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Ce: Dena Riad

From: Atta Gebril, Chair of the IRB

Date: March 1, 2019

Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "Participation of Egyptian Lower Primary School Students in Private Tutoring Activities: Reasons and Solutions" and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" category. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

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Thank you and good luck.

Dr. Atta Gebril

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Egyptian Lower Primary School Students' Participation in Private Tutoring Activities in Egypt: A Qualitative Investigation

Mohamed Faiz Kabadaya

Submitted to the Department of International & Comparative Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for The degree of Master of Arts in International & Comparative Education has been approved by

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Students' Participation in Private Tutoring Activities in Egypt in Egyptian Lower Primary Schools: A Qualitative Investigation

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in International & Comparative Education

by Mohamed Faiz Kabadaya

Under the supervision of Dr. Mustafa Toprak

The American University in Cairo

Graduate School of Education

Fall 2019



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At last, I dedicate this work to my family and to my father's soul who supported me with all he had, as he always dreamt to witness my graduation ceremony, but Allah always chooses the best for us. He chose his soul to celebrate this ceremony in Heaven.



Abstract

This research investigates the phenomenon of private tutoring in the lower primary stage in public schools in Egypt by examining the views and experiences of teachers and parents. The phenomenological qualitative approach is used in this study to present a rich and vivid portrait of the phenomenon that may contribute to a better understanding of its nature. The analysis depends on semi-structured interviews to serve the methodological essence of the qualitative approach. The outcomes of the research uncovered a rich perception of how the phenomenon of private tutoring at this early age occurs. The participants were 15 teachers and 20 parents in three different primary schools in Cairo. The teachers teach Arabic, Math, and English to grades 1, 2, and 3. They were different in gender and age. The parents were 18 females and 2 males, most of them were in their thirties of age. Findings revealed that parents realized the serious defect in the public schooling system in Egypt which made them lose trust in its significance and used private tutoring as an alternative. The main drive for being involved in this phenomenon was that they believe Education is a public good and the main path for their children to have a better future. Parents pay money for private tutors seeking foundation for their children. They think that if their children have competence in the basic language and numerical literacy at this early age, they would go through the next educational phases more smoothly.

Teachers revealed their own reasons for being involved in the phenomenon. The financial factor appears to be the only drive. Private tutoring is the only way for fulfilling their financial needs as they are severely underpaid and the gap between their salaries and needs is huge. They sometimes expressed it plainly saying, we need money, other times they mixed it with anger and agony. There is a prevailing sense of despair and mistrust

among public school teachers on increasing their salaries. They feel negligence, marginalization, and a lack of a serious intention to improve their financial status. Teachers see that they should be the Ministry of Education's priority to reform education in Egypt. They claim that the huge sums of money spent on developing new curriculums, assessment tools, and professional development programs are of no use as long as their salaries remain the same and their voices are unheard.

Keywords: Private tutoring, education in Egypt, education reform in Egypt, foundation, financial drive, social justice



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Chapter One: Introduction

The first chapter introduces the overall groundwork of the research. A vibrant understanding of the topic is illustrated by presenting a general background of the issue in the global and the national contexts in order to highlight the importance and need of the study. Consequently, the problem that the research implies as well as the research questions are clearly stated. In the end, the chapter tries to highlight how this research could contribute to the discussed topic on both sides of knowledge and practice.

1.1 Background and Significance

Private tutoring goes back in history a long time ago before schools were established. Private tutors used to teach children of empowered and wealthy families for a fee (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005). Since mass education was introduced, private tutoring tends to follow its path in a shadowy parallel relation to its content and objectives. For different reasons, many parents rely on private tutoring to supplement their children with what they receive at school (Ireson & Rushforth, 2005). Bray (1999, 2009, & 2011) claims that as long as mainstream education exists, private tutoring will exist. It is described as shadow education because it mimics the mainstream education in the content and instruction. In other words, private tutoring can refer to that kind of fee-based tutoring that provides supplementary instruction to students. It should be with a fee and usually outside the school environment. Its aim is to improve the students' academic performance in their school subjects and grades. So, private tutoring imitates the conventional education system in means and objectives (Bray, 1999, 2011; Dang & Rogers, 2008).

Private tutoring does not belong to certain societies, it has spread all over the world that has become a global phenomenon. It has existed widespread in the whole world; eastern Asia, eastern and south Europe, Africa, and South America (Bray, 2011). The factors for this spread are seen by Kwok (2009) and Pallegedara (2011) through two main scopes: macro-level factors such as economic and political statuses, culture and traditions, and educational policies; and micro-level factors such as family socio-economic status, students' demographic characteristics, and school type education.



According to Bray (2009, p.17), private tutoring has become "a vast enterprise" that consumes huge amount of financial and human resources. He highlights four main characteristics of this shadow education as follows:

- Shadow education is the outcome of mainstream education as they have a parallel existence feature.
- Shadow education follows the changes in shape and size that occur to mainstream education.
- Mainstream education occupies the focus attention more than shadow education which paves the way for shadow education to grow and develop.
- Shadow education has much less distinct features than mainstream system

In order to understand the nature of private tutoring in its actual context, Bray (1999) set three criteria to define the term of private tutoring, they are: a) supplementation, b) privateness, c) academicness. As previously mentioned, private tutoring is associated with formal schooling, which determines its purpose and practices. Supplementation means here providing such instruction that supplement the deficiencies of formal school instruction to achieve better academic performance only in those subjects taught in schools. This could explain the second criterion for private tutoring which is academicness. Private tutoring should have the purpose of achieving tangible academic progress for students' performance at school examination systems or it will lose its essence purpose. The third criterion for private tutoring is privateness which reveals its profit-making purpose for individuals and private entrepreneurs (Bray, 1999). In other words, students seeking private tutoring should provide their tutors with an appropriate fee for the instruction presented.

To sum up, private tutoring, which is known also as shadow education, is an out-of-school activity where a tutor provides instruction for students in return for a fee. Like a shadow, it generally goes unnoticed and is mimicking the shape of formal school education in curricula and purpose (Bray, 1999). According to various researchers (Loveluck, 2012; Bray, 1999; Sobhy, 2012; Richard, 1992) private tutoring is a phenomenon that has grown in the last decades in all regions of the world. The main purpose of private tutoring is illustrated by Heyneman (2011) is to help students to enhance better school achievements by designing instructional activities outside the school environment. Bray (2009) believes that the phenomenon of private tutoring is driven by students and parents' deep faith in the

significance of education for social and economic mobility which reflects a very competitive learning environment.

On the national side, in Egypt, when the school bell rings declaring the end of the formal school instruction practices, a parallel systematic educational phenomenon that imitates the formal education starts: private tutoring or shadow education (Hartmann, 2008). The nature of private tutoring in Egyptian public schools tends to be somehow different from the global context; it has become a common and essential part of public education in Egypt (Hartmann, 2008). In some cases, private tutoring has become the main and only instruction chances available for students in public schools in Egypt. For example, in the final year in both the secondary and preparatory stages (grades 9 and 12), the percentage of absent students is very high that can reach 100%. This is due to the highly competitive examination system at these two decisive years which determine the students' mobility to the next phase in education (Hartmann, 2008). Students of these two school years totally depend on private tutoring as the only source for instruction, while they consider public schools as a waste of time, or a source of socialization or breaking their daily routine (Assaad & Krafft, 2015).

According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS, 2016), 69% of the Egyptian students in public schools have experienced attending private tutoring or official group tutoring after school, spending more than 11 billion Egyptian pounds which reveals social inequality and segregation in the Egyptian formal education system. There are various reasons for students being engaged in private tutoring in Egypt; teachers find it a supplementary source for their humiliating salaries, as well as parents find it an only alternative mean to support their children with the sufficient instruction that could lead to advanced academic performance in a highly "examination-oriented education system" (Hatrmann, 2008, p. 58). The recent World Economic Forum (Global Competitiveness Report of 2017-2018) shows that Egypt comes 133/137 concerning the quality of primary education (GCR, 2017-2018, p. 111). This far behind ranking reveals that primary education in Egypt is a crucial problem that needs authentic solutions. This poor quality of primary education thrives on the phenomenon of private education. It has become a clear feature of Egyptian school education which has different financial, social

and academic effects on parents, students, teachers and education at all and which need further research.

Hence, it is important to present a realistic portrait of how private tutoring is being tackled in the early primary stage in public schools in Egypt (grades 1, 2, &3). It tries to investigate why both teachers and parents are contributing to this activity although many policies are done to eliminate this phenomenon. Some of these policies are substituting the traditional written assessment method by an oral one as well as making passing to next school year obligatory and guaranteed just by whether attending the final exam or not, which lessens tensions of examinations on parents and students. It is believed that this study will bring insights to policymakers, researchers, or education administrators who are interested in this topic by helping them develop more effective educational policies to reform education in Egypt.

1.2 Problem Statement

In global literature, although considerable research is done worldwide on private tutoring, it seems that it does not match the vast growing path of the phenomenon and forms a continuously growing gap (Bray, 2006). The lack of research evidence in research on private tutoring is explained as "a problem of acute concern in many countries, yet one which has received little recent attention in literature or at international congresses" (Mansour, 1987, p. 17). Bray and Kwok (2003, p. 612) also highlighted this shortage of research by stating that "worldwide, private supplementary tutoring has been a neglected topic for analysis but is increasingly recognized to be of major importance". This gap in research is due to the difficult and complicated nature of the phenomenon as it is usually done with ambiguity, secretiveness, and scarce participants (Bray, 2006).

Egypt is one of the countries that witness the prevalence of private tutoring and insufficient research conducted to estimate its impact on students, teachers, and the educational system (Hartmann, 2008). The majority of research done on private tutoring in Egypt has addressed the salient dimensions of the phenomenon during the years that accompany a final examination that is considered by both parents and students as fateful for passing to a following educational stage, such as *thanaweya amma* (The General Certificate of Secondary Education) and *iadadiya* (The Basic Education Certificate Examination) (Assaad & Krafft, 2015). Furthermore, statistics revealed by The Central

Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMASS, 2016) show that Egyptian families spend 42.1 % of their expenditure on education on private tutoring each year which is nearly more than 11 billion Egyptian pounds. Surprisingly, the same statistics show that the total expenditure of the Egyptian families on education for the pre-primary and primary stage is 30.8% of their annual income, while their expenditure on the secondary stage is 24.2%. Meanwhile, there are more than 10 million students enrolled in the primary stage compared to 1.5 million in the secondary stage in Egypt. By comparing the amount of money paid for private tutoring in each stage to its enrolled numbers of students, it appears that although private tutoring in secondary stage consumes much more money per student, the total money spent by Egyptians households each year on private tutoring in the primary stage is much higher. This could be due to the more numbers of enrolled students it has.

These statistical outcomes may highlight how primary education in Egypt is widely involved in the issue of private tutoring. In the meantime, the research conducted to reveal the phenomenon of private tutoring at this stage appears to be little as most of the present research done to address the problem in the final years of the preparatory and secondary stages because of their importance in the transition of students to a new educational phase putting less consideration on the lower school years of the primary stage. This makes this research significant in terms of its contribution to the current knowledge base in Egypt and a better comprehension of the phenomenon by presenting practical proposed solutions.

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

Based on the problem stated, this research aims to explore private tutoring in the early primary stage in public schools in Egypt through sharing teachers and parents' experiences and perspectives. It also aims at exploring the perceived advantages and disadvantages, and possible solutions.

1.4 Research Questions

To achieve these aims, the following main research question and three sub questions are addressed:

What do teachers and parents perceive to be the reasons/factors that drive the growth of private tutoring in this early stage in public schools in Cairo?

What are teachers and parents' experiences with private tutoring in lower public primary schools?



- What are the perceived advantages and disadvantages of private tutoring for lower public primary students?
- What solutions are proposed by teachers and parents in the context of private tutoring?



Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two reviews four principal areas discussed in the literature related to private tutoring:

Firstly, it illustrates the concept of private tutoring and its different definitions as well as its theoretical framework. Secondly, the factors that contribute to the prevalence of private tutoring are illustrated. Thirdly, there is a review of the various impact of private tutoring on student, institution, and teacher. Fourthly, some relevant theories on private tutoring are mentioned. Finally, there is an elaboration on education in Egypt by presenting a brief historical background, the nature of private tutoring in Egypt, and the attempts made to reduce this phenomenon.

2.1 The Concept of Private Tutoring in Education

In most literature, private tutoring is primarily presented as that kind of tutoring provided by a tutor to a student outside standard school hours and outside school walls. It refers to such "paid private tuition outside of, and additional to, the formal schooling system" (Smyth, 2009, p. 2). Private tutoring is fee-based tutoring as the student has to pay a certain amount of money to the tutor to receive that kind of tutoring. In many researches private tutoring is also referred to "shadow education" or "private supplementary tutoring" which means "tutoring in academic subjects (such as languages and mathematics), and is provided by the tutors for financial gain, and is additional to the provision by mainstream schooling" (Bray, 2006, p. 518).

Such shadow instruction should follow the formal pattern of instruction offered in mainstream schools in both practices and objectives. In other words, private tutoring is called shadow education because it follows mainstreams education as its shadow. For example, if the curriculum changes or new assessment methods are presented in mainstream schools, shadow education should cope with this change and follow its footsteps. "The shadow cast by a sundial can tell observers about the time of day, and the shadow of an education system may tell observers about the features of mainstream school systems" (Bray & Lykins, 2012. p.93).

The prime drive behind involving in private tutoring is to provide students with supplementary instruction to accomplish better numeric learning outcomes. As a fee-based



instruction, private tutoring provides extra instruction to those students who can afford it. It represents different educational opportunities among students depending on their financial and socio-economic backgrounds. The forms of private tutoring differ according to the socio-economic status of the students, it represents different educational opportunities for students depending on their financial and socio-economic backgrounds. Such instruction occurs in various learning environments that reflect its different types. It could be one to one tutoring, or in groups of different student numbers, usually occurred at home of the tutor or the students or in equipped centers when the numbers of students are very big. "At the extreme, pupils may pack into large lecture theaters, with overflow rooms operating with video screens" (Bray & Kwok, 2003. p.614).

Hence, private tutoring seems to be discriminatory and contributes to the violation of the concepts of equality and equity in public education (Chan & Bray, 2014). Nonetheless, the concept of private tutoring is broader than this context, it has many advantages and disadvantages with a profound and complex impact on both teachers and students concerning their financial, social relations, and academic and professional performance. These effects were illustrated in a study conducted by Bray and Lykins (2012) as:

Shadow education can have both positive and negative dimensions. On the positive side, it can promote personal academic development and contribute to human capital for wider economic advance. It may also offer educational resources with more flexibility and better timing than the mainstream sector. But on the negative side, shadow education may exacerbate social inequalities, cause stress for individuals and families, create inefficiencies in education systems, and contribute to forms of corruption (p.112).

Although private tutoring has become a wide world prevailing phenomenon in both developing and developed countries, there is a hesitated volition in the research done to depict the multi-dimensional aspects of this phenomenon. This is due to the characteristics of private tutoring as a shadow phenomenon which is surrounded by ambiguity, the difficulty of attaining accurate resources, and shyness of participants (Chan & Bray, 2014).

2.2 Main Factors Contributing to the Engagement of Private Tutoring

The reasons for engaging in private tutoring could have many motives that vary according to the different economic, social contexts, and institutional environments (Bray, 2014). In literature, there are three main connected factors that lead to the phenomenon of private tutoring

(Ille, 2015). They are:

2.2.1 Student and family factor

It sounds sensible that private tutoring prevails among those students who perform badly at school as they need remedial help and extra support to cope with their peers or the school standards of learning performance, especially when there are deteriorating school instruction or other institutional obstacles such as large crowded classes (Bray & Kwo, 2003). On the other side, many advanced students who belong to wealthy families and enjoy privileged educational opportunities in private or public institutions where the learning environment is more relaxing and of high quality, prefer to join private tutoring to provide themselves with advancement in a highly competitive learning environment. They seek to gain higher grades through traditional means of assessment and therefore more advanced opportunities of the learning competitive outcomes (Assaad & Krafft, 2015). According to a study done by Zhang (2014), elite students with very high academic performance were proved to be involved in private tutoring more than their peers with lower academic achievement in the mainstream schooling. In other words, wealthier families tend to invest more in education and private tutoring is one aspect of this investment so as to gain more privileges in education consequences.

2.2.2 Institutional environment

School environment and education system could be the second main factor for engaging in private tutoring. Poor instruction and indisposed equipped classroom and school environment definitely lead to humble learning outcomes, especially when these learning outcomes are only assessed through an exam-oriented system (Dawson, 2010; Silova, 2010; Zhang, 2014). In many countries where private tutoring is a prevailing phenomenon, the school main stream progression is associated with passing very highly



competitive exams. This is due to the dramatic increase in school access and limited allocated resources, particularly, when higher education is provided freely by the government (Assaad & Krafft, 2015). The instruction conducted in the environment of crowded public schools of low facilities is usually limited to outdated learning methods such as repetition and rote learning and which occurs in a monotonous learning setting that definitely leads to poor learning outcomes. The teachers are often handcuffed with many barriers, such as shortage of time, long curricula, poor facilities, meager salaries, humble in-service professional development, and highly controlled administration, all these factors abort any attempt for teachers to use modern teaching methods and push both of teachers and students into contributing to private tutoring as a substitution (Sobhy, 2012). Moreover, students and parents feel they are under high pressure by the national exams which are the only route to determine passing the end of the year school exams and stage transition (Zhang, 2014).

Private tutoring is an activity which has a direct inter-relation to passing exams and getting high marks. This point is obviously revealed by the favor of some students to be tutored in certain subjects than others (Hartmann, 2008, 2013; Sobhy, 2012). Students tend to be engaged to private tutoring in subjects such as English, math, and science, while they never pay any attention to join private tutoring in subjects such as arts, music, computer, or religion simply because these subjects are not counted in the final school grade (Hartmann, 2013).

2.2.3 Teacher factor

The teacher is perhaps the only element that undeniably benefits from the phenomenon of private tutoring due to the financial outcome involved in the process (Elbadawy, 2015). Whereas, the students' academic performance is questioned in some studies, as will be mentioned later. Teachers have overwhelming incentives to tutor privately, the main reason behind this is improving their low financial status (Bray, 2002). It is essential for teachers in countries with low income to find alternative resources to improve their income through tutoring privately or finding another job in the afternoon for those teachers whose subjects are not of significant weight by the students or the grading system (Hartmann, 2013; Shohy, 2012).



In educational systems that characterized by low learning qualities, teacher's performance in class is usually insufficient and with serious deficiencies and it is questioned as it could be deliberately underperformed or neglected to push student indirectly into engaging in private tutoring (Jayachandran, 2014). In the meantime, teachers have found using direct and indirect pressure on students and parents to utilize students in private tutoring. Some teachers misuse their powers in classroom environment to formulate various types of pressure to let students be involved in private tutoring. They could use assessment marks, concealing curriculum content, and physical or psychological abuse (Hartmann, 2013; Sobhy, 2012). In addition to this, research has found that teacher-student social relation is directly affected by private tutoring in a way that lacks professionalism and neutrality and characterized by inequality and favoritism in the side of privately tutored students which widens the gap of inequality and inequity of education among students and develops passive attitudes towards schooling and education besides biased academic performance (Sobhy, 2012). On the other hand, the professional role of teacher involved in private tutoring tends to be oriented towards exam preparation and testing content and solving questions techniques rather than enhancing students' critical thinking or developing their higher mental capabilities (Bray & Kwok, 2003).

These three factors: student and family, institutional environment, and teacher are usually inter-related and overlapped so it is very difficult to distinguish between them in broad clear lines. For example, teacher insufficient performance in school could be a cause and a result of the prevalence of private tutoring.

2.3 The Impact of Private Tutoring on Public Education

The expanding of private tutoring as an irrefutable phenomenon in many different countries with diversified social and economic backgrounds all over the world have made its impact multi-dimensional and too complicated to be easily detected in certain areas. For example, teachers involved in private tutoring may find it an appropriate way to develop themselves professionally as well as financially, "Private tutoring opens up spaces of professional autonomy and creativity within a highly centralized and hierarchical system, although within the very limited and narrow framework of state controlled curricula and examinations. For some teachers, private tutoring serves to improve not only their economic, but also their social status" (Hartmann, 2013). Hence, there are many zones

which private tutoring affects, but the following three areas are the most obvious in literature:

2.3.1 The academic outcomes of private tutoring

There are a lot of research done in an attempt to measure the different outcomes of private tutoring on students' academic performance. The results of these studies tend to be complex and contradictory due to the desired areas of measurement and the complexity of variables used in them (Hof, 2014). In spite of the mingled nature of factors involved in the process of measurements, most of the research assume achieving positive impact on the students' academic progress. A quantitative research done by Hof, (2014) using a "nonparametric bounds method" to analyze "the causal effect of private tutoring" came out with positive impact on students' academic achievements especially in reading and mathematics. Contradictorily, Hof in the same study admitted that these results are "relatively weak and plausible" (Hof, 2014, p. 349) as she described the impact of private tutoring on the students' academic performance as a process of "large ambiguity". She concluded her study by highlighting how empirical studies showed that there are "mixed effects" of private tutoring on students' academic achievement by saying, "I cannot reject the hypothesis that private tutoring is ineffective in promoting good academic outcome" (Hof, 2014, p. 360). In a similar study done by Nam (2008) to investigate the academic impact of private tutoring on secondary school students in Korea in mathematics, and English, there were contradictory findings showing that excessive private tutoring has negative effect on students' academic achievement afterwards while private tutoring in the short term is much more with beneficial effect. The study also added that there is usually no significant correlation between the students' academic achievements and the time spent on private tutoring. On the contrary, too much investment on private tutoring negatively impacts students' self-learning techniques making them more passive recipients than to be contributors to the learning process (Guill & Bos, 2014).

To sum up, although there is a good amount of research done on measuring the academic outcomes of private tutoring, there is more to be done to measure the precise impact of private tutoring on academic achievement, "theorizing and empirical investigations as to why and how private tutoring affects academic achievement in the



mainstream education system are still in the early stages" (Scientific United Nations Educational, 2010, p.18).

2.3.2 The economic impact of private tutoring

Private tutoring is now a major industry of the education sector "purchased in a competitive market" not only in many of developing countries but of some developed countries as well. The various factors behind driving this industry into flourishing differ according to the country economic status, in their research Dang and Rogers (2008) state:

Substantial private tutoring industries can be found in countries as economically and geographically diverse as Cambodia, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Japan, Kenya, Morocco, Romania, Singapore, the United States, and the United Kingdom. (p.4)

The assumption that public schooling is totally free is just theoretically, various researches have shown that the phenomenon of private tutoring consumes huge sums of financial households' resources which put more constraints on their economic expenditure showing that the actual cost of education is much higher than it seems to be. In many countries all over the world, the huge amounts of money invested annually on the expenditure of shadow education, reflect the growing privatization of this industry, it is an important phenomenon in many countries that differ in sizes, economic development, political status, and demographic characteristics (Dang & Rogers, 2008). For example, in Japan 60% of school students attend evening private schools (juku) spending \$14 billion a year preparing for official exams (Entrich, 2014). In the UK nearly 38% of students had a private tutor to help them with GESE exams costing nearly £2bn a year (Ireson & Rushforth, 2011). In Korea households spend more than 2.9 of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) on private tutoring (Kim and Lee 2004), while in Turkey it is nearly 2.0 (Tansel & Bircan, 2006). Hence, the industry of private tutoring has spread globally and has become an immense part of the world economy in different countries, whether of lowincome like Mauritius and Vietnam or high-income countries like Japan and the USA. It is a fast growing industry that Global Industry Analysts estimates that it will be worth \$200 billion by 2020, according to Hobbs (2016).



On the other hand, education, in general, is considered one of the important factors that determine the economic growth of countries and individuals' productivity. Economists argue that education is directly connected to individuals' financial status and earnings which has a direct impact on the growth of countries economy (Barro, 2001). Nearly all of the previous studies done to prove this assumption was mainly related to the impact of formal education, whether public or private, on the individuals' income and financial status. Research has proved that the more quality and quantity investment in education that leads to enhancing students' academic achievement, the better chances exist in the labor, market and the country economic development (Hanushek & Kimko, 2000). However, there is a steep shortage in the research done to investigate the economic impact of private tutoring on individuals due to the extreme difficulties to determine the empirical procedures that measure this impact accurately (Dang & Rogers, 2008).

A study done by Haddon and Post (2006) to investigate if private tutoring is a costeffective form of education or not, claimed that the cost of private tutoring does not substantiate its financial outcomes. It is just the direct academic outcome of private tutoring in passing exam or admission to high schools. In other words, the study has not proved the efficiency of private tutoring as a human capital investment.

2.3.3 The social impact of private tutoring

Private tutoring is a fee-based instruction, which means that it is a hidden form of privatization pouring its positive impacts towards privileged students who can afford it. This means that private tutoring contributes to producing class inequity and inequality. According to Bourdieu's theory of education and cultural capital, the privileges of education are reproduced in the higher classes due to their financial status and their higher abilities on educational expenditures which enables them to maintain their privileged social status. This view is illustrated by Nash (1990) as:

Bourdieu's view is that cultural capital is inculcated in the higher-class home, and enables higher-class students to gain higher educational credentials than lower-class students. This enables higher-class individuals to maintain their class position, and legitimates the dominant position which higher-class individuals typically goes on to hold. (p.445)

In other words, accomplishing advanced outcomes in education is associated by acquiring cultural capital which is possessed and promoted by high-class students who can



invest more on education through many ways such as private tutoring. Hence, private tutoring is a mean of gapping social inequities and injustice. Research done by Jerrim, (2017) proved there are vast academic achievements among those students whose households are more advanced and receive private tutoring more frequently. The study showed that GCSE students with high socio-economic background and who receive additional private instruction tend to get better scores in the final exams than their peers who do not. He added that "private tuition is exacerbating existing educational inequalities" (Jerrim, 2017, p. 14) which means that research claim that private tutoring promotes social inequity and violates social justice in society.

In developing countries, such as Egypt where there are vast socio-economic gaps between rural and urban areas the issue of private tutoring explicitly promotes social inequity due to the huge differences of households expenditure on private tutoring. Students in urban parts have more access to more facilitated educational centers and star teachers, while students in rural and poor areas attend private tutoring in crowded classes or centers attached to worshipping places. Meanwhile, in rural areas families' expenditures on education is in favor of boys than girls. For cultural and economic reasons, families prefer to invest more on boys' education who are considered as future family breadwinners rather than girls who are usually seen as wives and mothers (Assaad, Salehi-Isfahani, & Hendy, 2014).

2.4 Some Relevant Theories on Private Tutoring

There are three theoretical approaches to private tutoring: Human Capital Theory, Status Competition Theory, and Institutional Theory. The human capital theory assumes that education, in general, is the most essential catalyst of enhancing individuals' productivity, and consequently, their economic status through supplying them with proper skills and training (Baker, 1993). This theory does not segregate between different types of education, whether it is formal or non-formal such as private tutoring. It simply considers any kind of education that contributes to accumulating human capital is of great significance (Paik, 1999). So, the human capital theory regards private tutoring as a productive investment rather than an element of consumption. The second theory is the Status Competition Theory which perceives education as the social competitive track for social mobility and improving individuals' social status. It does not concern about the

direct role of education in improving human capital and productivity, but as a mean to achieve a more prestigious social position in the community which may be associated with further financial privileges. Hence, education is placed here as a highly competitive social demanded which pushes individuals to invest heavily in education by all means including private tutoring (Dore, 1976). The third theory (The Institutional Theory) has no relation to the economic or social impact of education on individuals, it simply perceives private tutoring as a prevailing characteristic of the educational institution. In other words, there are various hidden educational reasons in the institution for the existence of private tutoring. For example, poor instruction, lack of facilities, crowded classes, or teachers' low income. This theory considers private tutoring as a demand of the institution itself, not a mean to accomplish further economic or social outcomes (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Baker et al., 2001).

2.5 Education in Egypt

In order to formulate a better understanding to the phenomenon, it is essential to understand private tutoring in the national context as well. The following part is to present a brief historical background to education in Egypt and how the phenomenon of private tutoring has emerged.

2.5.1 Historical background

The modern secular schooling system was established in Egypt by Mohammed Ali Basha (1805-1848). It was within a dual model; the first was traditional Islamic Schools that served the masses (*kuttab*) which provided students with the basics of reading and writing. The instruction was based on memorizing and reciting verses of Qur'an. The second was the formal school (*madrasa*) which offer modern pedagogy for developing more advanced skills so as to produce skilled graduates who can support the country economic development (Starrett, 1998). Mohammed Ali utilized education and economy to serve his military purposes. He brought foreign experts in education to Egypt and sent messengers to Europe so as to cope the European modern education system. Ali followed a top-down approach to achieve his goal, he established the "specialized" schools to prepare professionals in medicine, engineering, administration and languages to serve in the army. Later, he established the primary schools in 1832 (Starrett, 1998).

During the British occupation in Egypt (1882-1922), there was a dramatic downfall in public education in the country due to the British fear of political and social uprising movements that might have resist the British colonization to Egypt. Public schooling used English as the main language of instruction and was no more free which made education only for the elite who could serve the British interests in the country. On the other hand, the majority of Egyptians had no other chance than joining the deteriorating education system of *kattatib* which resulted in the rate of illiteracy to more than 95% (Starrett, 1998).

In 1922 Egypt had partial control over the education system after it was partially independent from Britain. The constitution of 1923 made basic education for children between (6&12) compulsory and free. Taha Hussein, the minister of education in 1950, declared it plainly, "Education is as water and air, the right of every human being" (Barsoum, 2004, p.89). In the July, 23rd 1952 revolution, president Gamal Abdel Nasser introduced the nationalist policies to Egypt which allowed all Egyptians to access to free higher education (Barsoum, 2004). During the followed decades, there was population explosion and the Egyptian government could not fulfil its commitment to provide education with high quality which led to education deterioration (Cochran, 1986). In the 70's and 80's the schooling system could not absorb the uncut flooding numbers of children which led to schools acting into two or three shifts with very poor facilities and education outcomes. The MoE had to hire unqualified teachers with relatively very low salaries which led to the decline of the financial and social status of education (Cochran, 1986).

In the late 70's when President Anwar Al-Sadat (1970-1981) adopted "Open Door Policy" (Cochran, 1986, p. 92) encouraging foreign investments in economy and in education, a duel-class school system was established, the poor class which represented the majority of the Egyptians had no choice but the poor quality of public schools, while rich people sent their children to flourishing language schools which poured into the increasing demands of well-paying jobs in the private sector (Cochran, 1986).

When President Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011) came in power, although there were remarkable efforts done in the advancement of education with cooperated with the World Bank, the enrollment rate was exceeding the actual capacity of the public education system. Consequently, the number of graduates was much more than the capacity of the local labor market leading to higher unemployment rates. The government became no longer



guaranteeing employment in the public sector, but at the same time, there was a pressing demand for teacher employment to cope with the expanding of education expansion. This caused graduates of various majors other than education to join the career so as to fill the gap of teacher demand in the increasing education system which led to underqualified teachers and declining the professional, social and economic statuses of teachers (Barsoum, 2004). Consequently, public education deteriorated to be of poor quality, suffering from overcrowded classes, underpaid and underqualified teachers, in addition to corruption and government negligence, which contributed to the prevalence of private tutoring among Egyptian students seeking education compensation in a highly competitive examination system (Sobhy, 2012).

On January 25th, 2011, Egypt has witnessed a dramatic political change of overthrowing Mubarak regime after 30 years of ruling the country. The overwhelmed young people have asked for an overall reform in the political, social, and economic aspects. Education was affected by such change, there was a demanding call for an overhaul reform in education as well as teacher's social and economic statuses. Immediately after the revolution, and during the transition session, there was instability and vague vision of the government plans towards education reform. But in 2014 when President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi was elected as the new president of Egypt, the new constitution of 2014 stipulated the new government to spend 4% of GDP on education, which meant LE94.4bn (\$12.9bn) in 2014/2015 budget (State Information Service, 2014). Consequently, the government developed a three-year plan starting in the school year 2014/2015 as a foundation to an overall strategic plan to reform education to end in 2030 (Sanyal, 2015).

2.5.2 The education system in Egypt

The figure below shows the three main levels of the structure of education system in Egypt, which lead to higher education.

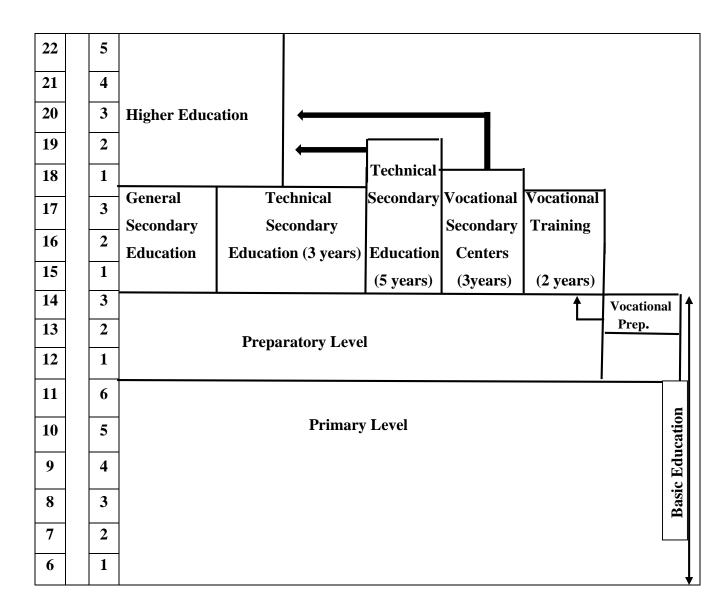


Figure 2.1 Structure of the education system in Egypt (adapted from Ministry of Education and Technical Education, 2017)

Egypt has the largest Education system in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries of more than 20 million students in the pre-university education. According to The Ministry of Education and Technical Education, the public sector has



more than 90% of school students, while 10% of Egyptian students join private schools (METE, 2017). The Egyptian education system is a highly controlled system with no autonomy for teachers, school directors, or supervisors, as they all work in a highly centralized and heretical system of implementation (Sobhy, 2012). The pre-university Egyptian public education system has three stages: the kindergarten which has 2 years for 4-6 year old students and which is not compulsory and mainly not run by the Ministry of Education and Technical Education (METE), the primary and preparatory stage which is compulsory and lasts for 6 years for primary and 3 for the preparatory for 6 to 15 year old students. In the end of this stage all students should sit for a final exam held at the governorate level to allow successful students to join the secondary stage which consists of several sections such as general, technical or vocational schools according to their grades. Education in Egypt is free, but the government claims for some fee.

2.5.3 Private tutoring in public schools in Egypt

In her research "Education 'Home Delivery' in Egypt", (2013) Hartmann investigates the nature of private tutoring in Egypt as:

Why do students who complain about overcrowded classes in a governmental school pay extra-money in the afternoon to attend lectures with up to 200 students in a commercial tutoring center? Why do parents who already pay high tuition fees for private or "language schools" not hesitate to pay even higher amounts for additional private lessons at home? What is the motivation of students and parents in all strata of the Egyptian society to engage on the informal market of supplementary education? (p.6)

These words show that the phenomenon of private tutoring in Egypt has become a common culture that prevailed widespread throughout the public and private schools, different grade levels, and socio-economic strata. The incentives vary between severe exam competitiveness, poor education, and parents' and students' aspirations.

Private tutoring has rapidly prevailed in parallel to the rapid access to free education in developing countries which led to the poor quality of public school education and unsatisfying learning outcomes (Bray & Kwo, 2013). As previously mentioned, free access to education was introduced in Egypt in the early 1950s as an outcome to the 1952 revolution which provided free education to all Egyptian citizens and abolished all fees for



public education. Consequently, the numbers of students enrolled in public schools had jumped from 1.9 million students of total population 18 million (Faksh, 1980) to nearly 22.7 million students in 2015 of 94 million population (CAPMAS, 2015). This population expansion had negative impact on government expenditure on education which failed to cope with these huge numbers accessing to public free education leading to crowded classes, insufficient instruction and deteriorating the quality of education which paved the way to a mushrooming market for private tutoring in Egypt (Elbadawy, 2015).

Private tutoring has various forms in Egypt, first, it is essential to clarify the distinction between private tutoring which occurs between a student and a tutor and between private tutoring groups which occurs between a tutor and a group of students. Meanwhile, there is a kind of official private tutoring in public schools in Egypt that is called "Strengthening Official Lessons", in which a group of students are tutored privately by the class teacher after school hours with a reasonable fee. This amount of fee is divided between the MoE with share 25% and the school teacher with 75% in an attempt to shrink the expansion of private tutoring. This kind of tutoring is encouraged by the MoE but not favorable to teachers (Sobhy, 2012).

The majority of private tutoring now in Egypt occurs in private centers where many students can attend a two-hour session in well-equipped classrooms. Meanwhile, the number of students and the amount of the fee vary according to the celebrity of the private tutor and the students' school year. Some well famous tutors have few hundreds of students in one session. So they hire assistant teachers to follow up the students' progress during the lecture, in addition to doing the homework and assessment correction tasks, under the tutor supervision, which the tutor have no time to do him/herself (Elbadawy, 2015).

2.5.4 Private tutoring as a culture in Egypt

Private tutoring in Egypt has become a part of the Egyptian culture. It no more belongs to a certain socio-economic strata (Hartmann, 2008). Students of private language schools whose schools demand high fees may be seen sitting beside those Arabic school students in a private center being tutored by the tutor as long as both can afford the tuition fee. Technically, public education is free in Egypt, but in reality, there are shadow expenses causing financial burdens to Egyptian families. It is private tutoring, that has become a prevailing phenomenon in all education levels, schools, socio-economic

backgrounds, and demographic features (Assaad & Krafft, 2015). In a study done by Elbadawy, (2015) to investigate the issue of private tutoring in secondary schools in Egypt, he explained:

In general secondary school, tutoring has become a social expectation that leads teachers and students to shirk in school to devote more attention to tutoring. In basic education, teacher pressure is a major motivation for public school students to take tutoring. (p.136)

One of the study findings was that it has apparently assumed to be intuitive to both parents/students and teachers that school is not an appropriate place for instruction, and private tutoring is the natural alternative (Elbadawy, 2015).

In Egypt, there are all sorts of private tutoring that vary due to the varied socio-economic backgrounds of students and parents. In general, the Egyptian society considers education as a public good and as an essential mean for social and economic mobility, so each social and economic strata in the Egyptian society invest in education due to the financial facilities it has. "Private lessons are like brand names. You can find them at all prices to suit every class and segment of society" (Hartmann, 2008, p.75). In her fieldwork study on private tutoring in Egypt, Hartmann, (2008) revealed the nature of private tutoring in Egypt as, "the question of education and private lessons is right at the top of the list of Egyptians' concerns, in a place shared only by the struggle to make a living" (Hartmann, 2008, p57).

Private tutoring in Egypt is not only considered as a supplementary instructional source to school students, but it may be the only one. In *thanaweya amma*, no students attend school, they attend private educational centers instead. The instruction time does not occur after school as other school years but in the early morning while mainstream schools take place (Elbadawy, 2015). On the other hand, teachers in Egypt consider private tutoring as their main source of earning a living as it is impossible to live on the salaries they get from the ministry of education (Hartmann, 2008). This makes teachers usually are showing off in classes to attract students to join private lessons outside school walls rather than actual instruction. Moreover, in the Egyptian education, there is a severe competitive atmosphere among students as well as teachers; students do their best to get more degrees and marks while teachers do their best to get more students involved in private tutoring. All these reasons grant special environment to private tutoring in Egypt to an extent that

mainstream education seems to be the shadow education and not vice versa (Assaad, Salehi-Isfahani, & Hendy, 2014).

2.5.5 The Ministry of Education's attempts to improve education and reduce private tutoring

There were various responses carried out by policymakers and ministries of education to limit the phenomenon of private. It was forbidden by law in many countries as it is seen as "It exacerbates social inequalities, disrupts the public education system, and fails to increase academic performance or build human capital", whereas in other countries it was totally ignored or controlled and legitimized (Bray, 1999, p.26).

In Egypt private tutoring is always seen by MoE as a major obstacle for applying educational reform plans (Assaad, Salehi-Isfahani, & Hendy, 2014). The former Egyptian Minister of Education, Dr. Mustafa Kamal Helmi, stated that "the overspreading phenomenon of private lessons whether in schools or universities has become one of the major drawbacks in the education system" (cited by Cochran 1986, p.59). The following part illustrates some attempts carried out by the MoE to eliminate private tutoring.

2.5.5.1 The new system of Thanaweya Amma

Minister of Education, Tarek Shawqi, declared in *the Arab Weekly News* that there will be a comprehensive reform to education that "will eradicate the old education system's ailments" (Emam, 2019, p.10), the new system will turn students from passive recipients of knowledge into active contributors and participants in the learning process. Introducing the new system of secondary education is the official end of *thanaweya amma* (The Standardized Secondary School Graduation Exam). This system as Shawqi claims, "will make education fun, eradicate suffering of students and parents, especially those in the final year of secondary school education by giving the schools more authority in deciding exam questions" (Emam, 2019, p.10). Shawqi declares that the new *thanaweya amma* will remove the psychological problems that the students of the old system suffer from because of the old assessment methods and that could lead to experiencing suicidal thoughts (Emam, 2019).

The old method of teaching depending on school text books will be replaced by electronic tablets with high-speed internet connection so students can search the web for needed information. Moreover, the one chance exam of *thanaweya amma* will be no more

existed as a new method of assessment will be implemented. Students of secondary school need to sit for 12 exams throughout the three years of the secondary school and their final grade will be the sum of their highest marks they get in 6 exams out of the 12. This new system aims at abolishing the stress of *thanaweya amma* as "national suffering" (Emam, 2019, p.10). The minister explains how this new system will save 68 million U.S. \$ spent on printing books every year. He also assures how this new system will save 1.7 billion L.E. spent every year on private tutoring, which he described as "pure squandering of the public's funds" (Emam, 2019, p.10).

2.5.5.2 The World Bank and Egypt Education Reform Project

The World Bank and Egyptian government have signed a \$2 billion loan to improve education in Egypt. In the report published in *Egypt Independent News*, Al-Ashkar, (2018) illustrated this issue as:

Supporting Egypt's Education Reform program will help transform the education system through bold modernization initiatives... [aligned] with Egypt's 2030 Vision sustainable development strategy, which puts a strong emphasis on the critical role of the education sector reform in Egypt's social transformation (Al-Ashkar, 2018).

The World Bank loan is to fulfill the educational goals stated in The National Strategic Plan 2014/2030. Concerning primary education reform, Goal (4.1) in The National Strategic Plan 2014/2030 is to "ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes". The present Minister of education, Dr Tarek Shawki has launched "a complete overhaul of Egypt's education system", He explained the new system as:

The new education system will target children enrolling in the first kindergarten years, the two formative years that precede the primary stage of education. These children will grow into 14 years of a new educational system, known as Education 2, which incorporates learning objectives which benefit of modern technology and accessible information to achieve understanding, knowledge, and critical thinking (Al-Ashkar, 2018).

Moreover, Dr Shawki declared that the project would improve quality of kindergarten to access half million child, and train another half million teachers and education officials and



replace the old traditional learning methods by digital learning resources to 1.5 million students and teachers.

This project aims at an overall education reform which will definitively reduce the prevalence phenomenon of private tutoring in public schools in Egypt and promote equitable access to quality public education that should be free (Al-Ashkar, 2018).

2.6 The Theoretical Framework of the Research

There are various theories tackling why and how the prevailing phenomenon of private tutoring has emerged and grown worldwide. Some of these theories are mentioned in chapter two in details; they are the Human Capital Theory, the Status Competition Theory, and the Institutional Theory. This research follows a theoretical framework which suits the social, economic, and cultural contexts in which the phenomenon of the study takes place. For example, private tutoring in the early primary stage could not be investigated through the Human Capital Theory as it seems very hard to measure the direct economic outcomes of investing on private tutoring on primary stage students. On the contrary, this theory could perceive investing money in private tutoring on this very early age as a consumption rather than productivity (Baker, 1993). Meanwhile, the Status Competition Theory which considers education as a competitive route for moving up to a higher social and economic strata could not be applied here (Dore, 1976) because the few school exams administered in this stage do not obstruct students from passing on to the second phase of the primary stage. Hence, this theory could be applied when there are national exams such as thanaweya amma or iadadiya, in which exams determine the students' mobility and choice of their following education phase.

The most suitable theory that fits the purpose and context of this research is the Institutional Theory. The Institutional Theory tries to investigate the prevailing ideologies, values, and norms that controls the mechanism of institutions. These prevailing concepts are directly driven from broader social forces that shape the environment of the society (Powell & Colyvas, 2008). In relation to education, schools are not isolated social institutions, on the contrary, they are controlled by sets of certain dominating beliefs and concepts that reflect the outside social environment, which shapes and influences both of teachers' performance and students' responses (Meyer & Rowan, 2006).

Hanson (2001) explained how individuals act inside their institutions through the Institutional Theory perspective, stating:

Institutional theory argues the existence of a top-down field of forces that constrain the independence of action at each successive organizational layer, including the individual level of leaders, managers, and other employees. In consequence, administrators and teachers as individuals engage in an institutional world that knowingly and unknowingly shape not only their patterns of work but also their thinking about work. (p.652)

As private tutoring has become a prevailing phenomenon inside public schools in Egypt, the researcher depends on the main concepts of the Institutional Theory and tries to explore this phenomenon through investigating the hidden impetuses that push private tutoring to flourish in Egyptian schools. Teachers and parents are the key participants of this research, therefore, they were interviewed with questions (as mentioned in chapter three) that attempt to uncover the forces that made them involved in such a phenomenon. Some of these forces could be related to sub-concepts such as economic drive, social or parental reasons, or novel factors that the research may find.



Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the proper method stated to find answers to the research questions through explaining the research framework. The following points are illustrated in the research context: Methods, Participants, Data Collection Tools, Data Analysis, Trustworthiness, and The Role of the Researcher.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research, as mentioned by Creswell (2012), is designed to reveal what, how, and why do people feel about a certain phenomenon or a prevailing problematic issue. Hence, the qualitative research method is used to investigate the meanings, interpretations, views, and personal experiences of the participants towards the research phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Because the current research aims at exploring private tutoring phenomenon through perceptions of people who actively experience it, a qualitative method fits the purpose of this research.

To answer the research questions effectively, a qualitative approach is more suitable. The research aims to examine the underlying factors that influence the phenomenon of private tutoring in the lower primary stage in public schools in Cairo. The examination took place by collecting data on the views and experiences of teachers and parents. To achieve these aims, the research follows mainly the Phenomenological Research Method that "provides a rich and complete description of human experiences and meanings" (LeVasseur, 2003, p.409). The PRM is defined as, "a phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon" (LeVasseur, 2003, p.409). In other words, this method investigates a common phenomenon lived by certain individuals and delves into their perceptions, perspectives, understandings, and feelings of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013).

In comparing, the Phenomenological Research Method (PRM) to other research methods such as the Ethnographic Research Method (ERM), the PRM appears to be more applicable in the context of this research due to limited time and allocated resources. Although the ERM is used to study the prevailing culture, and focus on observing attitudes and behaviors, it requires much more time and resources to accomplish its purposes than



the PRM (Creswell, 2013). Hence, the phenomenological research method best suits the goals of this study.

3.2 Participants and Sample Design

The participants selected in this study depend on purposive sampling, which provides a rich information environment to the phenomenon, "the research term used for qualitative sampling is purposeful sampling. In purposeful sampling, researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon" (Creswell, 2012, p.206). To increase the depth of data, a maximum variation sampling method, which enabled the researcher to include a wide range of experiences and perspectives, was used. As suggested by Major and Savin-Baden (2010), the idea behind maximum variation sampling is to "try to interview a very different selection of people, their aggregate answers can be close to the whole population's" (p. 130). Consequently, 15 teachers and 15-18 parents who differed in gender, years of teaching experience, and teaching subjects (Arabic, English, and Math) were interviewed. Snowball sampling helped the researcher to determine the potential participants (teachers and parents) in the research who seemed to be hard to declare themselves as involvers in private tutoring activities. "In snowball sampling, the researcher asks participants to identify others to become members of the sample" (Creswell, 2012, p.146). Students were not included in the sample as their ages are between (6-9) years old, and their views could be vague and incomplete due to lack of proper self-expression and reflection. The sample is selected from three different schools in greater Cairo; a school with high socio-economic background in Heliopolis, a school in an urban part of Qalyubia Governorate and a school in a rural part in the suburbs of Giza Governorate.

Table 3.1
Settings and Participants

Location		Data Collection Method		
		One-on-one	Focus Group	
		Interviews	Interviews	
Governorate	School	Teachers	Parents	
Cairo	School A (Urban)	5	7 parents (Group A)	
Qalyubia	School B (Urban)	5	6 parents (Group B)	
Giza	School C (Rural)	5	5 parents (Group C)	
Total	3	15	18 parents	
		interviews	3 interviews	

Table 3.2
Teachers' Codes

	Teachers'	School	Teaching	Gender	Age	Make up name
	names		Subject			
1	Not given	Cairo	Arabic	Female	50's	CAF50-1
2	Not given	Cairo	Arabic	Female	50's	CAF50-2
3	Not given	Cairo	English	Male	34	CEM34
4	Not given	Cairo	English	Male	32	CEM32
5	Not given	Cairo	Math	Male	58	CMM58
6	Not given	Giza	Arabic	Female	50's	GAF50
7	Not given	Giza	Arabic	Female	40's	GAF40
8	Not given	Giza	English	Male	33	GEM33
9	Not given	Giza	English	Male	45	GEM45
10	Not given	Giza	Math	Male	42	GMM42
11	Not given	Qalyubia	Arabic	Female	50's	QAF50
12	Not given	Qalyubia	Arabic	Female	30's	QAF30-1
13	Not given	Qalyubia	Arabic	Female	30's	QAF30-2
14	Not given	Qalyubia	English	Male	38	QEM38
15	Not given	Qalyubia	Math	Male	54	QMM54



Table 3.3
Parents' Codes

	Parents'	School	job	Gender	Age	Codes
	name					
1	Tarek	Cairo	Businessman	Male	38	
2	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-1
3	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-2
4	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-3
5	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-4
6	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-5
7	Not given	Cairo	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group A-6
8	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-1
9	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-2
10	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-3
11	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-4
12	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-5
13	Not given	Giza	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group B-6
14	Not given	Qalyubia	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group C-1
15	Not given	Qalyubia	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group C-2
16	Not given	Qalyubia	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group C-3
17	Not given	Qalyubia	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group C-4
18	Not given	Qalyubia	House Wife	Female	Not given	Group C-5

Both teachers and parents participated in this study were given make-up codes. Teachers were given their make-up codes based on the school governorate, teaching subject, gender, and age, for example (CAF50).

Figure 3.2 Codes of Teachers



Parents were given made-up codes based on their numbers in the three different groups, for example (Group A-1).

Figure 3.3 Codes of Parents

3.3 Data Collection Tools

The main collection tools are one-on-one and focus group interviews. The one-on-one interview were held with teachers to provide them with the proper chance "to share ideas comfortably" (Creswell, 2012, p.241). This type of interviews allows teachers to speak frankly and confidentially about their experiences in involving in private tutoring activities. It is known that private tutoring is theoretically banned by the Ministry of Education in Egypt, so public school teachers could feel uncomfortable or hesitant to share their experiences with others. Therefore, one-on-one interviews suits teachers the best. On the other hand, focus group interviews were held to interview parents in order to encourage interaction between them and not to be hesitant to provide information (Creswell, 2012). The focus interviews consisted of 4 to 6 parents in each one. All interviews were held in the Arabic Language, then they were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English (by the researcher) before analyzing the data. The time allocated for each one-on-one interview was between 25 to 45 minutes, while the focus group interviews varied between 45 to 60 minutes depending on the participants' time and the discussion track of the interviews.

The interviews were designed to be semi-structured interviews in order to pursue in-depth answers to open ended questions (Appendix D) designed to serve the research questions and which aligned with the phenomenological method used in the study. Such interviews aim to explore individuals' perspectives on a particular idea, program or situation (Boyce & Neale, 2006). In other words, "the individual interview is a valuable method of gaining insight into people's perceptions, understandings and experiences of a given phenomenon and can contribute to in-depth data collection" (Ryan, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2009, p. 24). The researcher carried out a pilot study with fewer participants at the

three schools to identify and develop questions and thematic areas that would best answer the research questions. The questions were formulated to be broad and general in order to stimulate the participants to share and elicit their experiences and views spontaneously towards the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994).

3.4 Data Analysis

In the qualitative research, the collected data is reviewed and organized systematically with the thematic analysis model to form data thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data was collected (in the Arabic language) through interviews and open-ended questions, then was transcribed and translated into the English language. Reading the data deeply and carefully was the researcher's key element to reach "familiarization with the data". This enabled the researcher start coding to label and decide on the most relevant and important data to answer the research questions. Then the researcher created themes and connected categories to form a broader significant "potential themes", which means collecting data to each relevant participant in order to review and reach viability for each theme. Consequently, the researcher started viewing themes to check the participants' data against the dataset to be sure that they tell a persuasive story of the data. The next step was defining and naming themes that involved developing detailed analysis for each them. The researcher noticed that there was a hierarchy within the created categories according to the collected data (Creswell, 2012).

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are critical in conducting any type of research. In qualitative research, where the human factor is the core of research interaction, the process of conducting personal experiences and views should follow certain ethical commitments that grantee the participants' peaceful practices of their rights during participation in the research (Ensign, 2003).

Therefore, the researcher informed the participants about the nature and purpose of the study and how the collected information would be kept anonymous and confidential. Moreover, the identity of the participants as well as their data would be anonymous throughout all the research process and would not be revealed under any circumstances. Meanwhile, the researcher highlighted to the participants how their participation in this

research could be of a value weight to understand this phenomenon and present applicable solutions. Therefore, the researcher noticed that most of the participants, especially teachers preferred not to mention their names even in the written consents as they were afraid to have harm under any mean. The researcher understood how the participants, especially teachers might have felt while conducting experiences about their practices of private tutoring, which is theoretically banned by the Ministry of Education. Consequently, as the researcher kept the participants' identities to be anonymous and they felt secure to withdraw at any time during their participation, they were of full potential to participate voluntarily and freely in the research. Moreover, the researcher did informed consents to all teachers and parents participating in the study as well as asked for a written permission to contact participant schools from: AUC Institutional Review Board (IRB), Central Agency for Population Mobility and Statistics (CAPMAS), Ministry of Education and Technical Education (METE), *Modereyas*, *Idaras*, and school principals.

3.6 Trustworthiness

Unlike the nature of the quantitative research, the qualitative research relies mainly on human insights, this made positivist researches question the trustworthiness in the qualitative research as well as its validity and reliability (Shenton, 2004). However, according to Shenton (2004) and Guba (1981) qualitative researchers argue that qualitative research could gain trustworthiness if the elements of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and reflexivity are achieved, so the researcher followed these elements as follows:

3.6.1 Credibility

Credibility is of one of the most important elements to achieve trustworthiness in qualitative research, as it refers to how the study "measures or tests what is actually intended" (Sherton, 2004, p. 64). The research accomplished credibility through addressing the following points:



- Triangulation: in general involves using multiple data sources (Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002), there are four types of triangulation; method triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and data source triangulation. The researcher used the fourth type which is referred by Sherton, (2004) as: "triangulation may be achieved by the participation of informants within several organizations so as to reduce the effect on the study of particular local factors peculiar to one institution" (Sherton, 2004, p. 66). As previously mentioned the research took place in three different governorates with different socioeconomic backgrounds; Cairo, Giza, and Qalubyia, and interviewed 15 individual teachers with different years of teaching experience, school subjects, and gender. According Sherton (2004), the similarity of data collected out of this diversity would produce credibility to the research.
- Background, qualifications and experience of the investigator: The researcher's professional background contributes to the credibility of the research (Sherton, 2004). That is because the more the researcher is familiar with the study phenomenon, the better he could understand the participants' conducted data. In this qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument of collecting and analyzing data, his long professional experience as a public school teacher, who is involved himself in the phenomenon of private tutoring, granted credibility to the research.

3.6.2 Transferability

According to Patton (2002) transferability means generalizability. In other words, a research with transferability is whose findings could be applicable to other situations and contexts (Guba, 1981). This research gained transferability through the "thick descriptions" which were reflected in data collection and analysis (Guba, 1981). Shenton (2004) claimed that in order to reach transferability, the researcher has to mention in details the cultural and social contexts in which the research occurs. So, in chapters one and two the research included detailed information about the number or schools, participants and their demographics, as well as data collection methods, time and resources allocated for the study (see tables 1, 2 & 3). In short, Guba (1981) explains this by saying: "It is, in summary,

not the naturalist's task to provide an index of transferability, it is his or her responsibility to provide the database that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (Guba, 1981, p. 86).

3.6.3 Dependability

The research achieves dependability "if the work were repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained" (Sheraton, 2004 p. 71). Dependability was addressed in the present research by highlighting the "the research design and its implementation", "the operational detail of data gathering", and "reflective appraisal of the project, evaluating the effectiveness of the process of inquiry undertaken" (Sheraton, 2004, p 72). Moreover, the researcher applied the dependability audit technique in this thesis, in which an independent advisor audited the work, activities, and techniques used by the researcher to ensure that the research process meets dependability and trustworthiness.

3.6.4 Confirmability

Confirmability means that the research findings are a result of the real collected data and not an interpretation of the researcher's standpoints or preferences. The researcher applied this to the research through establishing two main points: (a) Triangulation as "the role of triangulation in promoting such confirmability must again be emphasized, in this context to reduce the effect of investigator bias" (Sherton, 2004, p. 72), (b) Audit trail is a detailed clear description of the research phases starting from the research project to the development and reporting of the results and findings (Guba, 1981). So the researcher kept every details of the recorded interviews and data processing so as to form the audit trail technique, which means here that if another researcher given the same data and research context, the similar results would be produced.

3.6.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is examining the researcher's personal views, conceptions, perceptions, values, and how this affects the research process in all it phases. To make this point clear,



I added the role of the researcher as to reveal why the researcher was interested in conducting such a research.

3.7 Role of the Researcher

"Mr Mohamed, I would like you to tutor my child privately, may you please?" I have always been asked this question since my first days working as a teacher of English in public schools in Egypt. My deep concern and inner drive to explore the issue of private tutoring aroused long years ago since I sat for the first time as a student to receive my first private tutoring. As a small school student, I still remember my teacher's words which formed my earliest perception of private tutoring, "Do NOT tell anyone that I tutor you at home, especially at school". He assured me not to reveal the fact of being tutored by him outside the school walls to anyone, even my closest classmates. He warned me many times not to show the few papers he wrote to me at home in to anyone outside. The nature and mechanism of private tutoring was much different at that time. It was usually at home with few number of students.

My perception of private tutoring had a new trend since I was involved in this issue not as a student but as a teacher. I was directly pushed by my social context (family and relatives) to join the faculty of education and be a teacher for one simple reason; it was easily being employed as a public school teacher in the Ministry of Education (MoE) in Egypt who can tutor privately and support himself financially well. There was a prevailing social perspective, at that time, in the Egyptian social context that teachers especially of math, English and science are so privileged for the fact that they make good money out of private tutoring. It was true, I got a job in MoE shortly after I finished high education. I started tutoring privately and enjoying some financial and social advantages till the moment of writing this research. I noticed that during the instability of the Egyptian revolution in the years 2011 and 2012, there was a wide spread of private tutoring. The lake of security and safety at this time was a direct reason for long periods of official banning and delaying of public schooling which cause more flourishing of private tutoring.

As time passes, I began to touch the disadvantages of private tutoring as a teacher and a parent whose own children are being privately tutored at an early age. In this research, I could not isolate my own experiences as a student, teacher, and parent from perceiving this phenomenon of private tutoring. I have an inner eager to explore this phenomenon in

the lower primary stage as a researcher, teacher, and parent. As a result of my actual experiences as a teacher (21 years now), I found that private tutoring has spread widely in primary 1, 2 and 3 although there are no apparent driven forces or burdens on students or parents to let this happen. The MoE in its strategic planning for education 2014-2030 has cancelled any final written examinations for these early stages and made moving to the next year guaranteed just by law through a simple automatic process, which could make parents feel comfort towards any pressures that might arise from teachers or exams and could affect their students' mobility to the next year in school. But what happens, in reality, is that the activities of private tutoring are spreading. Although I am personally involved in the activity of private tutoring, I was sure throughout conducting this research not to be biased by my perceptions or experiences as a teacher or a private tutor.



Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter discusses the research results that reveal how teachers and parents perceive the phenomenon of private tutoring in the lower primary stage in public schools in Cairo. The information produced by the participants' answers, and which is collected by interviewing teachers & parents, generated common themes developed to answer the four research questions. Firstly, research question number one is answered by the themes of teachers' and parents' reasons behind their participation in private tutoring at this early age. Secondly, the second research question is answered by the themes of the differences between private tutoring in this lower primary stage compared to grade levels. Thirdly, the themes of the advantages and disadvantages of private tutoring in this stage answer the third question. Finally, the theme of teachers' and parents' recommendations answers the fourth research question.

4.1 Findings of Research Question One

In this part, there are three main themes to answer the first research revealed from the data gathered during the interviews. The first theme has two sub themes as illustrated in table 2.

Table 4.1
Generated Themes under Research Question One

Research Question One	Generated Themes	
What do teachers and parents perceive to be	Theme One: The financial reason	
the reasons/factors that drive the growth of		
and accessing private tutoring in this early	Sub-theme one: teachers' perspective	
stage in public schools in Cairo?	Sub theme-two: parents' perspective	
	Theme Two: The academic reason	
	Theme Three: Poor school performance	



4.1.1. Theme one: The financial reason. As explained in chapter one, private tutoring should be accompanied by a fee given to the teacher for extra instruction out of the school mainstream (Bray, 1999). Throughout interviewing all the participants, the financial factor was a robust and evident common theme thoroughly discussed by both teachers and parents. Although this theme was viewed with slight differences between teachers and parents, there was almost a consensus that the financial factor is the main reason behind involving teachers in private tutoring. Accordingly, this theme is divided into two sub-themes; teachers' perspective, and parents' perspective.

4.1.1.1 Sub-theme one: Teachers' perspective. All the interviewed teachers, with no exception, have complained about their underpaid status in the Ministry of Education and Technical Education. The prevailing tone of most teachers has carried grief, sorrow and even hidden anger towards their salaries. Nearly all the teachers agreed that their salaries are never enough to fulfill their basic human needs. They stated it clearly that they are the lowest-paid employees in the country comparing to their peers in other ministries in the government. There is a prevailing spirit mixed with feelings of anger, humiliation, and despair among the interviewed teachers concerning the future possibilities towards the improvement of their financial status. They highlighted how the successive governments of the 25th of January 2011 revolution have given them promises to increase their salaries but in vain. One teacher compared his salary to an office boy working in the ministry of electricity and renewable energy with disgrace and disappointment. Some of them have even expressed their regret for spending their lives as primary teachers in public schools. A teacher (QMM54), aid: "I have been teaching as a primary school teacher for 33 years and my salary is only 2985 L.E. (179 US \$). This is humiliating". Another teacher (CMM58) was desperately expressing how he will lose nearly half of his salary when he gets retired after few months as his monthly salary 3450 L.E. (207 US \$) will be cut down to a pension of 1300 L.E (78 US \$). When asked how he would manage his life after being retired, he said: "I will try to continue giving private lessons, I am an experienced teacher with a very good reputation as a private teacher."



The theme of teachers' financial status vividly reveals the main reason behind their involvement in private tutoring. They explained how they were obliged to be involved in private tutoring due to their need for money. They complained that their salaries were never increased since 2013. In the meantime, prices are getting higher and higher every day, especially after the inflation of the pound in 2016 and the economic reform policies pursued by the government. So, the only solution is to participate in private tutoring as an alternative way to fill the gap between their income and their financial needs. "Do you think I am happy to leave my children alone at home to go from a house to another giving private tutoring? No, I am not. But I have no other options. If my husband and I depend on our salaries as teachers, our family will starve!" a young female teacher declared in an interview. All teachers have expressed the financial theme and their necessity to participate in private tutoring but with different words. They emphasized how they have families and a lot of financial commitments. They need to live with dignity. One teacher expresses how she feels ashamed to stretch her hand open to get a few pounds from little children who are as old as her own children. "We are people, we need to feed our children and get dressed and live with some dignity. The government punishes us for giving private tuition. They stopped our humble annual increase in salaries since 2013 claiming that we give private lessons. They do not understand. We are not thanaweya amma teachers. We only give private lessons just to feed our families not to go to the North Coast!" she said.

While other teachers, who were mainly young, revealed their feelings of shame and disgrace when they need to talk about their salaries to their family members or their friends. A 33-year old male teacher said, "I felt very ashamed when I needed to talk about my salary during a marriage proposal. The girl who I wanted to marry was a young lawyer, with 60% grade in thanaweya amma, while I got 87% to be a teacher, she refused me because of my job".

During interviewing teachers, I found a novice female teacher in her mid-twenties teaching the first primary stage as a volunteer without any money at all. On asking her about the reasons behind working as a volunteer, she reported, "I like teaching to young pupils. It is my job. I do not care much about money in this period of my career life. I need experience. Working as a volunteer gives me better future chances to be hired by the



Ministry of Education shortly". On asking her if she is involved in private tutoring or not, she answered that she participates in the official school lessons run by the ministry of education after the school day. She said, "I do it legally. I give *magmu'ah madrasyah* - Strengthening Official Lessons- after school. It is legal and promoted by the MoE ... this compensates not paying me..... sometimes, I give private lessons to the children of family members, neighbors, and friends. I do this since I was in college".

Although it was expressed in different ways, the theme of teachers' financial reason for being involved in private tutoring is apparently detected during the interviews.

4.1.1.2 Sub theme two: Parents' perspective. It was not only teachers who revealed the theme of financial reasons for being involved in private tuition. Astonishingly, parents highlighted this theme too, but in different words. Most of them agreed on the low salaries teachers get for their job and how this is behind being involved in private tutoring. They mentioned that teachers' social status needs to be improved and the main path to this is by increasing their salaries. Parents assured that if teaching was a well-paid job, there would be the most qualified teachers at schools, and this would definitely lead to improve education. One parent said: "No parent encourages his child to be a teacher. If you ask children about what they would like to be in the future, they would answer with jobs like doctors, policeman, engineers, or an army officer, but never a teacher. That is because teachers have a low social and financial rank in our society". Another parent added in the same interview, "Give teachers their rights, then they will give our children their rights. That is it".

The findings showed that parents assume that banning private tutoring just by legislating laws or by canceling final year exams or even by limiting the authority of the teacher on the students, will not solve the problem, but on the contrary, it will drive teachers to be more passive in classroom teaching and be more involved in teaching privately. "Teachers know that pupils will pass to the following year, so no need for hard work, it is granted by law. But we care more than that, we care about education, so we pay for private tutoring". Parents expressed how they value their children's education as they give it the priority in their expense. They care about it, and they know that teachers need money to do

their job well, so they have to pay them in private tutoring. To sum up this theme, parents' views show that teachers' low salaries is the main motive behind being involved in private tutoring, so they support improving teachers' financial status in order to improve the quality of their children's education.

4.1.2 Theme two: The academic reason. As mentioned in chapter one, private tutoring should have positive academic outcomes to the pupils' academic performance in school subjects taught at schooling mainstream (Bray, 2009). Supposedly, parents who let their kids be involved in private tutoring in this early stage, are to be likely concerned about their children's grades. But what the findings actually showed were different.

On asking parents why you let your children join private tutoring at this early age, I got one straight main answer, which is repeated in every interview in a way or another. It is for "Foundation". This word could be explained by providing pupils in this stage with the basic linguistic and mathematical skills in Arabic, English, and math. The main purpose for parents is to provide their children with these main basic skills to be able to pursue their studies in the advanced school years more smoothly. A parent said, "If a pupil has gained good foundation in this early school years, s/he will be able to read and write well and study all the other subjects well." Another parent said, "How could a pupil do well at school, if s/he could not read or write properly? This is the most important stage for foundation."

In their responses, many parents and teachers shed light on the recent new policies carried by the METE, which made pupils pass to the following year by law, not bypassing final exams. They said that such policies could have a negative academic impact on pupils as they will move to the following school year with no clear assessment of their academic progress. "Cancelling final year examinations harms pupils. They feel no need for studying hard. We know that exams are essential to emerging pupils to do their best at their studies" a teacher said. One parent expressed her opinion saying, "I do not care about exams, and I know that my child will go to the following school year by law. I care about the foundation. I want my daughter, *Menna*, to be very well at school, not to pass an exam."



On the other hand, teachers hardly support the idea that private tutoring has direct positive impact on pupils' academic progress. They assure that they teach the same way in and outside school. Most teachers take this point personally so they reject the idea of private tutoring as a normal result of their humble work at school. Teachers consider this a type of accusation so they refuse it. The reason they give to pupils' academic progress in relation to private tutoring is due to better physical and educational environment surrounded by pupils in a private lesson, but not to differences in their own performance. A teacher supports this by saying: "It is true, pupils achieve more in private lessons than in class due to fewer numbers not because I teach differently. I always teach the same way. It is a matter of consciences". Another female teacher added: "Some pupils are tutored privately with no significant progress in their academic performance. Others only listen to my teaching in classroom and with little following up at home they get the best grades".

To sum up, private tutoring has a positive relation to the pupils' academic performance but this theme is viewed through different scopes by both parents and teachers.

4.1.3 Theme three: Poor school performance. By referring to chapter two, Sobhy (2012) showed that one of the main reasons for private tutoring is poor classroom instruction that reflects poor school performance. During interviewing parents, the findings have shown that the theme of poor school performance is an obvious reason behind private tuition at this early age. Classrooms are very crowded with pupils, sometimes there are over 50 pupils in one class, and there is hardly any room for the teacher to mobile freely between desks while teaching. Teachers tend to use very traditional teaching methods to cope with such big numbers; repetition and copying are frequently used not only as teaching methods but also for class discipline. "When I ask my child about the names of the lessons he got at school, he gives me no answer, he hardly remembers few words," a parent of grade one told me. By asking her about the possible reason for that, she continued, "the class is always noisy, the teacher cannot communicate with every child to be sure that her message is delivered. Most of the period my son consumes time in repeating and writing what is on the board whether he knows it or not".



At the same time, teachers complain about the lack of educational facilities in their classrooms. Supervisors request them to apply teaching methods involving the use of visual aids and other teaching facilities, which they could not afford. On asking the school principal to support them, s/he replies that there are no financial resources allocated to that. In return, teachers are required by the school administration and supervisors to ask parents and students to bring some teaching aids as a student activity and in exchange for giving the grades. A grade one English teacher said, "The new syllabus, *Discovery* and *Connect*, is built on a communicative approach of teaching that involves using several techniques with a variety of teaching aids and I could not afford that from my salary. Whenever I ask the school principal for money, he asks me to request this from pupils and parents in return for grades as he has no money for that".

On the other hand, there are other hidden and undeclared obstacles that make school performance poor. The length and distributing of the syllabus do not have coherence with the time given to teaching. "There are too many lessons to be taught per week and I have only four teaching classes. The syllabus could not be taught well this way", an English teacher of grade one explained to me. Consequently, teachers' main aim is to teach the syllabus in the given time in a way or another, no matter how, or what are the actual learning outcomes on the learners. Such teaching environment lacks the quality of learning as no time for proper correction and giving feedback, no time for addressing individual differences or students with special needs or for teacher-student relations. One parent told me, "When I asked the school teacher for private tuition to my child, he could hardly remember his name!"

The role of the school at this stage has turned to be marginalized and limited within the frame of socialization, making new friends, play, and have fun. Some parents let their children be absent at least a day or two every week to study at home and do the private lessons homework. A parent told me, "School has become a waste of time. Many classes are with no teachers. Sometimes my child comes to me saying we had no classes today. No teachers taught us today!" On the same time, findings showed that teachers are overloaded with classes, administrative work, and other burdens in addition to actual teaching. One female Arabic teacher told me, "I am 58 years old and I teach 24 classes per week! This is

besides other written work far from teaching. This is too much, I cannot do it anymore". One Math male teacher added, "Since 1998 the ministry of Education has stopped hiring fresh graduates of the schools of education, except for public competitions. This led to a lack of teachers, and put more loads on present teachers who are getting old". Another teacher said in the interview, "When I was younger, I used to teach fewer classes than today! The ratio of student-teacher seems to be sufficient just on paper."

To conclude, there are different aspects of poor school performance emerged throughout interviewing the participants, which shows how this theme could be a cause of prevailing private tutoring in this early stage.

4.2 Findings of Research Sub Question One

There are some perceptions mentioned by both teachers and parents to illustrate how private tutoring is different from other grade levels. These perceptions generated two themes through collected information from the interviews. These two revealed themes emerged from the interviewees' responses and will answer the second research question (see Table 2).

Table 4.2

Generated Themes under Research Sub Question One

Research Sub Question One	Generated Themes Theme one: The affordability of	
How do teachers and parents perceive		
private tutoring differently in lower	private tutoring at this early age	
primary compared to grade levels?	Theme two: teacher's high Authority	

4.2.1 Theme one: The affordability of private tutoring at this early age. As indicated in chapter one on page 9&10, the Egyptian families spend 6.6% more of their expenditure on education on the primary stage than on the secondary stage. The findings of the research support this fact; they showed that the phenomenon of private tutoring at this primary stage is different from other grade levels due to affordability. Throughout

interviews, parents admitted that the money they have to spend on private tutoring is relatively little compared to the preparatory or secondary stages. This encourages them to let their kids join private tutoring. Meanwhile, there are only three main subjects in this stage; Arabic, Math, and English. A female parent said, "I thank God that my oldest child is only in grade 3. All I have to pay is just for three subjects: English, Math, and Arabic. If she were in *thanawy*- secondary stage, it is another story!" Another senior female parent said, "I pay to my child 100 L.E. in the English private lesson per month. It is less than what my *thanawyia amma* girl costs me in an English private lesson per class! She has to pay 20 pounds only for the booklet every class in addition to the price of the class itself and the money for the center!" Hence, parents are encouraged to let their children be involved in private tutoring for financial reasons; the prices of private tutoring in this early stage are affordable and the main school subjects are only three.

On the other side, teachers assured that the money they claimed for private tutoring at the primary stage is much less than private tutors get in other stages (preparatory and secondary), and they exert much effort in dealing with young pupils besides the constant interference of parents in their work. "Primary teachers do much effort with young pupils and get little money for that, while secondary teachers have much more numbers of students who listen carefully to their teaching, and pay more. We are not the same!" a 2nd-grade math teacher said. Another 1st-grade female teacher said: "Parents always interfere in every step in my teaching. They always dictate me what to do and what not to do. This never happens in the secondary stage".

To sum up, private tutoring at the early primary stage has prevailed due to affordability and the flexible surrounded environment. The money parents pay to their children at this stage is relatively less compared to other stages, also the numbers of students involved in each private session is smaller and the place of the session could be at home, centers, or school.

4.2.2 Theme two: Teacher's authority over pupils. The findings of this study showed that teachers of the early primary stage have a soft power over their pupils. Children between age (7, 8 and 9), usually fostered by cultural backgrounds, are tamed to



obey and listen to their teachers' words as unnegotiable demands. Teachers who usually use their loud voices as a mean of class discipline, portray a hidden picture of passive obedience inside children's mind. Those teachers find teaching overcrowded classes as a good excuse to practice their authority on young pupils to achieve good class discipline. Meanwhile, some teachers may use this authoritative environment unethically to push parents to engage their children in private tutoring. Among the parents who took part in the study, 12 parents, admitted how teachers practice their hidden powers to force them to engage their children in private tutoring. Some teachers declare it clearly through direct announcements in class that s/he teaches privately to encourage pupils to join. Other teachers, give pupils hard quizzes after a few weeks or even days that lead them to get low marks, which acts as a passive indication for parents to their children's low achievement. Hence, many parents showed that if they did not submit to the teacher's indirect calls for private tutoring, teachers could impose on their children with psychological passive forces such as discouragement and negligence, which leads to disappointment and lack of selfconfidence. To avoid this, parents surrender and let their children engage in private tutoring.

Moreover, one parent stated that the school teacher told her about her child after teaching him few private sessions: "Your son has improved much now". The same parent told me sarcastically: "Before I let my child join the teacher's private lesson, the teacher assured that he was a very low achiever but everything changed after only two sessions!" Another parent answered my question of how she sees private tutoring different in this early stage than other grade levels: "The school teacher is always who I choose for my child even if s/he is not good enough, I relief my mind and comfort my child", she added in another context: "If the teacher is terrible and I need to choose another teacher, I claim that I do not engage my child in private tutoring and I teach him myself at home, or let my child join private tutoring with this teacher just in the final revision".

Furthermore, some parents reject teachers using their power over pupils to force them to engage in private tutoring, but the nature of teacher-pupil relation at this early age has to be considered. Parents know the fact that teachers usually contribute to establishing pupils' positive or negative attitudes towards the school subject, schooling in general, and



even towards themselves. Findings showed that teachers do not give enough attention to those pupils who are not engaged in their private tutoring. They may not do this deliberately; this is because of large numbers in classes that make teacher-pupil share little so teachers find it hard to interact properly with every pupil. Private tutoring fosters deeper social relations between the schoolteacher, pupils, and parents. Teachers seem to pay more attention to those pupils who they teach privately. This happens spontaneously; teachers easily call them by names in and outside class, give them more attention or even better grades. "When the school teacher tutors my child privately, I feel very comfortable to ask about my child or to request him/her any favor I need to do at school", one parent said during the interview. Another parent added: "Private tutoring by the class teacher has many advantages; the teacher takes more care of the pupil, both the teacher and the pupil have a comfortable mutual relation, and this leads to better achievement and performance".

Finally, a teacher's authority is a dominating theme that shows how private tutoring is different from higher grade levels. Teenager students react differently to their teachers than young pupils. Unlike the early primary stage where emotions prevail, in the preparatory and secondary stages teacher show off their academic powers to attract students to engage in private tutoring. Seniors students' priority in choosing their private tutor is due to academic abilities while a parent elects her/his child's tutor not necessary to that but not to hear the child say, "I hate school. I do not want to go there anymore", a parent said in the interview.

4.3 Findings of Research Sub Question Two

The information gathered from interviewing the participants (teachers and parents) generated five themes which will answer the third research question. The first two themes; increase teacher's income and pupils' academic foundations are used to answer the first research question. They also answer the first half of research question three (the advantages). The following three themes answer the second half of the question (the disadvantages) see (Table 3).

Table 4.3
Generated Themes under Research Sub Question Two

neme one: Degrading teacher's role.
neme two: Marginalizing the role of
e school.
neme three: Loss of effort, waste of
ne, and resources.

4.3.1 Theme one: Degrading teacher's role. The findings have generated a theme that considered as a disadvantage of private tutoring for the lower primary stage; it is degrading the teacher's role at school. As discussed in theme one in research question one, findings have shown that the main reason behind teacher engagement in private tutoring is the financial factor. Both teachers and parents have expressed how this factor is considered the essential drive for emerging this phenomenon. Through the discussion of this theme, both participants (teachers and parents) tackled the theme through different scopes, but they agreed on the same result. During these discussions, they have generated a new hidden theme to answer research question number three; it is the role of the teacher that has been severely declined and passively affected. The emergence of the new theme grew between the two main participants of the study teachers and parents, but each of them still has his angle.

Parents usually had the main contribution to this theme; the analysis of the collected data highlighted how parents are not satisfied with the teacher's role at school. They always complained about the unsatisfactory performance of the teacher at school. Teachers have lost their independence, part of their dignity, and much of their creativity. A public school teacher tends to be a money seeker, not a knowledge provider. For teachers, the main purpose of going to school is to find an alternative source of money. Findings revealed how teachers usually have strong disagreements among them at the beginning of the school year because of the classes' distribution. They always have strong arguments on certain classes that seem to be more promising in future private tutoring. A parent has illustrated this theme by these words: "the teacher has lost his/her role since s/he depends on our pockets".

On the other side of the interviews, teachers could not have denied how their role has been significantly affected by private tutoring. Although they shyly blamed their poor income, they stated that they are always exhausted and physically tired of the hard work they do inside and outside school. They put equal shares on the reasons for that. They blamed crowded classes, over-saturated syllabuses, lack of time and their poor income. They always have a defensive tone full of good excuses.

In conclusion, private teaching has a negative impact on the role of the teacher in early primary school. The teacher lost his role as a facilitator, a provider of knowledge, and caregiver for a minor and ineffective role limited to promoting memorization and rote learning and lacks creativity and development. This leads to more private lessons and the deterioration of education.

4.3.2 Theme two: Marginalizing the role of the school. The findings revealed that private tutoring has more disadvantages than advantages. During coding and generating themes to answer the research questions, the participants have revealed how the phenomenon of private tutoring has a negative impact on various aspects of the educational process than its positive side. The second theme to answer research question two is marginalizing the role of the school. Parents were more to reveal this theme than teachers. They explained how the school has become the pupils' second source of education instead of being the first. Private tutoring has a priority for pupils to pursue education than attending schools. The consequences were that parents pay little attention to the role of the school; they consider it as a shadow education system that is a criterion for their child's progress in private tutoring. Parents who pay money for private tutoring outside school are eager to measure its impact on their children and here is the role of the school. A parent said in the interview: "My son does not go to school regularly because he depends on private tutoring. But I am keen on sending him if there are exams or quizzes. I want to know his academic progress".

In this theme, teachers declared that pupils appear to love going to school on the days when there are not many classes for the basic subjects. Moreover, they become very glad when teachers seem to be absent. They prefer to do physical education or any other school activities with no homework than to do math or English at school. This is because



private tutoring is an alternative for school regular classes, but there are no alternatives for these activities. There is always pressure on pupils made by parents, private tutors, and school teachers. Both teachers at home and at school eager to prove that they are doing well in a competitive way so they put more burdens on the pupils by giving a lot of homework, and this incarnates parents' desire to see their children study and achieve. A teacher said: "Pupils are innocent, while teaching, some of them spontaneously say I know this or that .. Miss X or Mr. Y taught me it before. I do not want to do it again". Even parents give various excuses for their children for not doing the school homework, when their children are jumbled with heavy homework, they prefer to do the private tutoring homework than the school one. A parent declared: "Sometimes we do not find enough time to do both homework, but s/he should do the homework of the private tuition first". In short, findings revealed that school plays a shadow role in educating school pupils compared to private tutoring.

4.3.3 Theme three: Loss of effort, waste of time and resources. Private tutoring has disadvantages that teachers, parents, and pupils share. Findings have revealed that private tutoring consumes a lot of physical effort and wastes time for teachers, parents, and pupils. Teachers work two shifts; in the early morning at school, and at centers and homes in the afternoons. Teaching large numbers at school is exhausting, but teachers have to do extra effort for private tutoring just after the school bell rings. Interviewed teachers have shown how they teach for long hours every day. They start in the early morning and usually finish at night. A male teacher expressed this saying: "I leave home while my kids are sleeping and come back home while they are sleeping. I only sit with them at weekends!" Consuming much time and effort teaching privately outside school walls makes teachers physically exhausted, and this negatively impact their performance at school. A parent said: "My son sometimes tells me that the teacher did not teach him at school, he was very tired and slept in the class". Besides teachers, parents suffer exerting efforts commuting to school for their pupils in the morning and centers in the afternoon. As they are young pupils, early primary pupils cannot go for private tutoring by themselves. They need their parents, who are always mothers, to send them there and usually sitting outside the centers or homes waiting for their children to finish because they find it very tiring to go back home and then go back again to the center just in less than two hours. Most parents have



highlighted this tiring process. A mother parent said: "I have to send my child to the center just after school and wait till he finishes or sometimes I do errands, I cannot go back home then go back to get him. It is really exhausting and costs money".

Findings showed that private tutoring is not exhausting to patents but to pupils as well. Pupils who are aged between 7 & 9 have to attend school from 7:30 a.m. till 2 p.m., then they join the private lesson just after school with no break till 4 o'clock p.m. That is the best timing for teachers, just after school, as they want to make use of the short winter day for more private tutoring. Consequently, young pupils do really feel exhausted, hungry, and less concentrated. A teacher illustrated this point saying: "I allow my pupils to eat and drink during teaching, before all they are children". A parent said in the interview when I asked her about the disadvantages of private tutoring: "It is very tiring for my little child, I make her absent from the school on the day of the private tutoring, as she cannot attend both. If she goes to school on the same day of the private tutoring day, she will sleep in the center!" The majority of the interviewed teachers and parents stated that pupils experience heavy loads that prevent them from enjoying their childhood. They spend all school days attending school in the morning, private supplementary tutoring in the afternoon, and doing both homework in the evening or at weekends. By the end of the day, pupils feel bored, tired, and start to hate schooling. It is important to note here that private tutors are usually the same school teachers, which means using the same traditional school teaching methods that are based on oral repetition and over writing that lead to memorization not higher thinking levels. All these factors decrease pupils' interest in learning and make them reluctant to love education.

4.4 Findings of Research Sub Question Three

The data gathered in the interviews have generated one main theme to answer research question number four (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4
Generated Theme under Research Sub Question Three

Research Sub Question Three	Generated Themes		
What solutions are suggested by teachers	Theme one: Reforming the		
and parents in the context of private	Mainstream Educational system.		
tutoring?			

4.4.1 Theme one: Reforming the mainstream educational system. When asking about their suggested solutions in the context of private tutoring, all teachers and parents put great emphasis on the necessity of reforming the mainstream educational system. They all agreed that supplementary private tutoring is a serious phenomenon that has emerged as a result of a poor schooling system. Findings revealed that a good schooling system will spontaneously push private tutoring to fade away. Although there was a consensus on this theme, the methods of putting it into action varied between the participants. Parents were over-generalized as they focused on the end rather than the means. Many of them shed light on the monotony of the school day and how their children reflect this point on their decreasing interest in school. A lot of parents said this phrase in the interviews: "Our children get bored and exhausted at school". Moreover, parents stated that the huge amount of school homework their children do at home is with a little positive impact on their academic performance. They referred to the long hours they spent with their children pushing them to write and memorize. The very traditional teaching methods used at schools make the pupils exhausted and bored. Many parents stated that school homework is a kind for punishment to both pupils and parents! A young female parent (Group A-6) expressed how she helps her daughter with her school homework saying: "She soon feels bored so I have to sit beside her all-time pushing her to write the school homework. It is a punishment to me not to her. And in the end she could not memorize well!"



Moreover, parents agreed that education should not take place outside the school. They considered the fact that pupils depend on paid private tutoring as a serious defect with the schooling system that should be dealt with. The idea of a normal mainstream system that introduces sufficient education to pupils dominates their conception to solve such a problem. Because the majority of interviewed parents are not educationalists, they suggested various solutions to improve education at schools. Some highlighted the difficulty and ambiguity of the school curriculum as it should be interesting and clear, others reflected on the over-crowded classes and lack of school facilities, while other parents said that teachers need to have much better salaries. It is clear that parents want a better schooling system to solve the problem of private tutoring but they don't know exactly how to accomplish this so they focused on their children's overall performance at school.

On the other side, teachers were more specific in giving their suggestions to solve the problem of private tutoring. They stated three main suggestions. First, they emphasized on improving their financial income as they consider it the main barrier against improving education. They think once teachers are financially secured, they will devote their time and effort to school, without this it is a waste of time. A male teacher said to illustrate this point: "If I have enough salary, I will be much relaxed and give my time and effort to school". Second, teachers think allocating more financial resources to improve school facilities comes in the second place. "Expenditure on education should be increased not decreased": a senior teacher said. Teachers blamed the government for neglecting education. They said that if the government is serious to improve education, many innovative solutions will come to the surface. While interviewing a group of teachers, they made a comparison to the new Suez Canal project and how the government could allocate 67 billion Egyptian pounds to the project in less than a week. They highlighted that it is time to make education a national project that everyone should take part in. Moreover, teachers complained about the bureaucracy of running public schools, and how they are linked to a highly authoritative and corrupted system that lacks freedom and deteriorates creativity. A teacher gave a solution to find additional financial resources to his school by saying: "My school lies in a very commercial area. If shops are made alongside with the school wall and rented, this will support school with more than 100,000 L.E. a month!" He added in the same context: "There are many other solutions: the school could have a nursery with fees in summer, the



school football pitch could be rented, and even the classes could be used as centers for private tuition!" Third, teachers think the last point to improve public schools lies in developing school curriculums based on interesting topics with no redundancy or unnecessary repetition. Meanwhile, most teachers referred to the professional development programs presented by the Ministry of Education as a waste of time, useless and far away from a practicum. A teacher said to illustrate this point: "These programs are perfect just on paper, how could they be applied in our overcrowded classrooms? Never!" Findings revealed how the ministry of education pushes teachers to join these professional development programs which are usually held in inappropriate times and far places, like weekends or during school days. Finally, teachers think these professional programs will be only effective when teachers become ready to participate positively and schools are potentially equipped to apply, otherwise, it is a waste of time.

Chapter: Five Discussion

The aim of the study was to understand the underlying factors that influence the private tutoring phenomenon in the lower primary stage in public schools in Cairo through views and experiences of teachers and parents. Moreover, this study explored the perceived advantages and disadvantages and possible solutions for this phenomenon. Throughout the interviews the participants showed how private tutoring in the early primary stage in public schools in Cairo has become a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. The main findings of the study showed that both teachers and parents are involved in private tutoring as a result of a serious defect in the mainstream schooling system. The major drive for the phenomenon is that poor financial resources allocated to primary school education. This leads to poor school performance and teachers' increasing temptation to be involved in private tuition outside school seeking substitution financial resources. Schools have become just institutions for finding the most opportunities for private tuition. The fifteen interviewed teachers have stated that their need for money is the only reason behind being involved in private tuition. This point is supported by a very recent study done on private tutoring in the primary stage in Egypt, shows that teacher's low income is found to be the main reason behind forced private tutoring (FPT) in public schools in Egypt (Ille & Peacey, 2019). In another study, teacher and administration corruption appears to be the main factor behind the prevailing of the phenomenon. In other words, teachers' deliberate poor classroom instruction increases the phenomenon of private tutoring (Elbadawy, 2015). Hence, it seems to be a vicious circle; poor salaries of teachers and poor school facilities lead to poor school performance that increases the need for private tutoring.

In the meantime, the results of the research met some points in common with previous research conducted on the same subject and opposed others. These points of agreement and disagreement are explained according to the following studies:

A study was done by Sobhy (2012) claimed that poor school environment appeared to be one of the main drives behind involving in private tutoring. According to Sobhy (2012), over-crowded classes, lack of school facilities, and using route learning that based on memorizing information and not higher thinking levels have produced a monotonous and insufficient learning environment that leads to the flourishing of private tutoring.



Although private tutoring usually follows the school mainstream in shape and content, it frees students from many constraints found in the classroom. The teacher seems to be gentler, welcoming students' questions and comments, have more time for each student and presents the lesson in a much simpler way with no complexity and more examoriented. The findings of the research confirm this point except that private tutoring is exam-oriented as there are no exams at this early stage.

Moreover, the studies were conducted by Hartman (2013) and Zhang (2014) highlighted the direct relationship between high pressure for national exams and private lessons. They explained that students take private lessons only in those subjects that determine final year grades: math, science, and languages. This fact is consistent with the results of this research which proved that parents involve their children in private lessons in only three subjects: mathematics, Arabic and English. Parents chose these subjects because they know that later in the upper grades, their children will need to sit for exams to determine their future educational path.

Most previous research has proved explicitly or implicitly the strong relationship between teachers' low-income and private tutoring. Elbadawy (2015) showed that teachers are the only element that benefits financially from promoting the phenomenon of private tutoring. So, they persistently resist any change that may negatively influence this advantage. At the same time, the findings of the research showed that teachers are involved in private tutoring as an alternative way to substitute their low financial status.

In countries with prevailing private tutoring phenomenon, teacher performance is often characterized by being low and inadequate teaching. They deliberately ignore doing well in the classroom to urge students to take part in private lessons (Jayachandran, 2014). This point is supported by the findings of this research. Parents have stated that teachers' insufficient performance at school led to poor learning outcomes for their children. So they substitute these deficiencies by private tutoring.

Since private tutoring is based on the idea of paying fees for teachers in return for teaching privately, the issue of inequality and inequity of education could not be avoided. Those who can afford it gain higher educational privileges than those who are deprived (Bray & Kwo, 2013). The same point is shown in the research. Parents who pay for private



tutoring for their children get better learning chances than those who do not. That means an increasing gap between educational and social inequalities.

Another quantitative study was done by Hof (2014) to measure the academic outcomes of private tutoring on students' learning performance, has proved how this relation seemed to be complex and contradictory. This was due to the complexity of variables used in such studies. The findings of the research did not deal with this area at all as it was a qualitative investigation to the reasons behind this phenomenon. Moreover, it seems to be so hard to try to find an appropriate tool to measure this relation because of the nature of the study.

The study took place in three different schools with different socio-economic backgrounds representing the three representative governorates of Cairo to address a variety of participants with various views and perceptions (see table 2). The findings showed how the phenomenon of private tutoring is deeply prevailing in our national schooling system. It appeared to be replacing the mainstream schooling system and not just acting as a supplementary role. In other words, both teachers and parents consider private tutoring the main engine controlling education in schools but with different aspects. For teachers, it is the only available means to earn more money to substitute their low salaries, and for parents, it is the only way to fill the gap of insufficient school learning for their children. Findings showed this conception manipulated in the three schools but with different aspects.

The first school located in Cairo, and which lies in an urban area that has a higher socio-economic background than the other two schools, appears to apply the phenomenon of private tutoring that coping with its dominating socio-economic strata. For example, teachers and centers demand higher fees, most of the private tuition occurs in airconditioned classes, there are facilities such as a canteen, photocopier machines and over high projectors. Moreover, some parents could afford one-to-one tuition with their preferred private tutor, and that costs much higher. In general, schools with high socio-economic backgrounds enjoy more privileges in implementing the phenomenon of private tutoring.

On the other hand, the school located in rural Giza has its own social environment that impacts how the same phenomenon takes place. Most of the private tuition occurs after



school in the same classrooms or poorly equipped centers attached to a mosque or sometimes at teachers' homes. It should be with the same school teacher as there is what could be described as a hidden protocol between teachers and school administration that none of the teachers should be involved in private tutoring outside his/her classroom zone. Unlike the previous school, parents usually have no freedom to choose the private tutor or even the place of the tuition. The authority of the teacher seems to be the highest of the three schools.

The third school is in Qalyubia, it is usually a rural governorate, but the school lies in an urban area. The implementation of the phenomenon of private tutoring is more similar to the school of Cairo but with a rural style. Most of the private tuition takes place in centers or at teachers' home, who are usually females. But still, teachers have high authority on their classroom pupils as parents prefer their children to join private tutoring with classroom teachers to avoid troubles.

As the study followed the Phonological Research Method, it investigated the phenomenon of private tutoring through delving into the participants' perceptions, perspectives, understandings, and feelings (Creswell, 2013). Consequently, the findings highlight a variety of issues indirectly connected to the phenomenon but with significant impact. These issues deepen our understanding of the phenomenon and portray a vivid picture of private tutoring more than the common perception of a teacher tutoring a student outside the school walls and times.

The first issue is the External Books, which refers to the books that teachers use in private tuition. In other words, parents complained that teachers demand additional books other than the schoolbooks to be used in teaching privately. Parents have to buy these external books- which cost a considerate amount of money. Both teachers and parents claim that school books are insufficient to the learning process, as they do not have enough explanation or exams for practice. On the contrary, the external books seem to be more attractive, colorful, comprehensive, and supported with multi-media applications which made the school book unable to compete and considered less important. Consequently, teachers, parents, and students use school books only at school as they have become of a marginalized role that only functions inside classrooms. The question here is: who composes and publishes such books? And why does the ministry of education allow this?

If it is clear for everyone that the school books are of less value and only used in a mocking way inside classrooms, why are they printed costing Egypt more than 1.5 billion L.E. a year?

The second issue is the real academic impact of private tutoring on students at this early age. As referred in chapter one all students will be promoted to the next year as most exams are oral and the results of the final year written exams are of no impact on students' transition to the following year. Moreover, teachers possess 70% of the grades given to students assessment, and 30% is for ineffective oral or written exams. This allows teachers to dominate students' assessment process and promote private tutoring. On the other hand, this way of assessment seems to be subjective and vague as it lacks empirical results that reflect students' real academic performance. In crowded classes where teachers could hardly remember their students' names, it tends to be impractical to measure their academic performance accurately. In the new assessment methods applied by the Ministry of Education, teachers use colors instead of grades, so it could be inaccurate. Consequently, the real academic impact of private tutoring at this early age turns to be of no factual evidence on the amount of money and effort consumed.

The third issue is the teacher image. I mean how teachers see themselves and how others see them. The interviews explicitly revealed that teachers of this stage are depressed, under-estimated, and gloomy. Senior and male teachers are more to have these passive feelings than young and female teachers. Most of the senior teachers were bold to express their feelings as they had negative attitudes towards the process of education. They always complained about low salaries and compared themselves with their well-paid fellow employees in other governmental positions. Meanwhile, young teachers indulged in a race with other teachers to get as much money as they can from private tutoring. They are young, full of enthusiasm and energy to work for long hours a day in and out of school. Between both cases, a fertile environment of severe competition grows, leading to unethical practices among teachers to dominate as much private tutoring as possible. As a result, teachers become opponents and lose the spirit of cooperation, which has a negative impact on education in general.

The fourth issue is that private tutoring violates the principals of social justice education. Private tutoring has benefits on those students who can afford it. But what about



who could not? The principals of offering equitable education for all students seems to be a far-fetched goal in public schools in Egypt. Those who have money to pay for private tutors will achieve better learning chances inside and outside schools, while those students who cannot afford private tutoring will face classroom negligence and low achieving learning outcomes. The long run consequences of private tutoring may deepen the social and financial gap within the Egyptian society.

This study was conducted within the theoretical framework of The Institutional Theory in education to explore the phenomenon of private tutoring. This theory tries to explore how educational institutions are related to and influenced by societal, national, and even global environments. As previously mentioned in chapter two, this theory claims that private tutoring is a prevailing characteristic of the educational institution itself as it is perceived as an outcome of the relationship between education inside the classroom and the wider environments outside school walls. Therefore, it relates the phenomenon to the mutual economic impact and the social consequences of education on society. To be clearer, The Institutional Theory perceives private tutoring through a wider scope outside the frame of the educational institutions as well as their inside practices. It is an outcome of hidden educational reasons in the educational institution itself concerning the outside environmental frames (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Baker et al., 2001). The findings of this study showed how the phenomenon of private tutoring relates poor hidden educational practices in public schools in Egypt to the social, conceptual, and economic environments in the Egyptian community. These poor practices have many reasons, some are discussed as follows:

- Low salaries paid for teachers was the fundamental drive behind involving teachers in private tutoring. Public school teachers are among the lowest salaries in the Egyptian society. The interviews reflected how participants (teachers & parents) consider private tutoring as a natural consequence for teachers' financial needs.
- Overcrowded classes average (54 students), stuffed curricula, overworked teachers and lack of school facilities gave strong excuses for teachers not to devote their effort in classrooms and keep it for paid private tutoring.
 Meanwhile, the government could not find appropriate solutions for



overcrowded classes concerning the problem of overpopulation in Egyptian society, as having many kids is still a culture for many parents. Also, the economic policies of the new Egyptian government after the June 30th, 2013 revolution tend to follow strict austerity policies for economic reform which has a negative impact on the educational funding. Teacher's authority was a rather pressing factor for pushing students towards private tutoring.

To conclude, the findings of the research were mostly aligned with The Institutional Theory as they extended to explain the phenomenon of private tutoring outside the direct practices of the educational institutions. The findings showed how the country's economic status, as well as some dominating social perceptions, have a direct impact on the phenomenon of private tutoring. For example, teachers' salaries have witnessed obvious deductions, unlike other governmental employees. Moreover, most parents assured that they pay for private tutoring because they believe that education is a common good for their children. In other words, a good education will help their children to lead a better future life. They do not care about exams results at this early age as their children will pass to the next year by the power of law. What they care about is providing their children with the fundamental learning experiences that will help them to gain better future educational chances and their social and financial consequences.

There are some recommendations suggested by the researcher that could present possible solutions to the problem of private tutoring in the lower primary stage in public school in Egypt. These recommendations will be discussed below:

Firstly, the job of a primary teacher in public schools in Egypt need to be a very appealing job. Highly qualified teachers are to be hired with respectful salaries. As long as teachers depend on parents' pockets to satisfy their basic financial needs, schools will be a battle for gaining more chances for private tutoring. Therefore, teachers could not find time or effort to develop themselves professionally or perform well at school.

Secondly, teachers' voices have to be heard. They should get some space of freedom to share their experiences and views with policymakers. Teachers in public schools are just passive tools for implementation. They only have to apply what is driven from an upper authority. They have no right to contribute to a syllabus or a curriculum, no



right to choose a lesson and leave another. Teachers have to do exactly what is dictated from their supervisors and school administrations, otherwise, they would be punished. Teachers are supposed to be creators of knowledge not just passing chattered pieces of information to students. How could teachers be creators and facilitators while they are poor tools of implementation prisoned in a dull routine?

Thirdly, liberating school administrations is the main key for running a good school. How to run a school is how to shape the future. Schools need young liberating leaders with innovative solutions to their problems. The highly authoritative administration of running all schools the same way proved to be a big failure. Every school has its characteristics and environment. It seems silly when only one syllabus is implied by all schools in the country. Finding additional funding for schools could be achieved if it is permitted for teachers and school principals to speak clearly and boldly? Board of trustees are very essential to suggest and discuss school problems and apply their suggestion freely.

Conclusion

Public schools in Egypt are the places where mainstream education is supposed to happen. Teachers and students should meet within the borders of the educational institutions to allow the process of education to take place. In reality, private tutoring has shown to be a prevailing phenomenon in the lower primary stage in public schools in Egypt. This research has tried to show the factors and reasons for this phenomenon. The research revealed that the quality of public education tends to be of humble outcomes. Learning in public classrooms occurs in difficult conditions; the classrooms are very crowded as there are over 55 students in most classes, rote learning and memorization is still the method used by teachers, and many schools suffer from understaffed teachers and lack of financial resources. As a result of this, learning has become of very humble outcomes and the phenomenon of private tutoring has dominated the Egyptian public educational system.

Most teachers are involved in this activity due to their low salaries as it is their only substitute to satisfy their financial needs. At the same time, parents let their children join private tutoring seeking basic lingual and mathematical literacy- *foundation*. Private tutoring takes place in many shapes and under different socio-economic circumstances. Parents' financial factor determines where and how private tutoring occurs. If parents are



of high financial backgrounds, the number of students in a private tutoring session tends to be small and usually takes places at the students' homes with high fees. However, if the parents are of humble financial backgrounds, the number of students is usually big, about a few tens, and the process of private tutoring occurs in a center or the teacher's home.

The phenomenon of private tutoring is of various impact on teachers, students, and school environment. Teachers make an extra effort outside school that may negatively affect their performance in classrooms. Students and their parents consume a lot of effort and money after the school bell rings. Private tutoring puts more burdens on the students' studying activities, as they have to do extra homework besides the school. In spite of all this, private tutoring is of the inaccurate impact of students' academic performance. The assessment methods used in this early stage lack accuracy and tend to be subjective.

Finally, private tutoring in the lower primary stage in public schools in Egypt seems to be a widespread phenomenon. It has not become just a supplementary tool of tuition to mainstream education. On the contrary, findings showed that private tutoring has the upper concern for teachers and parents than mainstream education. In other words, both teachers and parents put more consideration to private tutoring than school education which appears to be a follower and supplementary to what actually happens in private tutoring and not vice versa.

Limitations of the Study

- 1- The study includes data from only 3 primary schools out of 16,196 primary schools in Egypt, and reflect the views and perceptions of only 15 teachers out of 420,840 primary school teachers. This means that the sample is so small compared to the real population.
- 2- The researcher's background and his deep familiarity with the phenomenon and the research work field put more burdens and ethical responsibilities to achieve trustworthiness in conducting and analyzing the data.
- 3- The issue of private tutoring is officially banned by the METE in Egypt, which makes it difficult for the researcher to convince the participant teachers involving in private tutoring to openly share their experiences. The teachers refused under any circumstances



to be mentioned by names in the thesis, and some of them felt more secure and gave me much detailed information and experiences inside talks when the recording stopped, so I had to write down in detail all the given data which was exhausting.

4- The research presents a much-margined sample of primary schools in Egypt. It only covers three governorates out of twenty-seven. It is highly recommended for future researches to cover more primary public schools in different governorates in Egypt. Applying a larger sample size in future researches will bring out further areas to explore. 5- To reach a wider scope to the phenomenon of private tutoring in Egypt at this early age, more participants could be involved in future studies, for example, school principals, ministry administrators, and school supervisors. Although these are not involved directly in the practices of private tutoring, they have their views and perceptions that might add to exploring the phenomenon.

6- In 2017 the Ministry of Education and Technical Education in Egypt has just carried out a comprehensive reform project to reform education in Egypt. This project has been applied to the first two years in primary education. Next year it will be applied to the third grade. Time is needed to be given to the project to be developed. Further studies are needed to be done in the next few years to measure if there would be improvements to the phenomenon or not.



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Appendix A: IRB Approval

CASE #2018-2019-084



To: Mohamed Faiz Kabadaya

Cc: Dena Riad

From: Atta Gebril, Chair of the IRB

Date: March 1, 2019 Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "Participation of Egyptian Lower Primary School Students in Private Tutoring Activities: Reasons and Solutions" and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" category. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Ashraf Hatem. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

Dr. Atta Gebril

IRB chair, The American University in Cairo 2046 HUSS Building

T: 02-26151919

Email: agebril@aucegypt.edu

Institutional Review Board The American University in Cairo AUC Avenue, P.O. Box 74 New Cairo 11835, Egypt. tel 20.2.2615.1000 fax 20.2.27957565

Email: aucirb@aucegypt.edu

Appendix B: CAPMAS Approval



قرار رئيس الجهاز المركزى للتعبئة العامة والإحصاء بالتفويض

رقم (ککک) لسنة ۲۰۱۹/۲۰۱۸

في شأن قيام الباحث / محمد فائر صلاح الدين قبضايا - المسجل لدرجة الماجستير بقسم التعليم الدولي المقارن / كلية الدراسات العليا في التربية / الجامعة الامريكية بالقاهرة - بإجراء دراسة ميدانية بعنوان: (أسباب تفشى ظاهرة مشاركة طلاب المدارس الابتدائية - الصفوف الثلاث الاولى - في الدروس الخصوصية).

- رئيس الجهاز

 بعد الإطلاع على القرار الجمهوري رقم (٢٩١٥) لسنة ١٩٦٤ بشأن إنشاء الجهاز المركزى للتعبئة العامة والإحصاء
- وعلى قرار رئيس الجهاز رقم (٢٣١) لسنة ١٩٦٨ في شأن إجراء الإحصاءات والتعدادات والإستفتاءات والإستقصاءات.
 - وعلي قرار رئيس الجهاز رقم (١٣١٤) لسنه ٢٠٠٧ بشأن التفويض في بعض الاختصاصات.
 - وعلى كتاب الجامعة الامريكية بالقاهرة الوارد للجهاز في ١٩/٣/٥.

مادة ١: يقوم الباحث / محمد فائر صلاح الدين قبضايا - المسجل لدرجة الماجستير بقسم التعليم الدولي المقارن / كلية الدراسات العليا في التربية / الجامعة الامريكية بالقاهرة - بإجراء الدر اسنة الميدانية المشار اليها عالية.

مادة ٢: تجري الدراسة على عينة حجمها (٥٠) خمسون مفردة من مدرسي ومدرسات وأولياء أمور تلاميذ المرحلة الابتدائية بالمدارس الحكومية وذلك بمحافظات (القاهرة - الجيزة - القليوبية).

مادة ٣: تجمع البيانات اللازمة لهذه الدراسة طبقا للاستمارتين المعدتين لهذا الغرض والمعتمدة كل صفحة منهما بخاتم الجهاز المركزي للتعبئة العامة والاحصاء وبياناتهما كالتالى:

الاستمارة الأولى: أستمارة المعلم وعدد صفحاتها صفحتان. الاستمارة الثانية: استمارة ولى الامر وعدد صفحاتها صفحتان.

مادة ٤: تقوم مديريات التربية والتعليم بالمحافظات المستهدفة - وتحت إشراف إدارة الامن بكل منها -

بتيسير إجراء هذه الدراسة الميدانية - على ان تقوم كل مديرية بتحديد الادارات التعليمية وكذا أسماء المدارس المستهدفة - مع مراعياة الضوابط الخاصية بتقييم درجية سرية البيانيات والمعلومات المتداولة مسبقا بمعرفة كل جهة طبقا لما جاء بخطة الأمن بها.

مادة ٥: يراعي موافقة مفردات العينة - مع مراعاة سرية البيانات الفردية طبقاً لقانون الجهاز رقم (٣٥) لسنة . ١٩٦ والمعدل بالقانون رقم (٢٨) لسنة ١٩٨٢ وعدم استخدام البيانات التي يتم جمعها لأغراض أخرى غير أغراض هذه الدراسة.

مادة ٦: يجري العمل الميداني خلال ثلاثة أشهر من تاريخ صدور هذا القرار. مادة ٧: يوافي الجهاز المركزي للتعبئة العامة والإحصاء بنسخة من النتائج النهائية لهذه الدراسة.

مادة ٨: ينقذ هذا القرار من تاريخ صدوره.

صدر في: ١٩/٣/٣.٠.

مجدی محمد جاد القائم بأعمال مدير عام الإدارة العامة للامن

826
الجهاز المركزى للتعبئة العامة والإحصا

الموضوع :	القيال الم
الموضوع إ	التاد خر ر ب ن
المرفقات :	التاريخ:١١ / ١١/١

السيد الأستاذ الدكتور / مستشار الجامعة الامريكية بالقاهرة

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،،

بسالإشارة لكتاب سيادتكم الوارد للجهاز في ٢٠١٩/٣/٠ بشأن طلب الموافقة على قيام الباحث / محمد فانز صلاح ادين قبضايا - المسجل لدرجة الماجستير بقسم التعليم الدولى المقارن / كلية الدراسات العليا في التربية / الجامعة الامريكية بالقاهرة - بباجسراء دراسة ميدانية بعنوان: (أسباب تفشى ظاهرة مشاركة طلاب المدارس الابتدانية - الصفوف الثلاث الاولى - في الدروس الخصوصية).

وذلك وفقا للإطار المعد لهذا الغرض.

يرجى التكرم بالإحاطة بأن الجهاز المركزي للتعبنة العامة والإحصاء يوافق على قيام الباحث / محمد فائز صلاح الدين قبضايا - بإجراء الدراسة الميدانية المشار إليها بعالية وفقا للقرار رقم (٤٤٤) لسنة ٢٠١٩/٢٠١٨ اللازم في هذا الشأن وعلى إن يوافي الجهاز بنسخة من النتائج النهائية كاملة فور الانتهاء من إعدادها طبقا للمادة رقم (٧) من القرار.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام ،،،

مجدى محمد جاد القائم بأعمال مدير عام الإدارة العامة للأمن

11/14

2601

Appendix C: Consent Form

استمارة موافقة مسبقة للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية

عنوان البحث: (مشاركة طلبه المدارس الابتدائية المصرية – الصفوف الثلاث الأولي – في الدروس الخصوصية: الأسباب والحلول)

الباحث الرئيسي: (محمد فائز صلاح الدين قبضايا. مدرس أول ألغة إنجليزية بوزارة التربية والتعليم)

البريد الإلكتروني: kabadaya2016@aucegypt.edu

الهاتف: 01156652595-01025471166

انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن (دراسة أسباب تفشي ظاهرة مشاركة طلاب المدارس الابتدائية المصرية – الصفوف الثلاث الأولي – في الدروس الخصوصية والبحث عن حلول مقترحة لتلك الظاهرة. علما بأن نجاح وانتقال الطلاب للصفوف الدراسية التالية يضمنه قانون التعليم وليس متعلق بنتائج الاختبارات الشفوية منها أو التحريرية).

هدف الدراسة هو محاولة الكشف عن أسباب تقشي ظاهرة الدروس الخصوصية في الصفوف الثلاث الأولي بين طلاب المدارس الابتدائية في مصروإقتراح حلول لها)

نتائج البحث ستنشر في (دوريه تعليمية متخصصه أو مؤتمر تربوي أو ربما كليهما).

المدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث هي 30 دقيقة تقريبا.

اجراءات الدراسة تشتمل تتبع النهج النوعي في الحصول على المعلومات من خلال إجراء المقابلات الشخصية والجماعية.

المخاطر المتوقعة من المشاركة في هذه الدراسة (لا يوجد مخاطر أو مضايقات متوقعة من المشاركة في هذا البحث حيث أن هوية المشاركين لن يعلن عنها أو يشار إليها بأي صورة في تناول البحث و ستبقى دائما غير معلن عنها)



الاستفادة المتوقعة من المشاركة في البحث: (هذا البحث يمثل مجالاً حقيقياً للمشاركين للتعبير عن آرائهم و مقترحاتهم و يشعرهم بأهميتها و مدي فاعليتها في المساهمه في إجاد حلول لمشاكلهم).

السرية واحترام الخصوصية: المعلومات التي ستدلى بها في هذا البحث سوف تكون سرية. فعلي سبيل المثال لن يفصح البحث او يشير الي إسماء المدرسين أو طبيعه و مكان عملهم وكذلك أولياء الأمور.

أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة مثل الإطلاع على النتائج أو سير عملية البحث أو حقوق المشاركين فيها يجب ان توجه الى الباحث: محمد فائز صلاح الدين قبضايا. هاتف:01156652595-0125471166.

ان المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ماهي الا عمل تطوعي, حيث أن الامتناع عن المشاركة لايتضمن أي عقوبات أو فقدان أي مذايا تحق لك. ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت من دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

الامضاء:	
اسم المشارك :	
التاريخ :/	/

Appendix D: Interview Questions for Teachers (in Arabic)

Questions for teachers

- 1. ما الذي يجعلك تشارك كمعلم/ معلمة في الدروس الخصوصية؟
- 2. كمعلم ، كيف ترى أن الدروس الخصوصية في المرحلة الابتدائية الأولي تختلف عن المراحل الأخرى؟ اشرح إجابتك ، من فضلك أعط أمثلة.
 - كمعلم ، ما الذي يجعل الوالدين يلحقان بأطفالهما في الدروس الخصوصية في هذه السن المبكرة؟ هل يمكنهم إيجاد طرق بديلة غير الدروس الخصوصية؟
 - 4. كمعلم ، ما هي المعايير التي علي أساسها تعتقد أن الآباء يختارون المعلم الخاص لأطفالهم؟
 - 5. ما الذي يمكن أن يجعل المعلمين لا يشاركون في الدروس الخصوصية ؟
 - 6. هل تعتقد أن الدروس الخصوصية لها تأثير سلبي أوإيجابي على المعلمين / الطلاب / البيئة المدرسية؟ أرجو توضيح من فضلك..
 - 7. ما نوع الدروس الخصوصية التي تفضلها؟ (واحد إلى واحد أو في مجموعات) لماذا؟
 - 8. ما رأيك في محاولة وزارة التربية للحد من ظاهرة الدروس الخصوصية في المرحلة الابتدائية الأولى؟
 - 9. كيف تظن كمعلم أن التدريس الخصوصي يختلف عن التدريس في الفصل المدرسي ؟
 - 10. كيف يمكنك أن تري نفسك كمدرس يقوم بإجراء دروس خصوصية؟ بعبارة أخري هل أنت راضي عن نفسك كمعلم/ معلمة خصوصي أم لا؟ لماذا؟
- 11. هل يمكنك كمعلم أن تؤدي أداءً مختلفًا في الدروس الخصوصية عنها في الفصل دراسي في المدرسة؟ لماذا؟
- 12. هل تعتقد أن علاقة المعلم والطالب تتأثر بالدروس الخصوصية؟ توضيح من فضلك.

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13. هل تتوقع أن يتم تعليم طفاك بشكل مختلف أثناء التدريس الخاص مقارنة بالفصل الدراسي في المدرسة؟ لماذا؟ في أي النواحي؟ .14 هل تعتقد أن علاقة المعلم بالطالب تتأثر بالدروس الخصوصية؟ أرجو التوضيح من فضلك. L'és y 200%

Appendix E: Interview Questions for Teachers (in English)

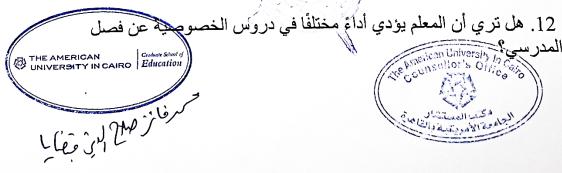
- 1. Could you please tell me why you are involved in private tutoring as a teacher / tutor?
- 2. What type of tutoring do you prefer? (One-to-one or in groups) Why?
- 3. How do you view yourself as a tutor?
 - a. *Probing question*: are you satisfied with yourself as a private teacher / tutor or not? Why?
- 4. What do you think would dissuade teachers from participating in private tutoring?
- 5. Can you please compare teaching in private tutoring to teaching in normal classroom?
 - a. *Probing question*: Do you think that your performance could be different in private lessons than in school classroom? Why?
- 6. Can you please explain positive and negative impacts of private tutoring on teachers / students / the school environment?
- 7. Do you think that the relationship between the teacher and the student is influenced by private lessons? Please clarify.
- 8. Do you think that the private lessons in primary school are different from the other stages? Explain your answer, please. Give examples.
- 9. As a teacher, what makes parents enroll their children in tutoring at this early age?
 - a. *Probing question*: Can they find alternative ways other than tutoring?
- 10. As a teacher, what do you think about the criteria on which parents choose their child's private teacher?



Appendix F: Interview Questions for Parents (in Arabic)

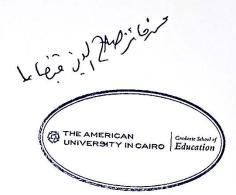
Questions for Parents

- 1. كولي أمر تلميذ في المرحلة الأولي للتعليم الإبتدائي ما الذي يجعلك تلحق ابنك او بنتك في الدروس الخصوصية في هذا السن المبكر؟
 - 2. كيف ترى أن الدروس الخصوصية في المرحلة الابتدائية الأولى تختلف عن المراحل الأخرى؟ اشرح إجابتك ، من فضلك. أعط أمثلة.
- هل تعتقد ان الدروس الخصوصية في هذه المرحلة ضرورية؟ لماذا؟ المبكرة؟
 هل يمكنك إيجاد طرق بديلة لتدريس أبنائك غير الدروس الخصوصية؟
 - 4. كيف يمكن للطلاب الاستفادة من التدريس الخصوصي؟
 - 5. ما هي المعايير التي تختارها كولي أمر للمدرس الخاص لأطفالك؟
- أو بعبارة أخري كيف تختار أنت والآباء المعلم الخاص لطفلك؟ (مدرسين مشهورين أم معلم الفصل أم غير ذلك)
- 6. في رأيك ما الذي يمكن أن يجعل المعلمين / أولياء الأمو لا يشاركون في الدروس الخصوصية؟
 - 7. هل تعتقد أن الدروس الخصوصية لها تأثير سلبي وإيجابي على الطلاب / البيئة المدرسية؟ توضيح من فضلك.
 - 8. ما نوع الدروس الخصوصية التي تفضلها؟ (واحد إلى واحد أو في مجموعات) لماذا؟
 - 9. ما رأيك في محاولة وزارة التربية للحد من ظاهرة الدروس الخصوصية في المرحلة الابتدائية الأولي؟ مثل الغاء الاختبارات و جعل النجاح تلقائى؟
- 10. كيف تظن أن التدريس الخاص من قبل مدرس يختلف عن التدريس في الفصل المدرسي ؟



13. هل تتوقع أن يتم تعليم طفلك بشكل مختلف أثناء التدريس الخاص مقارنة بالفصل الدراسي في المدرسة؟ لماذا؟ في أي النواحي؟

.14 هل تعتقد أن علاقة المعلم بالطالب تتأثر بالدروس الخصوصية؟ أرجو التوضيح من فضلك.







Appendix G: Interview Questions for Parents (in English) Questions for Parents

- 1. What makes you as a parent to enroll your child in private lessons at this early age?
- 2. How do you see that the private lessons in primary school are different from the other stages? Explain your answer, please. Give examples.
- 3. Do you think that private lessons at this stage are necessary? Why? Can you find alternative ways to teach your children other than private tutoring?
- 4. How can students benefit best from private tutoring?
- 5. On what criteria do you choose your child's private teacher?

Or in other words, how do you choose the teacher who tutors your child privately? (Famous teachers, classroom teachers, etc.)

- 6. In your opinion, what can make teachers not participate in private lessons?
- 7. Do you think that private lessons have a negative and positive impact on students / school environments / teachers? Please clarify.
- 8. What type of tutoring do you prefer? (One-to-one or in groups) Why?
- 9. What do you think of the Ministry of Education's attempt to reduce the phenomenon of private tutoring in primary school? Such as canceling tests and making success compulsory?
- 10. How do you think that your teaching your child by a private teacher differs from teaching in the classroom?
- 11. Do you think that the teacher performs differently in private lessons than the classroom? Or, Do you expect your child to be taught differently during private instruction than in school? Why? How?
- 12. Do you think that the relationship between the teacher and the student is affected by private lessons? Please clarify.
- 13. Would you like to add something else not mentioned in the questions to the issue of private tutoring?

