. At the primary school level, the scope of private tutoring was lower, with 41.3 percent of all surveyed students (67 out of 162) attending private tutoring. The intensity of private tutoring varied by subject in Grade 9, with 57 percent of surveyed students attending private tutoring in mathematics, 54 percent in Khmer language, and 37 percent in chemistry (see Table 6). Comparing the intensity among subjects, a similar percentage of students attended private tutoring lessons in Khmer language and mathematics, but a smaller percentage of students attended chemistry lessons.

One explanation for the difference in frequency between Khmer language and mathematics with chemistry is the way in which grades are calculated. Each month teachers administer their own subject examinations to their classes. These examinations are neither standardized in terms of content nor monitored in terms of grading rubrics. The scores across all subjects are then added for each student and divided by the total number of possible points, which varies by month depending on the subjects covered. Average subject and overall grades are reported monthly on student score sheets, indicating the ranking of the student among his or her classmates. Across all levels of schooling, the subjects of Khmer language and mathematics account for 100 points (sometimes more),¹⁵ while the other subjects account for only 50 points on monthly score sheets. This means scoring higher in Khmer language or mathematics will have a greater positive impact on students' overall grade each month than doing well on subjects like chemistry, which account for only 50 points.¹⁶

A further analysis of data by geographic location (rural versus urban) reveals a higher intensity of private tutoring use in urban areas compared to rural areas. In primary schools, for example, 60.5 percent of urban students attended private tutoring classes compared to 26.4 percent of students in rural areas. The one exception within our data set is for Khmer language private tutoring in Grade 9, where more rural students attended private tutoring than urban students. This divergent finding can be explained in two ways. First, it can be partially attributed to parental choice. If parents could afford private tutoring in only one subject, Khmer language was perceived as most valuable because of the grading policies described above and the general perception that literacy is a necessary life skill. Second, within the rural classes tracked, 19 students who attended private tutoring were supported (i.e. provided with money to attend private tutoring) by an NGO. Without financial support to pay the private tutoring fees, these 19 students would most likely not have attended the extra courses in any subject. Controlling for these students, we find that only 39 percent of students attend Khmer language private tutoring in the rural school compared to 52 percent in the urban school. This is in agreement with the general finding of a higher intensity of private tutoring within urban schools.

There were also noticeable differences between government school and private tutoring class sizes. Since *Rien Kuo* is rarely offered in a one-on-one setting and is instead taught to larger groups of students, it closely resembles classes in mainstream schools. Nevertheless, *Rien Kuo* class sizes are generally smaller than those in mainstream schools.¹⁷ Based on our observations and attendance tracking, the average class size of government school in Grade 9 (both urban and rural) was 42 students. By contrast, private tutoring classes had, on average, 21 students. Breaking these data down by location, we find that

¹⁵ In upper secondary school (Grades 10–12), students can choose either the “real science” or “social science” tracks. Students who choose the “real science” track, for example, take more courses in mathematics than any other subject each month; this therefore increases the total number of points for mathematics above 100. Likewise, students who take the “social science” track take more courses within the Khmer language subject, and thus give students the ability to earn over 100 points each month.

¹⁶ The question remains as to why chemistry and physics (although not reported here) remain popular private tutoring subjects compared to other subjects that also account for 50 points each month, such as history or geography. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is the difficulty of the subjects and therefore the desire of some students to increase exposure to curricular material during private tutoring classes.

¹⁷ One notable exception is when a teacher conducts private tutoring to multiple classes at the same time. This will increase the number of students attending the private tutoring session to a size similar to that found in government schools.

the average class size in government school is 56 students in the urban lower secondary school and 35 students in the rural lower secondary school. By contrast, private tutoring classes had on average 37 students and 17 students in urban and rural schools, respectively. This suggests that private tutoring classes are (1) smaller than government school, regardless of the location, and (2) urban areas have larger class sizes in both government school classes and private tutoring lessons compared to rural areas.

Table 6. –Intensity of private tutoring by subject, Grade 9

	Students in government class	Students in private tutoring	% of students in private tutoring
Mathematics			
Urban	58	35	60.34
Rural	113	63	55.75
Total	171	98	57.31
Chemistry			
Urban	95	58	61.05
Rural	113	19	16.81
Total	208	77	37.02
Khmer language			
Urban	90	47	52.22
Rural	113	64	56.64
Total	203	111	54.68

4.2 Curriculum differences

Given that *Rien Kuo* generally takes place on school grounds, usually in the same classrooms where government school classes are held, there are some interesting continuities between *Rien Kuo* and mainstream schooling. Data collected from classroom observations and triangulated with interviews and focus groups suggest that private tutoring is in many respects a continuation of government school in terms of teaching methodology and curriculum content (see Table 7). For example, teachers appear to assign homework (43 percent of private tutoring classes observed and 64 in government classes) and even present new material in private tutoring lessons (36 percent of the private tutoring classes and 79 percent of government classes). Likewise, students appear to be involved in similar activities in both government classes and private tutoring lessons, including answering multiple choice questions (14 percent) and responding to teachers giving examples to the whole class (78 percent).

Table 7. – Similarities between government school and private tutoring classes

Teacher pedagogy	Government school N=14	Private tutoring N=14
	% of classes observed (number of classes observed)	% of classes observed (number of classes observed)
High-ability students work with low-ability students	28.6 (4)	14.3 (2)
High-ability students help teach whole class	71.4 (10)	50.0 (7)
Teacher calls on weak students to answer questions	50.0 (7)	42.9 (6)
Students answer multiple choice questions	14.3 (2)	14.3 (2)
Students answer questions at board	100.0 (14)	71.4 (10)
Teacher assigns homework	64.3 (9)	42.9 (6)
Teacher presents new material	78.6 (11)	35.7 (5)
Teacher provides the whole class with instructions	100.0 (14)	85.7 (12)
Students answer in chorus	71.4 (10)	64.3 (9)
Teacher gives examples to the whole class	78.6 (11)	78.6 (11)

The focus groups with teachers provided in-depth qualitative information to compliment the observations regarding teaching methodology and the curriculum used in government school classes and private tutoring lessons. The first theme that emerged in the focus groups was the overwhelming opinion that the national curriculum is too long to complete during government school hours. Some teachers said they had to “rush” through the curriculum to finish on time and feared being held accountable for not finishing. For example, one teacher who conducts private tutoring explained:

We rush to keep up with the curriculum. [During official school hours], we teach only theory and give only a few examples. If students go to private tutoring, they can practice [at the board] because there are fewer students who go ... We cannot get all students to practice [at the board] in government class. It requires a lot of time.

The “rush” to finish the curriculum is a result of a curriculum too “full” to complete during the allotted time. One history teacher who sends his children to private tutoring explained: “[The ministry] allows little time [to teach]. I teach based on the [allowed] time. If the curriculum is not finished, [then] I let it go because there is not enough time. [Although] I try my best, it is still impossible [to teach everything].” The majority of teachers agreed that the curriculum time provided by the MoEYS was not sufficient for students to practice the theory they learned during school hours and that they conducted private tutoring to provide more practice time for students to complement the knowledge gained. In other words, private tutoring provided the necessary time to finish the curriculum to a perceived higher standard. As one teacher who does not conduct private tutoring explained, “Private tutoring teachers take the lessons learned in the government class and provide more practice in private tutoring. They even add more [material excluded in the government class].”

From teachers’ perspectives, quality education could not be achieved during regular school hours. One of the most frequently mentioned examples centred on the role of problem-solving exercises (or activities) in the government curriculum. In the effort to finish the curriculum on time, teachers typically reduced the quantity of example problems prescribed by the national curriculum. One teacher explained that of seven problem-solving exercises designated by the national curriculum for mastering a specific skill, she is able to finish only two during government school hours. The other exercises are given as homework, not completed, or left for private tutoring. Another strategy for finishing the national curriculum on time is to summarize lessons during government school. One teacher said, “[Because of the rush to finish the curriculum], we can summarize a one page lesson by taking only the important points, making it a four or five line [lesson]; then we teach [that].”

In an effort to validate the perception that more practice was taught in private tutoring, we used classroom observations to examine the amount of time used for solving problems (exercises) in government school and private tutoring. In both settings, we observed roughly the same amount of time used for problem-solving exercises, including 51 percent of the time in government school compared to 48 percent of the time in private tutoring classes (see Table 8). Yet, during the focus groups, students repeatedly expressed the idea that private tutoring offers more practice. As one student claimed, “Government class is mostly about giving introductions, theories, and a little bit of practice, while private tutoring has a lot of problem solving and practice.” Obviously our classroom observations are at odds with student and teachers’ views that private

tutoring offers more examples, which reflects a general theme discovered across the focus groups and interviews. To reconcile these two points, we dug deeper into what it meant to do “practice” in both private tutoring and government school classes. As Table 8 highlights, the main differences between private tutoring and government school classes center on group work (done more in government school), individual practice at students’ seats (done more in private tutoring), and classroom management (done more in private tutoring). Each of these activities provides insights into the differences between private tutoring and government school classes.

First, group work takes place more often in government school than private tutoring. One possible explanation for more group work in government class compared to private tutoring is the large number of students found in government school combined with the focus on student-centered learning. Yet, large class sizes were commonly perceived as a barrier to quality education:

I cannot absorb much information in the [government] class; there are too many students. (Grade 6 student)

There are too many students. We cannot have quality unless there are 25 students [in a class]. (Grade 6 teacher)

[Children] do not receive much explanation in [government] school [because there are] too many students. (Parent)

Although group work may be a preferable (and recommended as part of the Child Friendly School modalities) classroom management technique in classes with many students compared to ones with fewer students, it was not found to be an enjoyable technique by students and teachers alike. One teacher explained: “It takes students too much time to work in groups. It is not easy ... It is not like fetching water with a dipper. It is fine if we just asked them to raise their hand and answer our questions.” Moreover, students repeatedly complained that government classes are too noisy because many students talk to each other and the teacher rarely asks students to quieten down.

Second, individual seatwork takes place more often in private tutoring than in government school. The lack of groupwork in private tutoring, combined with the increased amount of individual seatwork, may be what makes students and teachers perceive private tutoring as providing “more” practice than government school classes. This suggests that the quality of practice is perceived to be better in private tutoring than in government school classes. Both students and teachers confirmed this point by suggesting that in private tutoring classes teachers are able to use example problems from outside the national curriculum, often suggesting that these extra problems were of higher quality than those found in the national curriculum, and said the smaller size of the private tutoring classes provided more individualized attention from the teacher (Silova and Brehm 2013). As one student said, “the smaller the class, the better.”

The last difference, classroom management, takes place more often in private tutoring than government school. Although money is collected in both private tutoring and government classes and attendance is taken (occasionally) in both, there was one divergent theme within classroom management. In private tutoring classes, teachers often take a break from giving lessons or conducting practice problems to give students advice on studying and testing techniques. For example, one student recalled her private

tutoring teacher saying, “Please try to do your homework, pay attention in class, and listen to teachers during class, and review the lessons.” We have labelled these conversations “general guidance” activities, and found them to take place only in private tutoring classes (on average, in private tutoring four out of eight minutes was devoted to general guidance within the category of classroom management. By contrast, no time was devoted to general guidance in government schools). General guidance becomes an important difference between government school and private tutoring classes as it provides some students with the necessary motivation and test-taking tips to succeed in school or in examinations. In other words, general guidance suggests private tutoring is not only about students’ strategies to increase knowledge but also realizing aspirations through the motivation of teachers.

These observations reveal that private tutoring offers a different quality of education from government schools, but is needed to complete the national curriculum. There are fewer students in private tutoring classes, the teacher is able to offer examples outside of the national curriculum, and the teacher uses different teaching techniques (the main difference being individual practice instead of groupwork) that students in general find more fulfilling and of a higher quality. The outcome of this is that students who are able to attend private tutoring receive a better quality education on the national curriculum. The differences in quality are well known among students and have created disparities not only in student achievement but also in their conceptions of self-worth. We now turn to the differences in student achievement before exploring the effects private tutoring have on students and society.

Table 8. – Average non-practice and practice classroom activities in percent (minutes) of total class time, private tutoring vs. government school

	Activity observed	Private tutoring Class N=7	Government School Class N=6
Non-practice classroom activities	Teacher lectures	29.1 (16)	29.3 (17)
	Students speak individually or as a whole class	7.3 (4)	10.4 (6)
	Classroom management (attendance, teacher assigns homework, gives general guidance, and/or collects money)	14.5 (8)	8.6 (5)
	Subtotal	50.9 (28)	48.3 (28)
Practice classroom activities	Student/teacher solves example problems on the board	29.1 (16)	27.6 (16)
	Students solve example problems at seat	18.2 (10)	6.9 (4)
	Students solve example problems in groups (3+ students)	0.00 (0)	17.2 (10)
	Students work in pairs	1.8 (1)	0.00 (0)
	Subtotal	49.1 (27)	51.7 (30)
TOTAL AVERAGE CLASS TIME		100 (55)	100 (58)

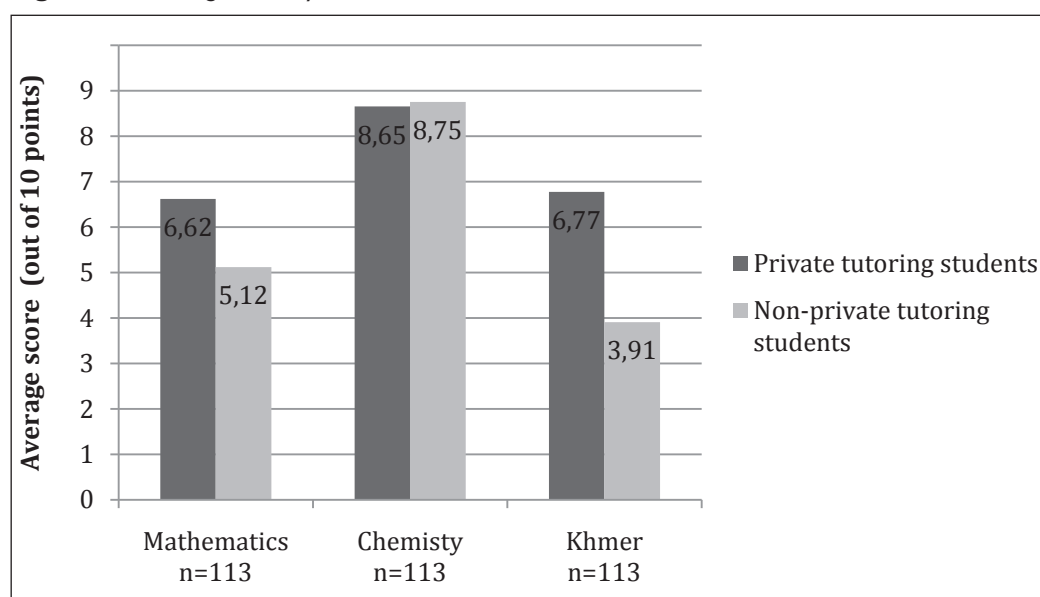
Note: The average length of one class in government school varies by teacher; however, it is common that classes last about one hour and are followed (or interrupted mid-way) by a ten-minute break. Private tutoring classes, by contrast, typically last about one hour and include no formal breaks.

4.3 Grade differences

Tracking students’ grades gives a snapshot of whether grades and examination results differ by the amount of private tutoring received. The purpose of this data is not to determine a causal relationship between private tutoring and student achievement. Instead, the data is meant to highlight a potential disparity between students who go and do not

go to private tutoring.¹⁸The grade tracking of 282 secondary and 162 primary students revealed that in general students who attended at least one private tutoring lesson during the month of May scored at least one grade¹⁹ higher than students who did not. Data presented below defined a “private tutoring student” as a student who attended at least one private tutoring session during the month under investigation. “Non-private tutoring students,” by contrast, never attended any private tutoring sessions.

Figure 3. – Average monthly score for rural Grade 9 students



Note: three classes in one school were tracked.

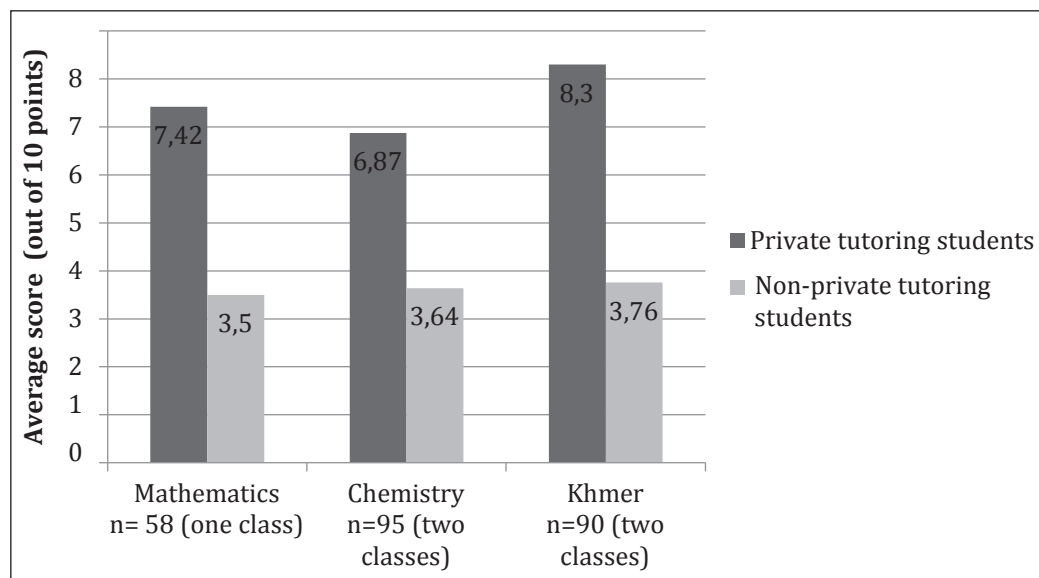
In Grade 9, private tutoring students in rural areas scored higher in mathematics and Khmer language than non-private tutoring students (Figure 3). However, the average score of private tutoring and non-private tutoring students was virtually the same in chemistry.²⁰ In the urban Grade 9, the findings were similar but more acute in the differences between private tutoring and non-private tutoring students (Figure 4). Across all subjects, students who attended private tutoring scored on average twice as high as students who did not attend private tutoring. The most dramatic difference in scores occurs in the Khmer language and mathematics subjects. This outcome has a compound effect on overall achievement for students because the Khmer language and mathematics subjects count for twice as many points compared with all other subjects. Whereas a student’s chemistry grade is calculated out of a total of 50 points in one month, his or her mathematics and Khmer language grades are out of 100 points. This multiplies the effect that private tutoring in mathematics and Khmer language has on overall student grades. (It is also a reason for the high demand for private tutoring in these subjects.) These differences were noticeably larger between the urban and rural students.

¹⁸ These findings were first discussed in Brehm and Silova (2012) using a subset of this data.

¹⁹ The grading scale is as follows: 4.99 and below is “failing”; 5.0—6.49/10 is “medium”; 6.5—7.99/10 is “fairly good”; 8—9.99/10 is “good” and 10/10 is “very good” (personal communication, provincial teacher training college professor, 31 May 2011).

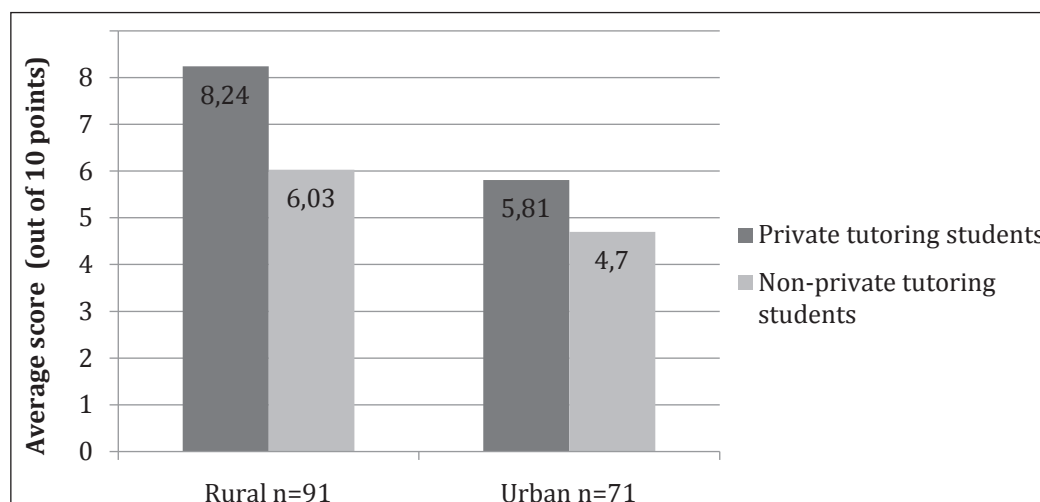
²⁰ Since all students who receive private tutoring in chemistry are supported by an NGO, it is likely that without financial support, no student would have taken private tutoring in the subject.

Figure 4. – Average monthly score for urban Grade 9 students



The grade tracking in Grade 6 followed a similar pattern to Grade 9 (Figure 5). Regardless of location, students who attended private tutoring scored on average higher on monthly grades than students who did not attend private tutoring. Interestingly, rural grades for all students were higher than urban grades in Grade 6. If the curriculum is supposedly the same in each location, then this suggests that either the teachers design more challenging monthly examinations in urban areas or the teachers in rural areas give higher grades more easily. This is not as apparent in Grade 9.

Figure 5. – Average monthly score for Grade 6 students



Note: Data comes from a total of four schools: two in rural areas and two in urban areas.

4.4 Societal effects

In addition to examining the general characteristics of *Rien Kuo* and the grade differences between students who go and do not go to private tutoring and comparing pedagogy and curricula in both spaces, we engaged focus-group participants in conversations on the societal effects of private tutoring. By splitting each focus group by type of stakeholder (student, parent, or teacher) and then by involvement with private tutoring (students who attend, parents who send their children to, or teaches who conduct private tutoring), we were able to create comfortable atmospheres by bringing together stakeholders who shared similar experiences with private tutoring. Two themes emerged from these conversations. The first theme relates to the poverty preventing some parents from sending their children to private tutoring lessons. The second theme, interestingly, links the perception of valuing education to a family's ability to send a child to private tutoring lessons. The latter suggests that although poverty may be the reason parents cannot send a child to private tutoring lessons, there is nevertheless a social stigma created around poor families who are perceived to value education less than families who send their children to private tutoring lessons. These findings together with data on grade tracking (see above) suggest that the increases in levels of achievement for pupils who go to private tutoring might be the outcome of social class assets (Bourdieu 1993) and therefore, in an interesting way, private tutoring can be seen as a proxy for social class.

4.5 Socioeconomic factors

Students who go to private tutoring were generally perceived to come from the upper-middle or upper classes of society, whereas those who did not attend came from lower-middle and lower classes.²¹ A primary school student who does not attend private tutoring stated: “[those students receiving private tutoring] are rich and have a medium-level living condition; very few are poor, [and] all have a budget and time [for extra classes].” This is obviously related to the costs of private tutoring, which was one of the main reasons cited for why students did not attend private tutoring. One student who does not go to private tutoring observed, “students who go to private tutoring are the students from fairly rich families.” Agreeing with this student, another participant added, “The students who go to private tutoring are the children from the families which do not have many members, are able to earn enough money to spend on food and education for their children.”

Similarly, all students in one focus group agreed that they could tell if a family sent their children to private tutoring simply by looking at their means of transportation. If a family had a modern motorbike—a “2005 series or up”—then their children most likely attended private tutoring. Other features identified of families who send their children to private tutoring included, “a concrete house with tile roof ... large land ... and sold something in the village.” Another group added that families who do not attend private tutoring are those whose children did not have enough clothes or uniforms to go to school, not enough food to eat, no money for medical care, lived in small houses, had no farming land, and had many people in their families.

²¹ Although formally not a class-based society like India, Cambodia has historical legacies and contemporary practices that differentiate between certain sects of people. For instance, Cambodians who have Chinese descendents are often considered to be in a higher class compared to, for instance, the Khmer-Cham, who are an ethnic and religious minority. The historical phrases “people who have” (*neak mean*) and “people who do not” (*neak kro*) are used in contemporary Cambodia to distinguish between types of people, often regardless of socioeconomic status (see Brehm and Silova 2012).

Another theme that emerged was the self-exclusion between rich and poor students. One teacher observed, “Rich students hang out with rich students only.” One example offered by this teacher of the self-segregation was when a poor student asked a rich student to borrow a pencil. The teacher explained that the rich student in her class did not lend the poor student the pencil because of the class difference. A student reiterated this point by saying, “The literate play with the literate; the illiterate play with the illiterate.” This theme resonates with the historical separation of people who are rich (*neak mean*) from those who are poor (*neak kro*) in Cambodia (see Brehm and Silova 2012), and suggests that schooling—and therefore private tutoring—both creates and reinforces the gap between the different socioeconomic statuses in Cambodia.

In terms of private tutoring, the difference in wealth was seen as the line separating those who go to private tutoring and those who do not. One student said the reason the group of students participating in one particular focus group did not attend private tutoring was because “we all are not from rich families.” This notion was confirmed by a student who did attend private tutoring: “Those who do not come to private tutoring ... do not have money to pay for private tutors ... I feel sorry for them because they can’t afford private tutoring.” The differences in wealth are apparent and mutually recognizable between both groups of students.

4.6 Perceptions of the value of education

Parents who send their children to private tutoring agreed that one difference between families who send their child to private tutoring and those who do not is the level of “care” parents have for their children. Families who “care” more about their children will make sacrifices (a term mentioned in multiple focus groups) to send their children to private tutoring. These sacrifices included a financial loss due to the increased cost of schooling as well as less time being available for some parents to spend with their family because of the extra work needed to support private tutoring costs. However, students who did not go to private tutoring had time constraints, too. One student who did not attend private tutoring stated, “The students who go to private tutoring are from families who give enough time for their children to study and only have to help a little with housework.”

While it is generally assumed that the cost of private tutoring presents the biggest barrier to entry for many students, the majority of interviewed teachers, students, and parents routinely stated that this was not always the case. They explained that students who could not pay the fees of private tutoring were sometimes allowed to attend for free and, in some cases, owe their teacher for the private tutoring lessons. One parent explained:

My child tried to go to private tutoring. Despite having no money, she still went to study [private tutoring] and owed her teacher for months. When I earned money, I paid off [the debt]. The teacher did not mind.

Besides borrowing money from teachers to attend private tutoring, some students had the opportunity to go for free. Although we found few students who actually attended private tutoring sessions for free, one teacher told us she always announced to her class that private tutoring was available for all students, even those who could not pay. The teacher gave an example of what she told her class each year: “I want to conduct private tutoring. Whoever wants to use private tutoring, please go to my house. Whoever cannot pay can also attend.” Students also echoed this point. One student who did not attend private tutoring recalled a conversation she had with a friend who

did: “a private tutoring student asked me to go to private tutoring and I said I don’t have money. She said it was fine because the teacher said if you have money, you could give it to him. But if you don’t have money, there is no need to pay.”

One possible reason we did not find many cases of this actually happening is that the onus to attend private tutoring rests on the child to approach the teacher and ask for permission. Unlike government school, where there are laws that require children to attend, private tutoring is based on an individual negotiation between student (or parent) and teacher to gain access to the extra provision of education. Therefore, despite the supposedly free access to private tutoring as recounted by teachers and students, some students still do not attend because they do not have knowledge, time, or power to negotiate with a teacher. This situation creates an unintended social consequence between students: because all students may hear a teacher advertise private tutoring lessons as free and then see some student still not attending those extra lessons, some students who attend private tutoring often describe non-attending private tutoring students as “lazy.”

Despite the seemingly free access to private tutoring for all students regardless of socioeconomic status, there were non-monetary reasons some students did not attend private tutoring. The reasons offered by students centered on the need to do housework, work to earn money for their family, or parental choice. When we asked students why they did not attend private tutoring, one theme that emerged was doing work at home or for employment:

I ride [foreign visitors] on a horse, clean the office and toilets, and do other work. (Grade 6 student)

After lunch, [my mother] grinds up white rice and then goes to collect wood, and I accompany her. (Grade 6 student)

I am busy looking after cattle. (Grade 6 student)

Mother does not mean not to allow [me to go to private tutoring], but she asked [me] to help her first [with housework] before I go. (Grade 6 student)

Beyond housework and employment, there was the opinion that some students did not attend private tutoring because their parents did not care about or value education. In other words, parents choose not to send their children to private tutoring. One teacher explained: “Weak students are absent often ... because of their living condition and because [their] parents do not pay much attention [to their children’s education]. [Their] children do not come to school, and they do not inspire [their children].” One primary school student summed up the various reasons children do not attend private tutoring: “[Non-private tutoring students] don’t want to study, some don’t have time—perhaps too busy with cattle. Some have no money, and others are not allowed by their parents.” This suggests that the perceived benefits of children attending private tutoring sometimes outweigh the opportunity costs of doing so.

4.7 Impact on children and communities

Focus groups with students and parents revealed that private tutoring has a very real impact on children’s perceptions of self-worth and their academic achievement. Across

the focus groups, during government class teachers were perceived as favouring students who attended private tutoring, adding to the recognized divide between the students. Parents recognized this too, and said the favouritism included providing students in private tutoring classes with the examination questions before the date of the exam. For students, there was a noticeable difference in the government classroom: one student noticed how a teacher acted differently towards students who attended private tutoring compared to those who did not. Moreover, corporal punishment (such as twisting students' abdomens, digging nails into students' heads) is a common feature in government school (although it is prohibited), typically occurring when a student cannot answer a question correctly. For this reason students not receiving private tutoring overwhelmingly were perceived to be unable to answer questions and therefore punished more often than students who went to private tutoring.

Furthermore, many students not attending private tutoring expressed a lack of self-worth. In a focus-group interview, one student said, "By not going to private tutoring, I feel upset." Another added, "I feel very jealous of those who attend private tutoring." This perception among students was in spite of the free lessons offered by teachers, highlighting not only the economic issues preventing students from attending private tutoring but also the shame fostered in students who did not attend. Students identified many qualities and traits that differentiate those who attended private tutoring lessons and those who did not. This theme emerged initially in a focus group where one student who did not attend private tutoring described the students who attended private tutoring as "clever, smart, and obedient." The descriptions of these perceived qualities appeared repeatedly during focus groups with students not attending private tutoring:

I want to attend private tutoring because it can make me become a *smart* student. (Grade 9 student)

I want to go to private tutoring because attending private tutoring makes me become *brave* and be able to answer questions to the teacher in government school and to do the test in class. (Grade 9 student)

If I attend private tutoring, I'll be *clever* and it makes my family happy. (Grade 9 student)

I want to attend private tutoring because I don't want other students to look down on me as I am not *smart*. (Grade 9 student)

A parent reiterated these points when she told us about her daughter, who dropped out of school because she felt "ashamed" in front of the class when she could not answer the teacher's questions. Private tutoring students were said to be able to answer the questions. It appears students' self-worth—as defined by being "clever," "smart," "brave," and "obedient"—depends in part on their ability to attend private tutoring, which, as the finding above states, is associated with earning higher grades. One primary school student who did not attend private tutoring stated:

Because [some students] go to private tutoring, when the teacher sets [examination] questions, those students finish early. I do not go [to private tutoring]; I cannot. At the end of the month, the [private tutoring students] get first place.

The inability to attend private tutoring can at times cause so much stress that dropping out of school all together is a realistic option for some students. In one

extreme case, the cost of schooling (including private tutoring) was reported as the reason for a 12-year-old girl's suicide (Rithy Chey 2011). Stephen P. Heynemen (2011) suggests this has very real consequences on society:

[Students] who receive less opportunity to compete [because they are excluded from private tutoring] may well have lower performance and are at risk for having a lower sense of self-worth. This condemns those with less opportunity to a life of lowered self-esteem and higher risk for depression, and they are more likely to pass on their lowered self-worth to their own children. (p. 185)

5. Conclusions

Private tutoring in Cambodia impacts the teaching and learning in school and has real consequences for social cohesion. Yet, it is a necessary, and central, part of schooling for students to receive a “full” and “quality” public education. The data presented in this report reveals many educational trends that could be observed worldwide as well as offers more insight into the implications of the increased privatization of social services. First, our data suggests that private tutoring in Cambodian primary schools is becoming more intense today than when Bray (1999a, 2007) first reported data in the 1990s. Second, we find that private tutoring is more intense in secondary schools compared to primary schools. Both of these findings fit within the broader literature about the growing intensity of private tutoring worldwide, and particularly in Asia (Bray and Lykins 2012). Third, the curricular similarities between private tutoring and government school suggest that private tutoring is often a central continuation of, rather than an augmentation to, formal government schooling. In other words, delivering mandated curricular learning involves both formal schooling *and* private tutoring. Furthermore, within private tutoring, teachers are able to use teaching methods that are more agreeable to students than those used in government school. This occurs because the cost and time constraints limit access to private tutoring. Failing to access this dimension of the schooling experiences appears to have consequences for performance. Fourth, we find that most education stakeholders agree that private tutoring is necessary to complete the national curriculum, and a positive experience in the lives of students. Fifth, we find clear social divides between students who use private tutoring and those that do not. Private tutoring seems to be an educational service for the middle and upper classes of society. These differences are further legitimated by the clear achievement differences between the two groups.

When we asked the teachers how to close the achievement gap between students who attended private tutoring with those who did not, they emphasized three main factors related to the ability of students to study: parents' motivation, teacher attention, and enough food to eat. Notwithstanding teachers' lack of critical reflection on their own role in widening the gap, the three factors are telling. The first (parents' motivation) relates to the family differences outlined above. The realities and time commitment of living on subsistence farming requires parents to make the difficult choice each day as to whether to send their child to private tutoring or to keep the child at home to help around the house so that they can eat that day. The second (teacher attention) points to the corrupt relationship between student and teacher, where education is treated as a commodity. As some students pay money directly to their teachers for extra classes, favouritism towards these students by the teachers in government school increases. The

last (enough food to eat) alludes to the larger issue of household costs. If education is the largest household expenditure (Bray and Bunly 2005; NEP 2007), then the difficult choice of whether to send a child to private tutoring or purchase/harvest/catch enough food to eat is a daily decision parents (most likely reluctantly) have to make. An interaction between two students in a focus group illustrated this predicament:

Student 1: “Brother Rey, why don’t you go to school? Don’t you want to be knowledgeable? Why are you playing football, not caring about your study skills?”

Student 2: “Can education be eaten? All the important work is already covered by high-ranking officials.”

What the teachers seem to miss in outlining these three factors are the larger issues of an under-funded, over-crowded school system that shifts the provision of a quality education to a system of fee-based private tutoring. The outcome of the current system of education finds some similarities to what Thomas Clayton (2000) found occurring in Cambodia during French colonialism: “reforms intended to broaden the base of the educational pyramid, to increase the pool of candidates brought to the *sorting machine*, and ultimately to improve the preparedness and the quantity of Cambodians promoted through education to positions in the colonial administration” (p. 56; emphasis added). The Education for All processes and policies in Cambodia has enlarged the educational pyramid like the modernized *wat* schools in the 1900s, but at the expense of “sorting” students through private tutoring both in terms of intellectual attainment (as defined by academic achievement) and student self-worth (as defined by student, teacher, and parents’ perceptions).

There is, however, a larger question that has been left unasked. In light of a growing system of private tutoring, what is the role of public education in Cambodian society? More challenging, how should government policymakers respond? At first glance, the reliance on private tutoring taught by government school teachers often inside government school buildings creates the impression that public education *is* occurring and that all children *are* receiving enormous amounts of education. This might lead policymakers and development workers to overlook the phenomenon of private tutoring. But as this report and others have highlighted, this is not necessarily the case. Access to and the quality of education varies throughout the day, depending on which type of education is being offered—government school or private tutoring. Therefore, citizens must begin asking questions about what they expect from the government, and education policymakers must begin recognizing the real teaching, learning, and societal impacts private tutoring has on the public system of education specifically and society more generally. A system of education where everything is for sale is a system of education that will produce and exacerbate inequities within society. Moreover, it creates a situation where these inequities are then perpetuated via private tutoring, as the advantages that accrue to the learner accessing private tutoring in turn lead those families to positions and resources that will reproduce those privileges. And yet, paradoxically, the public system of education is also the space where equity can be achieved. What are the policies, programs and practices that could realize rather than negate equity?

References

- Aggarwal, Y. (1998). *Primary education in Delhi: How much do the children learn?* New Delhi: National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration.
- Asian Development Bank, (2008). *Second Education Sector Development Program (ESDP II): Program Completion Report*, Phnom Penh: MoEYS.
- Aurini, J. and S. Davis (2004). "The transformation of private tutoring: education in a franchise form," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29(3), 419—38.
- Ayres, D.M. (2000). *Anatomy of a crisis: Education, development, and the state of Cambodia, 1953—1998*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Baker, D.P. and G.K. LeTendre (2005). *National differences, global similarities: World culture and the future of schooling*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Benveniste, L., J. Marshall and M.C. Araujo (2008). *Teaching in Cambodia*, Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Bishop, J. (2007). *Realising our potential – ensuring quality in our school system*, Budget media release by the Hon Julie Bishop MP, Minister for Education, Science and Training, No. BUDBI9/07, available at: http://www.dest.gov.au/ministers/bishop/budget07/bud19_07.htm, [accessed on 01/03/2012].
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bray, M. (1999a). *The private costs of public schooling: Household and community financing of primary education in Cambodia*, Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Bray, M. (1999b). *The shadow education system: Private tutoring and its implications for planners*, Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Bray, M. (2003). *Adverse effect of private supplementary tutoring: Dimensions, implications and government responses*, Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Bray, M. (2007). *The shadow education system: Private tutoring and its implications for planners*, 2nd ed., Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Bray, M. (2009). *Confronting the shadow education system: What government policies for what private tutoring?* Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Bray, M. (2010). "Blurring boundaries: The growing visibility, evolving forms and complex implications of private supplementary tutoring," *Orbis Scholae* 4(2), 61—73.
- Bray, M. (2011). *The challenge of shadow education: Private tutoring and its implications for policy makers in the European Union*, Brussels: European Commission.
- Bray, M. and S. Bunly (2005). *Balancing the books: Household financing of basic education in Cambodia*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.
- Bray, M. and C. Lykins, C. (2012). *Shadow education: Private supplementary tutoring and its implications for policy makers in Asia*, to be published by the Asian Development Bank.
- Brinkley, J. (2011). *Cambodia's curse: The modern history of a troubled land*, New York: PublicAffairs.
- Brehm, W.C. (forthcoming A). "The post-conflict social contract in Cambodia: The effects of private tutoring in public education," *Globalisation, Education and Societies*.
- Brehm, W.C. (forthcoming B). "Education, equity, and development in Cambodia: All education for some?" To be published by Gary Kawaguchi, Pannasastra University of Cambodia.

- Brehm, W.C. and I. Silova (2012). "Hidden privatization of public education in Cambodia: Equity implications of private tutoring," *Journal for Educational Research Online*.
- Budiene, V. and A. Zabulionis (2006). "Lithuania" in I. Silova, V. Budiene and M. Bray (eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*, New York: Open Society Institute, pp. 211—35.
- Chapman, D. (2002). *Corruption and education*, Washington: Management Systems International and United States Agency for International Development.
- Cheng, S. (2012). "Reports of cheating and bribery denied by education ministry," *Cambodian Daily* 49(30): 1, available at: http://www.cita.org.kh/File/Rong%20Chhun%20News/26-Jul-2011%20Cheating%20&%20Bribery's%20Report%20Denied%20by%20MOEYS_Cambodia%20Daily%20News.pdf [accessed on 16/03/2012].
- Chhorn, V. (2010). "Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Cheating exams will face disciplinary action," available at: <http://www.cambodian.info/phnom-penh-cambodia-cheating-exams-will-face-disciplinary-action/575/> [accessed on 16/03/2012].
- Clayton, T. (2000). *Education and the politics of language: Hegemony and pragmatism in Cambodia, 1979—1989*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.
- Dawson, W. (2009). "The tricks of the teacher: Shadow education and corruption in Cambodia" in S. P. Heyneman (ed.), *Buying your way into heaven: Education and corruption in international perspective*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, pp. 51—74.
- Dawson, W. (2010). "Private tutoring and mass schooling in East Asia: Reflections of inequality in Japan, South Korea, and Cambodia," *Asia Pacific Education Review* 11: 14—24.
- De Silva, W.A., C. Gunawardena, S. Jayaweera, L. Perera, S. Rupasinghe and S. Wijetunge (1991). *Extra-school instruction, social equity and educational equality* [Sri Lanka], report prepared for the International Development Research Centre, Singapore.
- Dierkes, J. (2008). "Japanese shadow education: The consequences of school choice" in M. Forsey, S. Davies and G. Walford (eds.), *The globalisation of school choice?* Oxford: Symposium Books, pp. 231—48.
- Dierkes, J. (2010). "Is South Korea's hyper-education System the future?" *Asia Pacific Memo* 2, available at: <http://www.asiapacificmemo.ca/south-korea-hyper-education> [accessed on 15/03/2012].
- Denn, A. (2012). "Teachers in seven provinces haven't received January salary," *Voice of America*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia [translated from Khmer], available at: http://www.rfa.org/khmer/indepth/teachers_complain_about_late_salary-02222012051916.html [accessed on 22/02/2012].
- European Commission (2012). "Analysis of the continuous decline of MoEYS recurrent budget share in recent years," presentation at the 10 February 2012 EDUCAM meeting, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
- Fergany, N. (1994). *Survey of access to primary education and acquisition of basic literacy skills in three governorates in Egypt*. Cairo: UNICEF, Almishkat Centre for Research and Training.
- Hallak, J. and M. Poisson (2006). *Corrupt schools, corrupt universities: What can be done?* Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Heyneman, S.P. (2011). "Private tutoring and social cohesion," *Peabody Journal of Education* 86(2): 183—88.
- Hoefinger, H. (2013). *Sex, love and money in Cambodia*, London: Routledge.

- Johnson, E. (2011). "Blaming the context not the culprit: Limitations on student control of teacher corruption in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan" in I. Silova (ed.), *Globalization on the margins: Education and post-socialist transformations in Central Asia*, Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, pp. 233—58.
- Husremovic, D. and Trbic, D. (2006). "Bosnia and Herzegovina" in Silova, I., V. Budiene, and M. Bray (eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*, Budapest: Education Support Program (ESP) of the Open Society Institute, pp. 143—67.
- Khuon, N. (2010). "90 percent of ninth-graders pass the national examinations," *The Cambodian Daily* 46(9): 1, available at <http://www.cita.org.kh/File/90%20Percent%20Of%20Ninth-Graders%20Pass%20the%20National%20Examinations.pdf> [accessed on xx/xx/2012].
- Kwo, O. and Bray, M. (2011). "Facing the shadow education system in Hong Kong" Newsletter of the International Institute for Asian Studies, University of Leiden, No. 56, p. 20.
- Lee, C., H. Park, and H. Lee (2009). "Shadow education systems" in G. Sykes, B. Schneider and D. Plank (eds.), *Handbook of education policy research*, New York: Routledge for the American Educational Research Association, pp. 901—19.
- NEP (2007). *The impact of informal school fees on family expenditures*, Philippines: ASPBAE, available at: http://www.nepcambodia.org/pdf/NEP_Informal%20School%20Fee%20Report07.pdf [accessed on 01/06/2011].
- Narayanasamy, N. (2009). *Participatory rural appraisal: Principles, methods, and applications*. Singapore: SAGE.
- Nzomo, J., M. Kariuki and L. Guantai (2001). *The quality of primary education: Some policy suggestions based on a survey of schools — Kenya*, SACMEQ policy research report No. 6, Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning).
- MpEYS (2010). *Education Strategic Plan, 2009—2013*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: The Ministry of Education Youth and Sports.
- Royal Government of Cambodia (2008). *Sub-degree on teacher professional ethics*, Phnom Penh: Kingdom of Cambodia.
- Psacharopoulos, G. and H.A. Patrinos (2002). "Returns to investment in education: A Further update," Policy Research Working Paper 2881, Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Ratcliffe, M. (2009). "Study on governance challenges for education in fragile situations: Cambodia country report," report to the European Commission.
- Rithy, C.. (2011). "Twelve year old girl who could not get 200 Riel to go to school from mother, hangs herself," *Kampuchea Thimey Daily*, 4 July.
- Roesgaard, M.H. (2006). *Japanese education and the cram school business: Functions, challenges and perspectives of the Juku*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.
- Russell, N.U. (2002). "The role of the private sector in determining national standards: How Juku undermine Japanese educational authority" in G. Decoker (ed.), *National standards and school reform in Japan and the United States*, New York: Teachers College Press, pp. 158—76.
- Sauyuth, D. (2010). "Cellphones help Cambodian students—to cheat," *Agence France-Presse*, available at: <http://saoyuth.wordpress.com/2010/09/10/cellphones-help-cambodian-students-to-cheat/> [accessed on 16/03/2012].
- Sawada, T. and S. Kobayashi (1986). *An analysis of the effect of arithmetic and mathematics education at Juku*, Tokyo: National Institute for Educational Research (translated with an afterword by Horvath, P. *Compendium* 12).

- Silova, I. (ed.). (2009). *Private supplementary tutoring in Central Asia: New opportunities and burdens*, Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).
- Silova, I. and Bray, M. (2006). "The context: Societies and education in the post-socialist transformation" in I. Silova, V. Budiene and M. Bray (eds.), *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*, Budapest: Education Support Program (ESP) of the Open Society Institute, pp.41—60.
- Silova, I. and W.C. Brehm (2011). *The hidden privatization of public education in Cambodia: Quality and equity implications of private tutoring*, research grant supported by Open Society Institute Education Support Program.
- Silova, I. and W.C. Brehm (2013). "The shifting boundaries of teacher professionalism: Education privatization(s) in the post-socialist education space" in T. Seddon, J. Ozga, and J. Levin (eds.), *World Year Book of Education*, London: Routledge.
- Silova, I., V. Budiene and M. Bray (eds.) (2006). *Education in a hidden marketplace: Monitoring of private tutoring*, Budapest, Hungary: Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute.
- Sin, H.L. (2010). "Who are we responsible to? Locals' tales of volunteer tourism," *Geoforum*, 41: 983—92.
- Stevenson, D. L., and D.P. Baker (1992). "Shadow education and allocation in formal schooling: Transition to University in Japan," *American Journal of Sociology* 97(6): 1639—57.
- Tansel, A. and F. Bircan (2006). "Demand for education in Turkey: A Tobit analysis of private tutoring expenditures," *Economics of Education Review* 25(3): 303—13.
- Tuot, M. and W.C. Brehm (2012). *Private tutoring and the study in government class: A study in six schools in Cambodia*, Siem Reap: This Life Cambodia.
- UNESCO (2010). *National Education Support Strategy: Cambodia 2010—2013*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: UNESCO.
- VSO (2008). *Teaching matters: A policy report on the motivation and morale of teachers in Cambodia*, England: VSO.

Appendix A: Instruments

Observation rubrics	
School name:	Date:
Teacher name:	Observer:
	Number of students:
General questions	Notes
Does the teacher have a written lesson plan?	YES NO
Does the teacher share the lesson plan with observer?	YES NO
Does the teacher arrive on time?	YES NO
If no, how late?	Minutes late:
Does the teacher answer his or her cellphone in class?	Times:
Does the teacher go over homework?	YES NO
Do girls participate in class as much as boys?	YES NO
Observations	
Teaching methodology	Notes
High-ability students work with weak students	YES NO
Students exchange work	YES NO
Calls on high-ability students to facilitate learning	YES NO
Calls on weakest students in class	YES NO
Assigns multiple choice questions	YES NO
Uses flash cards in class	YES NO
Shows examples to whole class by using mistakes of individual students	YES NO
Students work in groups	YES NO
Uses teaching aids	YES NO
Solves example problems	YES NO
Observations	
Classroom characteristics	Notes
Teacher gets angry with students	Rarely Sometimes Often
All students participate in class	Rarely Sometimes Often
Students solve problems at board	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher checks student work	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher returns graded homework	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher assigns homework	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher speaks positively to individual students	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher speaks negatively to individual students	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher talks to the whole class positively	Rarely Sometimes Often
Teacher presents new material	Rarely Sometimes Often
Observations	
Time spent on each activity by time period (every 15 minutes)	
Class time use	0—15 16—30 31—45 46—60
Teacher takes attendance	
Teacher takes control of class, i.e. manages classroom attention back to teacher	
Teacher reviews lesson	
Students copy	
Students receive instruction	
Students receive general guidance	
Students receive instruction while copying	
Students read	
Students work on answer	
Teacher gives exercise	
Students answer in chorus	
Students answer individually	
Student(s) asks teacher questions	
Individual seatwork	
Groupwork	
No instruction activities at all	
Teacher monitors individual or group work	
Students write an exam	

Focus group guiding questions

Parents with children in private tutoring

1. How many of your children go to school? Which grades are they in?
តើអ្នកមានកូនបំប៉នមាននាក់ទៅរៀន? ថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មានខ្លួន?
2. What do you think about your living situation compared to others in your village? How do your children get to school? What does your house look like?
តើជីវភាពរបស់អ្នកយ៉ាងម៉េចធ្វើប្រៀបធៀបទៅនឹងអ្នកដទៃក្នុងភូមិ? តើកូនរបស់អ្នកដើរទៅសាលា? តើផ្ទះរបស់អ្នកមានលក្ខណៈយ៉ាងម៉េច?
3. How many of your children attend private tutoring? What are their genders and what grades are they in?
តើអ្នកមានកូនបំប៉នមាននាក់ទៅរៀនគ្រូ? មួយណា? ស្រីឬប្រុស? ថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?
4. In what grade did you first send your child to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកបញ្ជូនកូនទៅរៀនគ្រូដំបូងនៅថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មាន?
5. Where do private tutoring lessons take place?
តើកូនអ្នកទៅរៀនគ្រូនៅឯណា?
6. How much money do you spend on private tutoring per hour for one child? And how many hours per day?
សម្រាប់កូនម្នាក់តើអ្នកចំណាយលើកូនម្នាក់ម៉េចម៉្លោះ? ហើយមួយថ្ងៃរៀនប៉ុន្មានម៉ោង?
7. How much money do you spend on private tutoring per month for one child? How many days per month?
សម្រាប់កូនម្នាក់តើអ្នកចំណាយលើការរៀនគ្រូអស់ប៉ុន្មានកូនមួយខែ? កូនមួយខែទៅរៀនប៉ុន្មានថ្ងៃ?
8. In how many subjects does your child receive private tutoring? And which subjects?
តើកូនអ្នករៀនគ្រូប៉ុន្មានមុខវិជ្ជា? មុខវិជ្ជាអ្វីខ្លះ?
9. How many private tutoring lessons does your child attend every week?
រៀនរាល់សប្តាហ៍តើកូនអ្នករៀនគ្រូប៉ុន្មានម៉ោង?
10. On average, how many students are in the private tutoring lessons that your child attends?
ជាមធ្យមនៅក្នុងថ្នាក់រៀនគ្រូរបស់កូនអ្នកមានសិស្សប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
11. How did you make the decision to send your child to private tutoring? Was it only your decision or did someone else suggest (or encourage) you to do it, for example a teacher, school administrator, another family member, or another student?
តើអ្នកបានសម្រេចចិត្តត្រូវបញ្ជូនកូនទៅរៀនគ្រូដោយខ្លួនឯងឬមាននរណាផ្តល់ដំណើរការឱ្យកូនអ្នកទៅរៀនគ្រូ? តើអ្នកបានសម្រេចចិត្តដោយខ្លួនឯងឬមាននរណាផ្តល់ដំណើរការឱ្យកូនអ្នកទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
12. Why do you send your child to private tutoring?
ហេតុអ្វីអ្នកត្រូវបញ្ជូនកូនទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
13. Can your child complete the curriculum by going to government school only? Why or why not?
បើរៀននៅសាលាសាធារណៈតើកូនអ្នកអាចបញ្ចប់កម្រិតសិក្សាបានទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
14. Why do you think private tutoring exists in your child's school?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានការបញ្ជូនគ្រូក្នុងសាលារៀនរបស់កូនអ្នក?
15. Do you need private tutoring to get a good education? Why or why not?
ដើម្បីឱ្យកូនអ្នកទទួលបាននូវការអប់រំល្អតើអ្នកត្រូវត្រូវបញ្ជូនកូនទៅរៀនគ្រូឬ? ហេតុអ្វី?
16. Why do you think some children cannot go to private tutoring?
ហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានកុមារមួយចំនួនមិនអាចទៅរៀនគ្រូបាន?
17. Who are your child's private tutors?
តើនរណាបញ្ជូនគ្រូរបស់កូន?
18. Why do you think teachers decide to work as private tutors?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាគ្រូសម្រេចចិត្តបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
19. How many boys and girls are in your child's private tutoring class?
Why do so many children go to private tutoring?
នៅក្នុងថ្នាក់រៀនគ្រូរបស់កូនអ្នកតើមានកុមារប៉ុន្មាននាក់និងកុមារស្រីប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
ហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានកុមារមួយចំនួនទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
20. Have you ever gone to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទៅរៀនគ្រូទេ?
21. Is it good or bad? Why/why not? (Make a conclusion or ask to make a conclusion)
តើអ្នកគិតថាវាប្រសើរឬមិនប្រសើរ? ហេតុអ្វី? (សុំឱ្យដាក់ចេញការសន្និដ្ឋាន)
22. What do you want your child to do?
តើអ្នកចង់ឱ្យកូនអ្នកធ្វើអ្វី?

Parents without children in private tutoring

- សម្រាប់ឪពុក/ម្តាយដែលមិនមានកូនរៀនគ្រូ
1. What is your educational background?
តើអ្នករៀនបានថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មានម៉េច?
 2. How many of your children go to school? Which grades?
តើអ្នកមានកូនបំប៉នមាននាក់ទៅរៀន? ថ្នាក់ទីប៉ុន្មានខ្លួន?
 3. For what reasons do you not send your child to private tutoring?
តើមានចំណុចណាខ្លះដែលធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកមិនអាចបញ្ជូនកូនទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
 4. Do you want to send your child to private tutoring? Why?
តើអ្នកចង់ឱ្យកូនរៀនគ្រូឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
 5. What kind/group of students go to private tutoring? (rich, poor)
តើសិស្សប្រភេទណាដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូ? (ក្រមាន ធុនត ...)
 6. Why do you think some children do not go to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាកុមារមួយចំនួនមិនទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
 7. Has a teacher or a school administrator ever suggested or offered private tutoring lessons to your child(ren)?
តើគ្រូឬអ្នករៀនគ្រូណាបានផ្តល់ដំណើរការឱ្យកូនអ្នកទៅរៀនគ្រូដល់កូនអ្នកដំបូង?

8. What do you think is taught in private tutoring? How is it different from what is taught in government school?
តើអ្នកគិតថាមានបង្រៀនអ្វីខុសៗគ្នាទៅរវាងសាលាឯកជននិងសាលារដ្ឋឬអ្វី?
តើវាខុសគ្នាពីការបង្រៀននៅសាលារដ្ឋឬអ្វី?
9. Is government school enough for your child, or do you think private tutoring lessons would provide a more complete education?
តើការសិក្សានៅសាលារដ្ឋគ្រប់គ្រាន់ទេសម្រាប់កូនរបស់អ្នកឬអ្នកគិតថាការបង្រៀនគ្រប់គ្រាន់បន្ថែមទៀតនឹងផ្តល់ការអប់រំពេញលេញ?
តើអ្នកគិតថាការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់របស់គ្រូចំពោះកូនរបស់អ្នកខុសពីកុមារដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃឬទេ?
10. Do you think teachers treat your children differently compared to children who go to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកគិតថាគ្រូអាចយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ខុសគ្នាទៅរវាងកូនរបស់អ្នកនិងកូនដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃឬទេ?
11. What do you think your child will do once finished high school?
នាពេលរៀនចប់តើអ្នកគិតថាកូនរបស់អ្នកនឹងធ្វើអ្វី?
12. Why do you think private tutoring exists in your child's school?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានការបង្រៀនគ្រូក្នុងសាលារដ្ឋរបស់កូនអ្នក?
13. Do you need private tutoring to get a good education? Why or why not?
ដើម្បីយកបានការអប់រំល្អតើអ្នកត្រូវតែបង្រៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
14. Why do you think teachers decide to work as private tutors?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាគ្រូសម្រេចចិត្តបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
15. What do you think about your living situation compared to others in your village? How do your children get to school? What does your house look like?
តើអ្នកគិតយ៉ាងម៉េចទៅរវាងស្ថានភាពជីវភាពរបស់អ្នកប្រៀបធៀបនឹងជីវភាពអ្នកដទៃក្នុងភូមិ? តើកូនរបស់អ្នកដឹកនាំទៅសាលា? តើផ្ទះរបស់អ្នកមានលក្ខណៈដូចម្តេច?
16. Have you ever gone to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទៅរៀនគ្រូទេ?
17. Is it good or bad? Why/why not? (Make a conclusion or ask to make a conclusion)
តើអ្នកគិតថាវាជាការល្អឬអាក្រក់? ហេតុអ្វី? (សុំឱ្យដាក់ចេញពីការសន្និដ្ឋាន)

Community focus group

ការពិភាក្សាជាគ្រូបង្រៀនសាលាឯកជន

Ask each participant about the history of their education. What has changed since UNTAC?

1. When and why did private tutoring exist?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូក្នុងសាលាឯកជនមាននៅពេលណា? ហេតុអ្វី?
2. How did the cost change through the years?
តើថ្លៃបង្រៀនគ្រូមានការប្តូរយ៉ាងម៉េចតាមរយៈពេលវេលា?
3. Do you think students need to attend private tutoring to have a full education? Why or why not?
ដើម្បីយកបានការអប់រំល្អតើអ្នកត្រូវតែបង្រៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
4. Can all children go to private tutoring? Explain.
តើសិស្សអាចទៅរៀនគ្រូបានទាំងអស់គ្នាដែរឬទេ? ចូរពន្យល់
5. How many boys and girls are in private tutoring class?
នៅក្នុងថ្នាក់បង្រៀនគ្រូរបស់កូនអ្នកមានប្តីប្រុសប៉ុន្មាននាក់និងក្រុមស្ត្រីប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
6. Do teachers and school administrators suggest or encourage children and families to go to private tutoring lessons?
តើគ្រូបង្រៀនគ្រូនិងមន្ត្រីសាលាណាដែលយល់ឃើញថាវាជាការល្អនិងគួរគុណសម្រាប់កុមារនិងគ្រួសារឬទេ?
7. What do you think about your living situation compared to others in your village? How do your children get to school? What does your house look like?
តើអ្នកគិតយ៉ាងម៉េចទៅរវាងស្ថានភាពជីវភាពរបស់អ្នកប្រៀបធៀបនឹងជីវភាពអ្នកដទៃក្នុងភូមិ? តើកូនរបស់អ្នកដឹកនាំទៅសាលា? តើផ្ទះរបស់អ្នកមានលក្ខណៈដូចម្តេច?
8. Is private tutoring a good or bad thing? Why?
តើអ្នកគិតថាវាជាការល្អឬអាក្រក់? ហេតុអ្វី?

Students in private tutoring

(Introduction to informed consent form)

1. Why do you go to private tutoring?
ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
2. Who is your private tutor? (e.g. your teacher? another teacher in your school? other?)
តើនរណាគ្រូបង្រៀនគ្រូរបស់អ្នក? (ឧ. គ្រូរបស់អ្នក? គ្រូផ្សេងទៀតនៅក្នុងសាលារបស់អ្នក? ផ្សេងទៀត?)
3. Where do private tutoring lessons usually take place?
តាមធម្មតាការបង្រៀនគ្រូនឹងទៅកន្លែងណា?
4. Who decided that you should go to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកណាសម្រេចចិត្តថាអ្នកត្រូវទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
5. How long is one private tutoring session?
គ្រូម្នាក់បង្រៀនគ្រូម្តងប្រើពេលប៉ុន្មានម៉ោង?
6. How much does it cost?
តើបង្រៀនគ្រូម្តងប្រើថ្លៃប៉ុន្មានដុល្លារ/រៀល?
7. How many students are normally in a private tutoring class?
តាមធម្មតាមានសិស្សប៉ុន្មាននាក់នៅក្នុងថ្នាក់បង្រៀនគ្រូ?
8. How many boys and girls are in private tutoring class?
តើមានក្រុមប្រុសប៉ុន្មាននាក់និងក្រុមស្ត្រីប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
9. Do you receive more attention by the teacher in private tutoring than in government school?
តើបង្រៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃបានការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ពីគ្រូនៅក្នុងថ្នាក់បង្រៀនគ្រូផ្ទាល់ដោយឥតគិតថ្លៃសាលារដ្ឋឬទេ?
10. Compared to students who do not attend private tutoring, do you think you are paid attention different/better by the teacher in public school?
បើប្រៀបធៀបនឹងសិស្សដែលមិនទៅរៀនគ្រូតើអ្នកគិតថាគ្រូយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើអ្នកខុសគ្នា / ខុសពីសិស្សទាំងនោះទេនៅសាលារដ្ឋឬទេ?
11. Is the teaching different (e.g., better) in private tutoring? How?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូខុសពី (ប្រសើរជាង) ការបង្រៀនគ្រូនៅសាលារដ្ឋឬទេ? ខុសយ៉ាងម៉េចខុស?

- 12. Is a new lesson presented in private tutoring?
តើមានការបង្រៀនអ្វីដែលថ្មីទេនៅក្នុងថ្នាក់ឯកជន?
- 13. Can all students go to private tutoring?
តើសិស្សមានលទ្ធភាពទៅរៀនគ្រប់រូបទាំងអស់គ្នាដែរឬទេ?
- 14. Who are the students who go to private tutoring? (rich, poor, middle)
តើសិស្សប្រភេទណាដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូ? (មានក្រុមធុរជីវិត?)
- 15. Why do you think private tutoring exists in your school?
តើបង្អស់គិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានការបង្រៀនគ្រូក្នុងសាលារៀន?
- 16. What do you think about your living situation compared to others in your village? How do you get to school?
What does your house look like?
បើប្រៀបធៀបនឹងអ្នកដទៃក្នុងភូមិ បង្អស់គិតថាជីវភាពរស់នៅរបស់បង្អស់យ៉ាងម៉េចដែរ? តើជិះអ្វីទៅសាលា? ផ្ទះរបស់បង្អស់មានលក្ខណៈយ៉ាងម៉េចដែរ?
- 17. Do you like private tutoring lessons?
តើបង្អស់ចូលចិត្តការរៀនគ្រូដែរឬទេ?
- 18. Is it a good thing or bad thing? Why?
តើការរៀនគ្រូជារៀងរយល្អឬមិនល្អ? ហេតុអ្វី?
- 19. What do you want to do after high school?
ពេលចប់វិទ្យាល័យ បង្អស់ចង់ធ្វើអ្វី?

Students not in private tutoring

សិស្សដែលមិនបានរៀនគ្រូ

(Introduction to informed consent form)

- 1. What do you want to do after high school?
ក្រោយពីបញ្ចប់ការសិក្សាសាលាវិទ្យាល័យ បង្អស់ចង់ធ្វើអ្វី?
- 2. Who goes to private tutoring? (e.g. the smartest students or those who need the most help?)
តើសិស្សប្រភេទណាខ្លះដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូ? (សិស្សស្មោះត្រង់បំផុត ឬអ្នកដែលត្រូវការជំនួយការសិក្សាបំផុត?)
- 3. Why don't you go to private tutoring?
ហេតុអ្វីបានជាបង្អស់មិនទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
- 4. What do you think about your living situation compared to others in your village? How do you get to school?
What does your house look like?
បើប្រៀបធៀបនឹងអ្នកដទៃក្នុងភូមិ បង្អស់គិតថាជីវភាពរស់នៅរបស់បង្អស់យ៉ាងម៉េចដែរ? តើបង្អស់ជិះអ្វីទៅសាលា? តើផ្ទះរបស់បង្អស់មានលក្ខណៈដូចម្តេច?
- 5. Do you want to go to private tutoring? Why or why not?
តើបង្អស់ចង់ទៅរៀនគ្រូដែរឬទេ? ហេតុអ្វី?
- 6. Because you don't go to private tutoring, how do your teachers treat you compared to students who go to private tutoring?
ដោយសារបង្អស់មិនទៅរៀនគ្រូ តើគ្រូបង្រៀនរបស់បង្អស់យ៉ាងម៉េចដែរ បើប្រៀបធៀបនឹងសិស្សដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូ?
- 7. Does anyone suggest that you or encourage you to attend private tutoring?
តើមាននរណាណាម្នាក់ផ្តល់យោបល់លើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យបង្អស់ទៅរៀនគ្រូដែរឬទេ?
- 8. Has anyone ever offered you private tutoring lessons for free? If so, who?
តើមាននរណាណាម្នាក់ផ្តល់ជូនឱ្យបង្អស់ទៅរៀនគ្រូឱ្យឥតគិតថ្លៃឬទេ? បើបង្អស់ទៅរៀនគ្រូដោយមិនបង់ថ្លៃ បង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះល្អឬទេ? បើបង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះល្អ បង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះមិនល្អ បង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះល្អឬទេ? បើបង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះល្អ បង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះមិនល្អ បង្អស់គិតថាជំនួយនោះល្អឬទេ?
- 9. Why do you think private tutoring exists in your school?
តើបង្អស់គិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាមានការបង្រៀនគ្រូក្នុងសាលារៀន?
- 10. Is it a good thing or bad thing? Why?
តើការរៀនគ្រូជារៀងរយល្អឬមិនល្អ? ហេតុអ្វី?

Teachers

គ្រូបង្រៀន

(Introduction to informed consent form)

- 1. Why do you conduct private tutoring?
ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
- 2. How much do you charge per hour, per month?
តើអ្នកកំណត់តម្លៃសិស្សបង់ថ្លៃបង្រៀនក្នុងមួយម៉ោង/ខែ?
- 3. Where does private tutoring take place?
តើអ្នកបង្រៀនគ្រូនៅណា?
- 4. How many students are in each government class you teach?
តើសិស្សនៅក្នុងថ្នាក់រដ្ឋមានប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
- 5. Do you have more boys or girls attending your government classes?
តើនៅក្នុងសាលារដ្ឋមានសិស្សប្រុសច្រើនជាងសិស្សស្រីច្រើនជាង?
- 6. How many students are in private tutoring?
តើមានសិស្សបង្រៀនគ្រូប្រុស/ស្រីប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
- 7. Do you have more boys or girls going to your private tutoring classes? Why?
តើនៅក្នុងសាលាឯកជនមានសិស្សប្រុសច្រើនជាងសិស្សស្រីច្រើនជាង? ហេតុអ្វី?
- 8. Are your students who go to private tutoring rich or poor?
តើសិស្សដែលទៅរៀនគ្រូជាមួយអ្នកមានឬក្រ?
- 9. How long does one session last?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូម្តងមានរយៈពេលប៉ុន្មានម៉ោង?
- 10. How many students do you usually teach in one session of private tutoring?
តាមធម្មតា តើអ្នកបង្រៀនសិស្សបង្រៀនក្នុងមួយម៉ោងប៉ុន្មាននាក់?
- 11. Do you teach new or different lesson in private tutoring?
នៅក្នុងការបង្រៀនគ្រូ តើអ្នកបង្រៀនមេរៀនថ្មីឬមេរៀនដែលសិស្សសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវរៀនរៀនសូត្រដែរឬទេ?
- 12. How do you teach private tutoring lessons compared to regular (public school) lessons?
តើអ្នកបង្រៀនមេរៀនឯកជនម៉េចខុសគ្នាពីមេរៀនសាលារដ្ឋ?

13. How and when do you announce your private tutoring? What do you say?
តើអ្នកប្រកាសប្រាប់អំពីការបង្រៀនគ្រូដោយរបៀបណា និងនៅពេលណា? តើអ្នកនិយាយថាម៉េច?
14. Do you announce private tutoring lessons to the families?
តើអ្នកប្រកាសប្រាប់ទៅគ្រួសារសិស្សសប្បាយណា?
15. Why does private tutoring exist in your school?
ហេតុអ្វីបានមានការបង្រៀនគ្រូក៏តែឡើយនៅក្នុងសាលារបស់អ្នក?
16. Have you ever gone to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូទេ?
17. Is it a good thing or bad thing? Why?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូជារឿងល្អអ្វីឬមិនល្អ? ហេតុអ្វី?

Principals and other administrators

នាយកសាលា និងបុគ្គលិករដ្ឋបាល

(Introduction to informed consent form)

1. On average, what percentage of teachers in your school is involved in private tutoring?
នៅសាលាអ្នកជាមធ្យមតើមានគ្រូបង្រៀនមានទាក់ទងបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
2. On average, what percentage of students is involved in private tutoring in your school?
នៅសាលាអ្នកជាមធ្យមតើមានសិស្សបង្រៀនមានអ្នកទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
3. Why do you think teachers conduct private tutoring?
តើអ្នកគិតថាហេតុអ្វីបានជាគ្រូបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
4. How do teachers announce private tutoring classes?
តើគ្រូប្រកាសប្រាប់អំពីការបង្រៀនគ្រូដោយរបៀបណា?
5. Which students attend private tutoring? (rich or poor)
តើសិស្សប្រភេទណាដែលទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូ? (មានឬក្រ)
6. How many boys and girls are in private tutoring classes?
តើមានកុមារប្រុសនិងកុមារស្រីបង្រៀនមានទាក់ទងបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
7. How much do teachers charge?
តើគ្រូយកថ្លៃពីសិស្សបង្រៀនមាន?
8. Who doesn't go to private tutoring?
តើសិស្សប្រភេទណាមិនទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូ?
9. How does private tutoring help public education?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូជួយដល់គុណភាពអប់រំយ៉ាងដូចម្តេចខ្លះ?
10. Do teachers present new lesson in private tutoring? What kind?
តើគ្រូបង្រៀនបញ្ជូនមេរៀនថ្មីទៅក្នុងថ្នាក់បង្រៀនគ្រូ? ប្រភេទណា?
11. Do teachers treat students who go to private tutoring differently compared to students who do not?
តើគ្រូយកចរិតសំគួរចំពោះសិស្សដែលទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូខុសពីសិស្សដែលមិនទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូដទៃទៀត?
12. Do teachers teach differently in private tutoring compared to regular (public school) classes?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូនិងការបង្រៀននៅសាលារដ្ឋសុទ្ធត្រឹមត្រូវខុសគ្នាដទៃទៀត?
13. Why does private tutoring exist in your school?
ហេតុអ្វីបានមានការបង្រៀនគ្រូនៅសាលារបស់អ្នក?
14. Have you ever gone to private tutoring?
តើអ្នកធ្លាប់ទៅបង្រៀនគ្រូទេ?
15. Is private tutoring a good thing or a bad thing? Why?
តើការបង្រៀនគ្រូជារឿងល្អអ្វីឬមិនល្អ? ហេតុអ្វី?

Attendance tracking in private tutoring

តារាងត្រួតពិនិត្យចំនួន..... ឆ្នាំ២០១១ សាលា..... មុខងារ:

ល.រ	ឈ្មោះ	ក្រុម	ថ្ងៃទី	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		
1																																				
2																																				
3																																				
4																																				
5																																				
6																																				
7																																				
8																																				
9																																				
10																																				
11																																				
12																																				
13																																				
14																																				
15																																				
16																																				
17																																				
18																																				
19																																				
20																																				
21																																				
22																																				
23																																				
24																																				