

学位論文の要旨 (論文の内容の要旨)
Summary of the Dissertation (Summary of Dissertation Contents)

論 文 題 目

Dissertation title Factors Influencing Engagement of Private Tutoring at Cambodian Upper Secondary Schools

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Introduction

Private tutoring (hereafter PT) has gained popularity across continents in different forms and scales. Some studies pointed out that PT expansion is prominent in Asia—especially in countries driven by Confucian culture—under competitive educational environments (e.g., leaving/standardized examination and university entrance examination). Specifically, Cambodian students have been facing challenges in learning the entire curriculum by studying only in public schools. Thus, students invested their financial capital in PT before or after official school hours to be able to continue the school syllabus in effective or appropriate teaching. This pushed students who could not afford the same at a disadvantage, especially in the secondary school leaving examination. In this regard, studies and media reports criticized the quality of public education, including teacher unprofessionalism and inequity issue in Cambodian society.

Cambodian authorities succeeded in expanding school access to all geographical areas, yet its education faced other hindrances such as equity and quality of education. Studies and media criticized the government's low educational expenses, which imposed financial burden on individual households, including PT expenses. Parents and students invested both money and time before and after the official school hours through PT to continue learning to ensure academic success. It also compelled schoolteachers to look for additional job(s), including offering PT to their own students to supplement their family's daily needs. Due to insufficient salaries, Cambodian schoolteachers engaged in PT with their own students. Their engagement has been unfortunately categorized as unprofessional and oppressive. The Royal Government of Cambodia (hereafter, RGC) and the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport (hereafter, MoEYS) have launched a series of programs (i.e., abolished school fee and informal payment including PT, increased schoolteachers' salaries, amended professional ethic code of conduct which was known as "discouragement" scenario to regulate PT in literature, and been through some educational reforms); nonetheless PT practices are prevalent. Furthermore, the rate of students who undertook PT outside school hours was approximately 76% from 2015 to 2020, according to the national survey of Cambodia's Socio-Economic Survey. Therefore, the question to be posed is *why PT is still in demand at Cambodian upper secondary schools*. In response to this, this study aimed to answer two research questions:

- (1) Why did schoolteachers continue to offer PT at Cambodian upper secondary schools?
- (2) Why did students and parents continue to invest in PT at Cambodian upper secondary schools?

To answer these research questions, the study employed both interview and survey approaches for data collection and analysis to gain insights into the issue of PT at Cambodian upper secondary schools. Narrative

data were collected from 89 interviewees, including different educational stakeholders (i.e., schoolteachers, Grade-12 students and their parents, school principals, (vice-)directors of the Provincial Office of Education, and staff at the policy level), and 198 schoolteachers and 862 paired students and parents through a self-reported survey. These data were collected from 12 upper secondary schools in Phnom Penh and four different provinces through online applications due to the school closure following the COVID-19 pandemic.

Key findings and discussion

The first research question aimed to gain insights into why schoolteachers at upper secondary schools continue offering PT to their Grade-12 students. Overall, *shortage of instructional time* to complete the school syllabus, *low salaries*, *teacher specialization*, and *parents' and school principals' requests*, were the primary reasons influencing Cambodian schoolteachers to continue engaging in PT with their students. The study unexpectedly found that *anti-cheating examinations ironically impacted schoolteachers to continue PT* in response to increased demand because students and parents feared failure in their baccalaureate examinations.

The second question intended to investigate why Cambodian Grade-12 students and their parents continue investing in PT. The study yielded some key findings, such as *schoolteachers' uncaring pedagogies* and *oppression in school* and *feeling of fear caused by the anti-cheating examination*. Additionally, *peer influence* and *inability to provide academic support at home* were reasons parents continued investing in PT for their children. This current study also observed the association of students' learning tracks (science and social science) with their PT engagement rather than only observing the rates of students taking PT of each academic subject as the previous studies did. This insight could contribute toward the understanding of the policy development as well as MoEYS on the challenges in promoting science track at upper secondary school. As a result, the study unveiled that students' learning track significantly impacted their decision to engage in PT. Both data analyses consistently revealed that students in science were more likely to undertake PT than their peers in social science because their mathematics and science tests were more challenging. However, some students in social science who switched their track at university also invested in PT of subjects not for their baccalaureate examination but for their university entrances.

Although the anti-cheating examination policy provides Cambodian Grade-12 students with an equitable opportunity, it was ironically found to expand PT engagement and burden some students and parents, particularly students who followed science track in this study. Students and parents feared failure at their baccalaureate examination since they did not trust in only learning in school. PT remained in demand due to the insufficient instructional time to complete all contents of the MoEYS syllabus. Additionally, PT was the only available additional education choice. Contradictorily, from leadership positions' viewpoint, they criticized schoolteachers' lateness and absenteeism in their daily teaching as a cause of lack of instructional time. In this aspect, they viewed the shortage of instructional time as a malpractice/trick of schoolteachers to blackmail their students for PT, as discussed in the literature. This could imply that lack of school accountability and monitoring system and poor school leadership of school principals were why schoolteachers could engage in PT, as studies found in different developing countries.

Students' learning track was also found to impact their continuation with PT. Students in science track faced more financial burdens and challenges gaining passing grades. On the contrary, students in social science were less likely to do these because they did not need to undertake PT for their core examination subjects. They could learn most of those subjects through memorization skills while their peers required more practice (i.e., mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology). About 90% of social science also took mathematics and Khmer composition, compulsory subjects for both learning tracks. Nevertheless, they received less burden in terms of finances and tests. These fewer burdens might affect the declined rates of students enrolled in science at upper secondary school. For example, the rates of Cambodian upper secondary school students enrolled in science track dropped from about 96% in 2014 to over 36% in 2021, according to Cambodia's Department of General Education. The decline in science track showed the great concern for MoEYS when attempting to promote

science and mathematics. Nonetheless, some students may return to the science track when enrolling in university, as shown in this study. However, local studies pointed out only a small percentage; for example, about 10% of students in social science at upper secondary schools enrolled in science-related fields at university.

Conclusion

PT for Grade-12 students, in particular, remained in great demand among schoolteachers and students and their parents in Cambodia due to factors such as fear of failure in the anti-cheating examination and students' learning track. PT played a role in the continuation of the school syllabus and the supplementation of what was excluded in the school, especially practical skills. Ironically, implementing an anti-cheating examination, one of the 2014 educational reform agenda, contributed toward the PT growth in Cambodia, although it could give the nation the equitable opportunity in the Grade-12 baccalaureate examination. This expansion was associated with the limited trust in the teaching and learning quality during public school through the common excuses of insufficient instructional time. This was considered a "teacher trick" from the leadership position's viewpoint. This growth in PT demand imposed financial burdens upon students' families, especially science track. Although the PT fee remained affordable for many Cambodian households, its expansion developed an inequitable opportunity for particular disadvantaged groups. This expansion would push them into debt and shift some students from a science track to social science to gain social mobility through their baccalaureate examination.

備考 論文の要旨はA4判用紙を使用し、4,000字以内とする。ただし、英文の場合は1,500語以内とする。

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